

PREFACE.

This Volume covers the transition from war to peace. The first two numbers were issued when hostilities were prevailing, the last two when they had ceased. But as regards publication and printing, war-conditions are still but little changed.

In this Volume will again be found articles by erudite archaeologists whose work it is our privilege to bring to light; among these our President, J. W. Walker, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., F.S.A., Emeritus Professor A. Hamiton Thompson, M.A., C.B.E., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., C. T. Clay, Esq., C.B., Hon. Litt.D., F.S.A., and the Rev. Dr. Whiting, M.A., F.S.A. Of perhaps especial interest in this Volume is our President's article on "Robin Hood," which has attracted wide attention. Mrs. Esdaile's contributions on "Sculptors and Sculpture in Yorkshire" have added useful knowledge on a topic of great interest to many. We are much indebted also to the Rev. J. S. Purvis, M.A., B.D., F.S.A., for his active researches at York, and new ground has been broken in scholarly fashion by various other contributors, whose efforts cover a wide variety of archaeological subjects too extensive to mention individually.

The editing of Roman Yorkshire has been adequately dealt with by Miss D. Greene, and no doubt the important discoveries at Well, by Major Gilyard-Beer noted in the last Part of this Volume will whet the appetite for a necessary longer account in a subsequent number of the Journal.

In conclusion we would beg to tender our best thanks to all contributors to the Journal.

J. W. HOUSEMAN, *Hon. Editor.*

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THE
Yorkshire Archæological Journal.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE Y.A.S. AND
KINDRED YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

Just prior to the outbreak of war, the Council of this Society contemplated the formulation of a scheme for co-operation, by means of Joint Meetings, etc., in matters of mutual and general interest with kindred Yorkshire Societies, and for this purpose a meeting of representatives of the Yorkshire Societies interested in Archæology was called, and was well attended. Hostilities necessitated the matter remaining in abeyance for the time being, but it was felt that the present time might not be altogether inopportune to make at least preliminary investigations as to the ultimate feasibility of fulfilling the above object.

It was conceived that co-operation such as we envisage, would very materially assist the common cause for which all such Societies are working, without in the least impairing in local archæological matters their total independence, which would be rigorously safeguarded; though in all probability the scheme could not come to full fruition until after the war.

Questions may well arise in the future, wherein the combined influence of a number of Societies would necessarily carry much greater weight than any isolated action on the part of each.

Nineteen Societies were accordingly invited to send delegates to a Meeting to be held at 10, Park Place, Leeds, on 20th August, in order to discuss the preliminaries of a scheme of co-operation.

A most interesting and successful preliminary meeting was held with the President of the Society in the Chair. Delegates attended from the following Societies—Georgian (York); Halifax Antiquarian; Huddersfield Naturalists; Harrogate Group of "Y.A.S."; Hunter Archæological; Museum Federation; Otley Archæological; Thoresby (Leeds); Wakefield Historical; Yorkshire Architectural and York Archæological. Apologies for non-attendance, owing to transport difficulties, combined with expressions of full sympathy with the project were received from Cleveland Naturalists; East Riding Antiquarian; Georgian (Beverley); Hull University Historical Council; Teesdale Record and Whitby Naturalists.

In addition to the President, the "Y.A.S." was represented by Messrs. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, F.S.A. and C. T. Clay, F.S.A. and Professor A. Hamilton Thompson, C.B.E., D.Litt., F.S.A., together with the Hon. Secretary, Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett, F.S.A., and the Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Hebditch. Various proposals, which had been previously outlined in the invitation-circular sent out were fully discussed and resolved upon, subject to subsequent ratification by the respective Societies to each of which a detailed report of the proceedings is being sent.

It was agreed that the meeting had laid a firm foundation for co-operation which would have an important bearing upon the future of archæology.

It is hoped in due course to draw up a definite "Charter" of Co-operation, which would be published *in extenso* in the Journal for the information of members.

It was decided that the organisations acting with the "Y.A.S." should be known as the "Co-operating Societies."

THE HARROGATE GROUP.

The 1942 Annual Meeting was held at Church House, Harrogate on Saturday, April 3rd, 1943, with Dr. A. Fulton in the Chair. There was a large attendance and an interesting Exhibition of architectural photographs was given by Mr. H. E. Illingworth, A.R.I.B.A. Three successful sessions during 1942 were carried through of lectures, talks, and discussions—one of the last-named being on "the origin of Proverbial Sayings, etc."—together with two visits to York.

Our thanks are due to the following lecturers:—Miss V. Rodgers, Mr. I. P. Pressby, Miss J. M. A. Toynbee, M.A., D.Phil., Professor D. C. Douglas, Dr. G. Taylor, Mr. C. N. Knight, O.B.E., Rev. A. Raine, Mr. J. S. Lyme, F.R.I.B.A., Dr. C. H. Moody, C.B.E., F.S.A., and Rev. Father P. Hesselty.

Through the courtesy of the *Harrogate Advertiser*, full reports of all our lectures, written by Mr. E. S. Wood, now appear in their columns.

In connection with Harrogate "Stay-at-Home" Holiday week, an Exhibition of articles of Antiquarian and Historical interest was held at the Technical Institute from 18th to 21st August and proved thoroughly successful. Various members of the Group acted as Guides and Stewards in rotation. The Group Library is steadily growing under the control of Mr. H. J. Stickland. We have to thank the "Y.A.S.", Mr. T. S. Gowland and others for the gifts and loan of books, etc. An additional bookcase is required.

The Ancient Building Committee has been busy throughout the year under the Chairmanship of Mr. C. M. Hadfield, F.R.I.B.A., and with Mr. E. S. Wood our Hon. Recorder, in surveying and recording details, when possible with photographs, of buildings

of architectural or historic interest erected prior to 1840, and within a radius of 10 miles of Harrogate.

The Field Survey Section has been seriously hampered in its activities by transport difficulties, but the members are looking forward to a full resumption after the war of their previously most successful labours.

The membership of the Group at the end of 1942 was 167, an increase of 6 on the figures of 1941—23 new members were elected during the year.

Dr. A. Fulton, who has been co-opted on the Council of the "Y.A.S." to represent the Group thereon was re-elected President and Mr. R. J. A. Bunnett Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer.

R. J. A. B.

A QUERN FROM DUNSCROFT.

There has lately been added to the Doncaster Museum collections a quern recently discovered in an allotment at Dunscroft, about a mile from Hatfield. It is complete and in excellent condition. The material is sandstone. The quern is a foot in diameter at its widest part, tapering to 8 ins. at the top. It is $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. high and the base is, at its widest part, 3 ft. $0\frac{1}{2}$ in. in circumference. The base is $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. high on one side and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. on the other, the top position being $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. and 11 in. in height on the corresponding sides. The base is saucer-shaped underneath and the grinding surface is inclined at an angle of about 10° . The top of the upper portion is inclined at a similar angle. In the upper portion the hopper, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep, takes up nearly the whole surface: the feed pipe from it is circular above but oblong in section at its lower end. There are two sockets for turning handles; one on each side, and nearly at the base of the upper portion.

On the whole it agrees with the examples figured by Mr. E. Cecil Curwen in *Antiquity* XV 17, figs. 3 and 11, as of Hunsbury type, though the base is smaller in proportion. The round, saucer-shaped base seems to show a connection with the Puddingstone type. Mr. Curwen thinks it possible that the round base may be an indication of Roman date. Nothing appears to have been found on the site which throws any light on the date of this particular waif.

C. E. W.

Congratulations. We feel sure that all who know him, will join with us in congratulating our Vice-President, Mr. C. T. Clay, on the honours recently conferred—we might almost say showered—upon him. In November, he received the degree of Litt.D. *honoris causa* of the Leeds University, and in January, his name appeared in the awards of C.B. in the New Year's Honours List. This recognition of merit is very pleasing and thoroughly well deserved.

ROBIN HOOD IDENTIFIED.

By J. W. WALKER, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., F.S.A.

If there be one man in England whose story has stirred the popular imagination there can be no doubt that he is the bold yeoman outlaw, Robin Hood.

Robert Southey, in his poem *The Doctor*, says "This country has produced no other hero whose popularity has endured so long. While England shall be England Robin Hood will be a popular name."

In this our spacious isle, I think there is not one
But he of Robin Hood hath heard, and Little John ;
And to the end of time the tale shall ne'er be done
Of Scathelock, George a Green, and Much the miller's son ;
In praise of Robin Hood, his outlaws and their trade.¹

It was the green-clad figure of Robin Hood, the bold yeoman and forester, the representative of the great unrecorded host of free Englishmen, whose exploits form a romantic episode of history, and whose story has for long ages delighted young and old; for he was one of those who stood up for the rights of the industrious common folk and protected the desolate and oppressed against the galling tyranny of the nobles and the chief men of the church, who at that time wronged the poor as much as did the nobles.

"I never heard" said Sir Edward Coke, Attorney General, "that Robin Hood was a traitor, they say he was an outlaw."

The outlaw who set the king's authority and all the force and ingenuity of the royal officers at defiance and eluded all their stratagems might well be the hero and the idol of the toiling classes of his time, especially those of the agricultural group. Well might he become the favourite subject of their plays and songs; well might the ballads concerning him delight them beyond all others, as Fordun, who died in 1384, relates.

The ballads were for the most part handed down from father to son by word of mouth, and by the wandering minstrels who spread them over the country until Caxton gave us the printing press. These ballads are full of incident and human character; they reflect the manners and feelings of distant ages; they express a sense of public injury or of private wrong, a love of whatever is free, manly and warm-hearted, a hatred of all oppression, whether clerical or lay. In the Robin Hood ballads the personal character of the hero and of many of his companions is never lost sight of, but is stamped on every verse.

¹ Drayton, *Polyolbion*, Song xxvj; a rhymed survey and panegyric of Britain.

It has for long been a disputed question whether Robin Hood was a living person or only a mythical hero. If he was but a myth, whence come all the circumstantial statements of facts and adventures related of him? If he was a real personage, who was he? When did he live? How many of his adventures are authentic?

Much embellishment and romantic fiction has, doubtless, been superadded to Robin's real history, but that the leading features of the earlier ballads, especially of *The Lytell Geste*, are founded upon a basis of facts can, I think, be satisfactorily established by contemporary evidence.

John Fordun, a chantry priest of Aberdeen, author of *Scotichronicon*, a history of Scotland, written in 1341, says: "About this time (1265) arose from among the dispossessed and banished that most famous outlaw, Robin Hood, and Little John with their companions. Robin was reputed to be as devout at church as he was brave in combat, and it was said of him that when once he entered a church to hear the service, whatsoever danger might occur, he never went away until it was finished."¹

Thomas Wright, F.S.A. and Joseph Hunter, F.S.A. doubt the authenticity of this passage in the original *Scotichronicon*, but consider it a part of the interpolation made to the genuine Fordun by his personal pupil and continuator, Walter Bower, abbot of Inchcolm,² in 1440-7. This passage is only found in the finely written and illuminated fifteenth century copy of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, Harleian MSS., Brit. Mus., 4764.

Another Scotchman, John Major or Mair, historian and Scottish divine, teacher of philosophy and logic at St. Andrew's University, published his *Majoris Britannicæ Historia*, 1521, which Stow has incorporated in his *Annales of England*, 1591; in it he says: "About this time [Richard I, 1189-99, though he gives no authority for this statement], Robert Hude and Little John, most famous outlaws, hid in the woods, and only plundered the goods of rich men, and never slew any unless they opposed them in defence of their goods. Robert maintained one hundred archers most skilful in battle, whom four hundred of the boldest fellows did not dare to attack. He never allowed any harm to be done to a woman, nor took the goods of poor men, but seized the rich oblations of abbots. The exploits of this Robert are celebrated in songs throughout all Britain. I disapprove of the rapine of the man, but he was the most humane and prince of robbers."

This reputation of Robin Hood was endorsed by Sir Walter Scott, who wrote: "But Robin will still remain the gentlest of thieves. He acted upon a larger scale, or in opposition to a larger injustice, and to a whole political system."³

¹ Joannis de Fordun *Scotichronicon*, cum Supplementis et Continuatione Walteri Boweri, Insulæ Sancti Columbæ Abbatis; cura Walteri Goodall, Ed. 1759, Vol. II, p. 104.

² Inchcolm $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the coast of Fife, which derives its name from St. Columba. Upon the island are the ruins of the monastery founded in 1128 by Alexander I.

³ *Gilbert of the White Hand, Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, Vol. i, p. 21.

In his *Essay on Romance*, Sir Walter said : " The history of this popular hero [Robin Hood] is but little known, and all the scattered fragments concerning him, could they be brought together, would fall far short of satisfying such an enquirer as none but real and authenticated facts will content."

Andrew Wyntoun, Canon regular of St. Andrews, prior of St. Serf's Inch in Loch Leven, where he wrote his *Oryginale Cronykil*, a vernacular metrical history of Scotland, 1420, first published in 1795 from a manuscript in the Royal Library, in which, under the year 1283, occur the following lines :

"Lytil Jhon and Robyn Hude
Waythmen¹ were commendyd gud ;
In Yngil-wode and Barnysdale
Thei oysyd [used] all this tyme thare travaile."

Hector Boece or Boethius, chaplain of St. Andrew's altar in St. Nicholas church, Aberdeen; professor in the University of Paris; joint founder with William Elphinstone of Aberdeen University; author of *Historia Scotorum*, 1536; in the nineteenth chapter of his "threttene buke" says : "about this tyme" [early fourteenth century, though again he gives no authority for his statement,] 'was that waithman Robert Hode with his fallow litil Johne, of quhoum ar mony fabillis and mery sportis sounng amang the vulgar pepyll."

James V of Scotland commanded John Bellenden, D.D. archdeacon of Moray and canon of Ross, to translate Boece's work from the Latin into the Scottish vernacular, which was published at Edinburgh in 1536. It was translated into English by William Harrison for *Holinshed's Chronicles*, 1577. A French edition appeared in 1574.

One of the earliest if not the first historic mention of Robin Hood is by William Langland in *The Vision of Piers the Plowman*, which was produced in three texts, the first in 1362, the second in 1377, and the third in 1392, all in the unrhymed alliterative metre, which in the earliest times was employed in Anglo-Saxon poetry. In Passus V, the seventh Deadly Sin is typified in the character of 'Sloth,' an ignorant secular priest, the representative probably of many of the chantry chaplains of his time, who can find a hare in a field more readily than he can read the lives of the Saints. This was not unusual, for an episcopal visitation in the diocese of Salisbury in 1222 shows five priests out of seventeen parishes who could not construe the very first sentence of the Canon of the Mass. Roger Bacon, c. 1290, complained that many of his fellow-clergy knew as little even of their own service books, as

¹ Waythmen. This Scotch word is equivalent to the English outlaw, which according to the old Saxon law meant 'he bears a wolf's head which any man can cut off, and he can with impunity be slain by all.' Henry Bracton, Justice Itinerant for the northern counties; author of *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Anglice*, (1259), II, c. 35. A woman is said to be 'waived,' not outlawed, and is called a 'waive,' not an outlaw as is a man in English courts of law.

“brute beasts.” Similar evidence could be multiplied down to the eve of the Reformation. When Bishop Hooper made a Visitation at Gloucester in 1552, out of the 311 clergy he examined, he found 171 who were not able to repeat the Ten Commandments. Of these, 31 did not know where in the Bible the Commandments were recorded; 10 could not repeat the Lord’s Prayer; 30 did not know where to find it, and 27 could not tell who was its author.¹ Sloth knows rhymes about Robin Hood better than his prayers; for he makes the following confession :

I cannot parfitli mi paternoster, as the preist it syngeth,
But I can ryms of Robert Hode, and Randolf erl of Chestre,²
But of our lorde or of oure lady I lerne nothyng at all.

This reading of the original edition is confirmed by a very old manuscript in the Cotton Library (Brit. Mus.) Vespasian, B. XVI.

The Laud MS. 571 reads thus :

If I shulde deye bi this day, me liste noughte to loke ;
I can noughte perfitly my pater-noster, as the prest it syngeth;
But I can rymes of Robyn hood, and Randolf erle of Chestre,
Ac neither of oure lorde ne of oure lady, the lest that evere
was made.

Another version of these lines is as follows :

Shoulde I die for it to daye, I drede me sore,
I kan nought parfitli my paternoster, as the prest it syngeth ;
But I kan rymes of Robyn Hode, and Randolf, erl of Chestre,
But none of our Lorde or of our Ladye.

Still another version runs thus :

Sholde ich deye quath he by this daye, ich dred me sore,
Ich can nought perfytyche my paternoster, as the prest
it seggeth,
Ich can rymes of Robin Hode, and of Randolf erl of Chestre,
Ac ne of oure Lord ne of oure Lady.

This poem was written within a very few years of Robin Hood’s death (if Hunter’s and my suggested date be accepted), when many must have been alive who had either spoken to, or at any rate have known of, Robin as a living person.

“This testimony is,” as Hunter says, “of the highest importance, for by coupling the name of Robin Hood with that of Randolf the fourth Earl of Chester, who lived not long before Robin Hood, Langland evidently believed that Robin Hood was likewise a real and not a mythical personage. Wyntoun, Major, Boece, Scottish writers, who recognise the existence of the outlaw, are of too late date for their testimony to be of any weight.”³

¹ *Narrative of the Reformation*, 270.

² Randolf de Blondeville, born before 1172, son of Hugh, earl of Chester, succeeded as fourth Earl of Chester, 1181; took the Cross, March, 1215; Crusader from May 1218 to July 1220; Sheriff of Lancashire 1216-24; Joint Commander of the Royal Army 1217; Chief Commander in Normandy 1230; died 28 Oct. 1232.

³ *The Ballad Hero, Robin Hood*, 8.

It was a common practice in the days of minstrelsy to celebrate the deeds of personages actually living at the time as well as of those who were of a former age.

J. H. Round writes, "The belief in the existence of a *chanson de geste*, or lost ballad-cycle on Randolph, earl of Chester, is based on the often quoted lines in *Piers Plowman*.

'But I can rymes of Robyn Hood and Randolph erle of Chestre.' As nothing of the kind is known, Mr. Ward, followed by Dr. Brandin, has drawn attention to the mention of Randolph, Earl of Chester, towards the end of the romance of Fulk FitzWarine; but this is comparatively slight. It has been in print for more than two centuries, although no one seems to have recognized its true character. In my opinion it is possible to identify a portion at least of the lost song of the great earl in a column in Dugdales' *Baronage*, 1675, vol. I, p. 42-3."¹

"This 'lost song' is a long rambling prose narrative which can scarcely be styled a *chanson de geste*, though possibly based on one." [C. T. Clay, Hon. Litt.D., F.S.A.].

E. Stredder in *Notes and Queries*, March, 1887, writes "The 'rimes' of Randolph or Randal of Chester, to which 'Piers Ploughman' refers, are to be found in the old MS. of the Mystery Plays of Chester, composed by Randal, monk of Chester."

Canon Isaac Taylor writes that "the story of Robin Hood is a solar myth; he must be identified with the Hotherus of Saxo Grammaticus. Jacob Grimm has also identified him with Hodekin, a wood sprite of the German mythology. The Robin Hood legend is thus a faint Western echo of the great Aryan sun-myth, with which, not improbably, some elements of the Odin myth have become commingled."²

A writer, under the initials of J.B.S., Manchester, in the August, 1887, number of *Notes and Queries*, says, "Canon Taylor is evidently wearing his mythological spectacles, through which he unfortunately sees things in a corresponding mythological light. I write rather to record my repudiation of the fanciful assumption of the forest hero's mythological character by Canon Taylor (*et hoc genus omne*) than to attempt what Hunter and Thoms have done satisfactorily—amass proofs sufficient to convince any impartial student of the impossibility of such an assumption, and that Canon Taylor's dogmatism rests upon a pedestal of sand."³

In the October number of the same journal, Col. W. F. Prid-eaux writes that he "attaches no great weight to 'Aryan sun-myths,' but is convinced of the personality of Robin Hood, and thinks he may have been one Fulk Fitzwarine, an outlawed noble of the reign of King John, of whom there was an English romance, as was suggested by J. H. Round."⁴

¹ *Peerage and Pedigree*, II, 301.

² *Academy*, 1883, xxiv, 250. *Notes and Queries*, July, 1887, p. 32.

³ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov., 1886, 421; July, 1887, 329.

Sir Sidney Lee thinks that "there can be little doubt that the name originally belonged to a mythical forest elf, who filled a large space in English and Scottish folk-lore. Inconclusive attempts have been made to extract from the ballad history of Robin Hood a sun-myth, with Robin Hood as the central personage by Canon Isaac Taylor, and to treat him as a popular and degraded manifestation of Woden. In its origin the name was probably a variant of 'Hodeken,' the title of a sprite or elf in Teutonic folk lore (Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 472). The Lytell Geste, however, undoubtedly connects the hero with King Edward."¹

J. W. Hales and F. J. Snell agree with Sir Sidney Lee.²

J. O. Halliwell-Phillips writes that Robin Hood was probably a mythic personage, and that the Robin Hood poems were merely formed on others of a more primitive character, that they were not original compositions founded on the deeds of any real personage.³

German writers contend that the popular history of Robin Hood was founded upon the ballads, and not the ballads upon the person.⁴

Sir Paul Harvey considers Robin Hood to be 'a legendary outlaw, whose historical authenticity is ill-supported.'⁵

In this he is upheld by Professor Skeat, who thinks he was 'a legendary character.'⁶

Professor Francis James Child writes, "not even a shadow of a case has been made out by those who would equate Robin Hood with Odin, or account for him in accordance with the supposed principles of a comparative mythology. The earlier form of the name may have been 'Robin o' the Wood.' *The Lytell Geste* is a popular epic, composed from several ballads by a poet of a thoroughly congenial spirit, and is among the best of all ballads; perhaps none in English please so many and please so long. Robin Hood is a yeoman, outlawed for reasons not given, but easily surmised."⁷

Thomas Wright, F.S.A. is "not opposed to the conjecture that the name 'Robin Hood' is but a corruption of Robin of the Wood. These legends enable us to place Robin Hood with tolerable certainty among the personages of the early mythology of the Teutonic peoples. The nature of the stories bring us at once to conclude that the character and popular history of Robin Hood was formed upon the ballads, and not the ballads upon the person."⁸

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

³ *Journal of The British Archæol. Assoc.* VIII, 223.

⁴ Richard Fricke, *Ein Beitrag zum Studium der englischen Volksdichtung*. Strasburg Bramschweig, 1883. Rudolf Kiessman, *Untersuchungen über die Motive der Robin Hood Balladen*; Halle, 1895. Lorenz Halmer, *Kulturhistorisches in englischen Volkshed in den Robin Hood Balladen*, Freiburg, 1892.

⁵ *Companion to English Literature*, 1933.

⁶ *The Tale of Gamelyn*, from Harleian MS. 7334, 1884.

⁷ *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 1904, Camb. Mass. V, 255.

⁸ Wright, *Essays on the Literature, &c., of the Middle Ages*, II, 165.

To this opinion W. J. Thoms replies, "it has been pretended that Hood is only a corruption of 'o' the wood,' *q.d.* of Sherwood, but this as the late editor (Ritson) of the poems of which Robin Hood was the subject says, 'is an absurd conceit.' I think it probable that the incidents recorded in *The Lytell Geste* were founded upon fact, and that Robin Hood was a real person." He goes on to say, "none of these writers, however, have produced such new and curious matter in support of their peculiar views as has been brought forward by my learned friend Joseph Hunter in *The Ballad Hero, Robin Hood*, 1852, who discovered among the Records under his charge, and of which he knows how to make such excellent use, evidence as it seems to him, not only that Robin Hood was a real personage, but who and what he actually was. He argues with great ingenuity and we must add probability, that the incidents in *The Lytell Geste* were founded in fact."¹

J. R. Planché, F.S.A., Somerset Herald, was convinced of the personality of Robin Hood, but connected him with one Robert FitzOdo, who lived in the time of Henry the Second. There is no evidence whatever to support this claim.²

Augustin Thierry sees in Robin Hood the chief of a band of Saxons who avoided the intrusion and rapacity of the Normans by flight to the greenwood, where they lived in open defiance and avowed hostility to the Conqueror.³

Thierry was copied seven years later by Mr. Barry in his thesis preparatory to taking the degree of Doctor in the University of Paris, in an attempt to trace the history of the popular cycle of Robin Hood, and to trace its vicissitudes and transformations; but though he treated his subject with cleverness and ingenuity he was unfortunately unacquainted with the manuscript and knew little of the history of the philology of our language, and thus knew little of that on which he wrote.⁴

Sir Henry Newbolt accepted Wyntoun's date and thought that Robin Hood lived in the time of Edward the First, and that the ballads were founded upon facts in the life of the forest hero.⁵

Allan Cunningham says, "these ballads of Robin Hood reflect the hatred of all oppression, clerical and lay. There is but one undoubtedly ancient ballad relating to Robin Hood, *The Lytell Geste*, which furnishes a corroboration of his date of the most satisfactory character; it relates, as its title-page informs us to 'Kynge Edward and Robyn Hode and Lytell John.'"⁶

Joseph Ritson believed Robin Hood to be an historic character, but relied upon Stukeley's fabricated pedigree and thought of him as a pretended Earl of Huntingdon.⁷

¹ *Early English Prose Romances*, 1858.

² *The Architectural Society of the Diocese of Lincoln, Report*, 1864.

³ *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, 1825.

⁴ *Thèse de Littérature sur les Vicissitudes et les Transformations de Cycle populaire de Robin Hood*, Paris, 1832.

⁵ *English Ballads*, 1920.

⁶ Knight's *Old England*, I, 118.

⁷ *Robin Hood. A Collection of all the Ancient Poems, Songs and Ballads, now extant, relative to that celebrated English Outlaw*, 1885, xviiij-xxij.

John Matthew Gutch, F.S.A., insisted upon the historic individuality of the forest hero, and says that "it is impossible to believe that the principal hero of these ballads was entirely fictitious. The precise date of Robin Hood's birth (1160) as given by Ritson is decidedly wrong and much too early. The greatest probability appears to be that he was born early in Henry the Third's reign; no historian of any note having mentioned him before that period."¹

The writer in *Chamber's Book of Days* says of Robin Hood; "It has been maintained by many distinguished antiquaries that Robin Hood is a mere fanciful abstraction, a poetical myth, or 'one amongst the personages of the early mythology of the Teutonic people.' When parties have been led to form such views, it requires irrefragible evidence to convert them to an opposite way of thinking; but the whole weight of inferential evidence seems to be on the side of those who retain the notion of his having been a real personage. That the leading features of his history rest at all events on a basis of fact is, in our opinion, satisfactorily established. Mr. Hunter, in fixing the reign of Edward the Second as the period in which Robin Hood flourished, departs from the commonly received notion, which represents him as living in the time of Richard the First or John. In this view he is supported by evidence that can be gathered from actual documents, and also by the statements in the poem of *The Lytell Geste*; whilst the other notion has no ground to rest upon beyond the vague and uncertain authority of tradition, or of chroniclers who wrote long after the events which they profess to record."

A later writer, Professor L. V. D. Owen of Nottingham University in an article in *The Times Engineering Supplement* for February 1936, says "The constant refrain of 'no historical evidence' which is the mark of most articles and investigations dealing with the career and exploits of Robin Hood must by now have produced something akin to despair in the hearts of those in the Midlands and elsewhere who have treasured the famous outlaw as a historical person. It has always seemed hard to believe that, in spite of the hostility of modern investigators into tradition and ballad, there should never appear any sort of tangible historical record of his emergence, if only for a moment, into real life. Most of those who have written summaries of the ballad and other presentations of the outlaw either begin or end their accounts with the triumphant note that no contemporary historian as much as mentions Robin Hood the Outlaw.

The possibility of any reference by contemporary medieval chroniclers being discovered in the future is exceedingly remote, but it might perhaps have been surmised that the record sources for English history would some day yield some hint . . . Discussion of the exact period of Robin Hood's life and exploits has been active since the end of the eighteenth century, and the matter is still

¹ *The Robin Hood Garlands and Ballads with the Tale of The Lytell Geste*, 2 vols. 1850, I, 76-7.

debated. The periods favoured by tradition, fiction, or construction for the adventures of Robin Hood are those of the reigns of Richard I, of Henry III, of Edward I, and of Edward II.

What is really wanted is the conjunction of the name Robin Hood with a description which might indicate the position of the holder to the law and at the same time help to place his activities in point of date. This, it would appear, is seen in the Pipe Roll of 14 Henry III (1230). The date is significant. The entry reads : *Idem vicecomes debet xxxijs. et vjd. de catallis Roberti Hood fugitivi.* ("The sheriff [of Yorkshire] owes 32s. 6d. in the matter of the chattels of Robert [Robin] Hood, fugitive."). The position of the entry among others which imply the West Riding of Yorkshire is also interesting. Robin's adventures occur in Barnsdale as well as Sherwood. Here is therefore a malefactor with the famous name living during the early years of the reign of Henry III, and if *fugitivus* can bear the rendering of "on the run" it is possible to conceive the fugitive as active during a great part of the thirteenth century, or if 1230 represents the end of his life then he can be taken back to Richard I's reign for some of his exploits.

This Robin Hood is, further, an exact contemporary of the Randolph, Earl of Chester, who figures in the celebrated lines of Langland's "Piers Plowman."

It would seem that the only likely source of authentic information about Robin Hood, as about much else, is in the records of the State.

In past ages his legendary fame made Robin Hood the English ballad-singers' joy, and throughout all ages he will be remembered with proud affection wherever English story books are read."

A petition to parliament in the year 1439 represents a broken man in Derbyshire taking to the woods 'like as it hadde be Robyn-hode and his meyne.'

Ninety years ago (1852) Joseph Hunter, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and its Vice-president, an Assistant Keeper of the Public Records, and the author of *South Yorkshire*, one of the best topographical books ever published, wrote an Historical Tract, entitled *The Great Hero of the Ancient Minstrelsy of England, Robin Hood*, in which he sought to prove that Robin Hood lived in the times of the first three Edwards and that he was born in a family of some station and respectability at Wakefield or in a neighbouring village.

Referring to M. Thierry's idea (reported above) Hunter writes, "I believe it will be found that the hero of these songs did not live till long after time had worn away the political animosity of Saxon and Norman. Another writer is a little nearer the truth when he represents this company of outlaws as being a portion of the *Exheredati*; as they were called, men who had been adherents of Simon de Montfort, and who were reduced to the greatest extremities after the battle of Evesham. Yet it will, I

think, be seen, that the time at which they lived was long after the time when, under the Dictum de Kenilworth, all oppression of the *Exheredati* had ceased. These misapprehensions are but venial offences against historic verity, compared with those of writers who would represent this outlaw living in the woods as a mere creature of the imagination of men living in the depth of antiquity, so far back that we know neither when nor where, Hudkin, because his name was Hood, and Robin Goodfellow, because his name was Robert, or as Mr. Wright chooses to represent the matter in more general terms, "one amongst the personages of the early mythology of the Teutonic people." Some have cavilled with the surname of *Hood*. According to them it is nothing but "of the Wood"—Robin of the Wood; as if the surname Hood had not made itself sufficiently famous in England. Whoever will consult the Indexes to the Record publications will find the surname of Hood at the very period when the outlaw lived. And if other proof were wanting I could refer them to the Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield in Yorkshire, of the reign of Edward the Second. This is of the more importance, inasmuch as the tale of Robin Hood is so peculiarly a West Riding of Yorkshire story, and the scene of his exploits so often laid in parts of Yorkshire, not far distant from Wakefield. My theory then on the whole is this. That neither is Robin Hood a mere poetic conception, a beautiful abstraction of the life of a jovial freebooter living in the woods, nor one of those fanciful beings, creatures of the popular mind springing in the very infancy of Northern civilization, as Mr. Wright informs us; but a person who had a veritable existence quite within historic time, a man of like feelings and passions as we are. Not, however, a Saxon struggling against the Norman power in the first and second reigns of the House of Anjou, nor one of the *Exheredati* of the reign of King Henry the Third; but one of the *Contrariantes* of the reign of King Edward the Second, and living in the early years of the reign of King Edward the Third, but whose birth is to be carried back into the reign of King Edward the First, and fixed in the decennary period 1285 to 1295, at Wakefield or in one of the villages around."

It was not until the end of the sixteenth or the early part of the seventeenth century that the title of Earl of Huntington was bestowed upon Robin Hood by the playwrights, as in "*The Downfall of Robert, earle of Huntington, afterwards called Robin Hood of Merrie Sherwodde*. Acted by the right honourable, the earle of Nottingham, lord high admirale of England, his servants. Imprinted at London, for William Leake, 1601. Also in *The Death of Robert, earle of Huntington, otherwise called Robin Hood of Merrie Sherwodde*. Acted and imprinted as above.

In support of this title of 'Earl of Huntington' or 'Huntingdon,' William Stukeley, M.D., F.R.S., has upon a flimsy foundation built up what purports to be a pedigree of Robin Hood, representing his real name as Robert Fitzooth, and purposing to show his claim to the title of Earl of Huntingdon as a descendant of Richard Fitz-

Gilbert, Earl of Clare, on the paternal side, and of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon on the maternal side, by his wife Judith, Countess of Huntingdon. Their great-great-great-grandson, John surnamed Scot, Earl of Angus and Huntingdon, died without issue in 1237. Stukeley fathers his Robert Fitzooth, 'commonly called Robin Hood, pretended Earl of Huntingdon,' upon William Fitzooth, the great-great-great-grandson of Richard FitzGilbert de Clare, mentioned above.¹

In this pedigree he makes Gilbert de Gaunt, the grandson of Richard FitzGilbert, an Earl of Kyme and Lindsey. Gilbert never was Earl of Kyme and Lindsey, for there never was such an earldom; even on this concocted pedigree Robert Fitzooth, or Robin Hood, had not a drop of Huntingdon blood in his veins.

John surnamed Scot, the Earl of Huntingdon, left three sisters, all married to powerful noblemen, not one of whom assumed the title of Earl of Huntingdon, which then became extinct. There is no proof, whatever that Robin Hood put forward any claim to the Earldom of Huntingdon on the death of Simon de Senlis, who died in 1184 without issue, or renewed it in 1237 on the death of John le Scot.

No reliance whatever can be placed upon this curious pedigree, which is entirely opposed to the historical evidence that exists, and Stukeley cites no authority for this imaginary descent of the outlaw.

Charles Parkin, rector of Oxburgh, who completed Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, 1775, termed Stukeley's pedigree of Robin Hood "quite jocose, an original indeed."

Hunter described it as 'a weak invention.' The Duchess of Cleveland, speaking of the discredited Battle Abbey Roll, said "To say that the Robin Hood of legend was descended from a Conquest Earl of Huntingdon is a pedigree which I should have thought it impossible for the most credulous to accept."²

The most ancient poems make no mention of this earldom. In *The Lyttell Geste*, Robin Hood is expressly asserted to have been a 'yeoman and outlaw proud'; and this definition of him is maintained by Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, the editor of *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 1760, who was of opinion that Robin Hood was named Earl of Huntingdon only by vulgar fiction, and that the pedigree published by Dr. Stukeley was pure invention.

Richard Gough, F.R.S., F.S.A., under the initials 'D.H.' in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, refuted Robin Hood's presumed title to nobility, also the authenticity of the epitaph upon his tombstone at Kirklees, as printed by Thoresby in the appendix to *Ducatus Leodiensis*. He believed him to be an oppressed English yeoman.

A Lytell Geste of Robyn Hode is a manuscript of the latter quarter of the fourteenth century, and is therefore of a date within half a century or so of the lifetime of the outlaw; it is the composi-

¹ *Palæographia Britannica*, II, 115.

² "Battle Abbey Roll." *St. James' Gazette*, 25 September, 1909.

tion of a writer of the time of Chaucer. It was first printed by Wynken de Worde in 1489, the title of that edition being: "Here beginneth a mery geste of Robyn Hode and his meyne, and of the proude sheryfe of Notyngham;" the printer's colophon, marking the conclusion of the work, runs as follows: "Explycit : Kyng Edward and Robyn Hode & Lytell Johan. Emprented at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sone. By Wynken de Worde."

The only known copy, a quarto volume in black letter, is preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge. Another copy was printed at Edinburgh in 1508 by Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, a fragment only of which is in the Advocates library there.

The Lytell Geste is the oldest and most authentic ballad relative to Robin Hood, and one of the finest in the English language, which for beauty and dramatic power is worthy of Chaucer, about whose time it was written, and is therefore of a date closely approaching to the lifetime of the outlaw; it stands out from all other ballads about the sylvan hero, not only by its antiquity but by its merits, and forms the most reliable and trustworthy evidence (save manorial and exchequer statements) that we possess of Robin Hood, and goes far to substantiate his actual existence; it clearly elucidates his station in life—that of a yeoman, disproving the theory that he was of noble birth, or ever an Earl of Huntingdon. In it there is no mention of Henry the Second, or the year 1160, as mentioned in the Sloane MS., or of the date [1247] inscribed on the fabricated gravestone.

It describes many of his exploits as having taken place in the reign of King Edward, establishing the period in which the outlaw lived, which there can be no doubt was of a later date than any of his biographers, save Joseph Hunter, have assigned him.

There are few ancient ballads in existence in which such a minute detail of occurrences are narrated, and of such historical accuracy.

One of the earliest poems of the cycle of Robin Hood ballads is that of *Kyng Edward and the Shepherd*, also preserved in the library of Cambridge University, (M.S. Ff. 5. 48). This ballad is undoubtedly one of those popular songs to which allusion is made by Fordun, and by Langland in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*. It bears internal evidence of having been written during the reign of the second Edward, when the Earls of Lancaster and Warenne, who are mentioned in the text as the erle of Lancaster and the erle of Waryn Sir John, were courted by the King, and when there appeared to be some hope of tranquility in the kingdom.¹

Edward had ridden into Windsor forest and in the course of his wanderings met with a shepherd, who called himself Adam the Shepherd; the King styled himself "Jolly Robin," and invited the shepherd to Court. On his arrival there the shepherd addressed the King by the name he had been given by his host, "Jolly Robin."

¹ Wright, Thos., *Essays on the Literature, &c., of England in the Middle Ages*, II, 167, 177.

'Jolly Robin,' he said, 'I pray the,
 Speke with me a worde in private?'
 'For God,' said the kyng, 'gladly.'
 He freyned¹ [prayed] the kyng in his ere,
 'What lordis that thei were
 That stondis here hym bye.
 The erle of Lancaster is thet on,
 And the erle of Waryn sir John,
 Bolde and as hardy :
 Thei mow do mycull with the kyng,
 I have tolde hem of thy thyng.'
 Then seid he, 'gramercy.'

Sir Walter Scott has interwoven the exploits of Robin Hood and his merry men in his romance of *Ivanhoe*, and under the name of "Locksley" brings Robin Hood into the presence of the King—Richard Plantagenet—in Sherwood forest; but as is well known, Scott had in many of his novels an utter disregard of chronology, and in the interest of his tales not infrequently brings together personages who lived many years apart.

Between the characters of Robin Hood and that of Rob Roy in Sir Walter Scott's celebrated novel of that name, a strong similarity has been remarked by many writers, and to a certain extent the remark is accurate.

The Lakeland poet Wordsworth in his Sonnet *Rob Roy's Grave*, writes :

A famous man is Robin Hood,
 The English ballad-singer's joy!
 And Scotland has a thief as good,
 She has her brave Rob Roy!

The individuals or outlaws, who without rank or fortune could for thirty or more years set all laws at defiance, and, at deadly feud with the great men, could resist all their power, elude all their stratagems, without being overwhelmed by superior force, or be betrayed by the treachery of companions, must have been men of extraordinary talents; and although branded with great vices, yet be possessed of many virtues.

If proof can be established that Robin Hood did not without provocation set at defiance the laws of his country, and if there is cause to believe that he was led into such a course of life by a noble struggle for liberty, and that he was associated with barons, his superiors in the social scale, in redressing their country's wrongs and fighting for those charters of their liberties of which they were being despoiled by Gaveston and the Despencers under the tyranny and treachery of the monarch who ruled over them, these hypotheses the Wakefield Manor Court Rolls establish, and this proof I think the Wakefield Manor Court Rolls confirm.

¹ "This folke *frayned* hym firste fro wheunes become." *Piers Plowman* (B) V, 532.

Had Ivanhoe not appeared, we should not have had the many errors which disfigure Thierry's Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, 1825. When Scott makes Ulrica (Ulrica, a Saxon female name) calling upon Zernebock, as a god of her forefathers, he makes her talk absolute nonsense. No Anglo-Saxon ever records the name of such a deity. Some Pomeranian Saxons may possibly have heard of their god Czerny Bog, (The black god) contradicted into Bjala Bog (The white god); nor does the charm of the vindictive lady bear one single trace of Saxon character. In every matter of detail, the romance is only calculated to mislead.

M. Thierry has related the effect produced upon his mind by

See his Dix Ans d'Etudes Historiques.

Joan
A Slavonic word for God is Bôg. This word may be seen in 'bogies', a hideous species of evil influence.

Chaucer, on this very comparison between a tyrant and an outlaw, wrote :

“Right so betwix a titeless tiraunt
And an outlawe, or elles a thefe erraunt,
The same I say, ther is no difference,
But, for the tyrant is of greter might,
By force of meinie for to sle down right,
And, for the outlawe hath but small meinie,
And may not do so gret an harme as he
Ne bring a contree to so gret meschiefe.

“If we want to find the real hero of that time [Edward II and III], we must look not to the self-styled Arthur and his “Table” of aristocratic mummers, but to the green-clad figure of Robin Hood, the representative of the great unrecorded host of free Englishmen. In the latter half of the fourteenth century English legend is enriched by a hero, not like Arthur, a feudal king surrounded by his magnates, but a man of the people, an archer and an outlaw. It is in Langland’s *Piers Plowman* that we first hear songs of Robin Hood, a commoner, a yeoman, as free as his native greenwood.

Robin Hood exhibits the English ideal of the Middle Ages at its best and sweetest, Robin has that simple and manly courtesy that we have seen sometimes in representatives of his class in the English countryside of our own day, small, independent men, sportsmen to the backbone, gentle to all and servile to none—a class whose numbers are all too scanty! He is equally a Christian and a gentleman; so great is his love for “our dear Lady” that he will never molest any company “that a woman is therein.” What he takes from the rich he gives to the poor. His orders are strict against attacking any peasant or yeoman, or indeed any knight that is a good fellow, but only the Bishops, Sheriffs and other rich men, who grind the faces of the poor.

Such is the spirit of this England of Robin Hood and the archers of Chaucer and the Black Prince.”¹

Even with several learned antiquaries and archæologists the legend of *The Lytell Geste* is still considered more in the light of an heroic tale or romance than as an historic ballad; but authentic evidence derived from contemporary deeds has recently been discovered, and from these documents there is corroboration of the events narrated in that ballad, which tend to prove that Robin Hood was a living personality—an oppressed English yeoman. The present paper is written in an attempt to throw some new light on the life and character of the celebrated outlaw.

From a careful examination of the Wakefield Manor Court Rolls, made through the kindness of Mr. D. P. Mosby, Steward of the Manor, I am able to give some particulars about Robert Hood of Wakefield and his wife Matilda, who, as the ballad tells us,

¹ Esmé Wingfield-Stratford, D.Sc., M.A. *The History of British Civilization*, 1930, pp. 232, 241-2.

changed their names from Robert and Matilda to Robin and Maid Marian after he was outlawed and went into the forest of Barnsdale.

I am also greatly indebted to Mr. C. T. Flower, C.B., F.S.A., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, for having accurate transcripts made for me of certain of the Household accounts of the time of Edward the Second, entered in the Exchequer, preserved in the Public Record Office.

From these sources I now proceed to give the following account of Robin Hood.

About the middle of the reign of King Edward the First, between the years 1285 and 1295, there was born in the town of Wakefield a boy whom his parents named Robert. His father was probably Adam Hood (though there is no actual proof of this), who appears in the Wakefield Manor Court Rolls from 1274 to 1314 as a regular attender at those courts, and may have been a forester in the employ of the Earl of Warenne, the lord of the manor of Wakefield. Adam Hood was a prosperous man, for on July 13, 1286, he had a licence to take half a bovate of land in Stanley from one Adam Balle for nine years doing the lord's service.

The ballad story is :

The father of Robin a forester was,
And he shot with a lusty strong bow
Two north-country miles and an inch at a shot,
As the Pinder of Wakefield doth know.

In the Manor Court Rolls we find numerous notices of Robert Hood of Wakefield; between the years 1308 and 1315 he was frequently brought before the Steward of the Court for taking firewood from the Outwood and from the Old and New Parks of Wakefield; he was reprimanded and usually fined twopence (equivalent to about seven shillings present value). In 1316, however, it was Robert Hood's handmaid who was before the Court for this offence against the forest laws, which shows that he was then in a position to keep a handmaid, and he was a married man.

We now come to a definite statement in the Wakefield Manor Court Rolls about Robert Hood and his wife Matilda, for under the year 1316 at a Court held on January 25, Robert Hood and Matilda his wife gave two shillings for leave to take one piece of the lord's waste on Bichill (the market-place, wherein was the bull-ring) between the booths of Philip Damyson and Thomas Alayn of the length of thirty feet and of sixteen feet in breadth to hold to the aforesaid Robert and Matilda and their heirs rendering yearly sixpence at the three terms of the year to the lord.

Here they built a dwelling-house of five rooms, as is proved by records in the Rolls under the years, 1322, 1357, 1358.

At the same Court in 1316, Robert Hood and Matilda his wife gave twelve pence for leave to take one piece of the manor land in Warrengate near the land of Robert Clement from John Pollard to hold to themselves and their heirs doing the service thereon.

These entries show that Robert Hood was a man of substance in the town of Wakefield and a tenant of Earl Warenne's manor, bound by the customs thereon.

No mention of Matilda (Maid Marian) is made in *The Lytell Geste*, but she is an important character in the two plays, *The Downfall of Robert, earle of Huntington*, and *The Death of Robert, earle of Huntington*.

Towards the end of the year 1316 Edward the Second called upon his nobles to raise a troop of their tenants as fighting men to oppose the Scots who were making frequent raids into Northumberland, and ordered Earl Warenne to provide two hundred foot-soldiers for this purpose. In accordance with this command the bailiff of the Manor Court was directed to pick by election some of the lord's tenants to go in the King's army to Scotland, and at a manor Court held on Friday after the feast of All Saints', he called upon those elected to attend the muster.

Robert Hood was one of those elected to serve, but he did not attend the muster, and was fined for not complying with the order; probably he did not want so soon after his marriage to leave his young bride. At the same Court other tenants of the lord were fined for not attending the muster at the Moot Hall, or for not obeying the order to drive the lord's carts in the army for Scotland.

There was another muster in 1317; the Manor Court Rolls only give the names of those tenants who did not respond to the summons and so were fined, and among these the name of Robert Hood does not appear. We may therefore conclude that he was one of those who attended the muster.

John, the eighth and last Earl Warenne, was born on June 30, 1286, and at the age of nineteen years contracted a marriage with Joan, the daughter of Henry, Count de Bar, the bride being just half the age of her bridegroom; the wedding took place on May 25, 1306, but Joan soon lost the affection of her husband and there were quarrels between the young couple; the king intervened and sent his yeoman, William Anne, ancestor of the Anne's of Burghwallis, Constable of Tickhill Castle, to Conisborough where Joan was staying, and to escort her to the Tower of London, where she remained until July, 1314, when a safe conduct overseas was granted her. On the Monday after Ascension day, 1317, Richard de St. Martin, on behalf of Earl Warenne, carried off, she being probably a consenting party, Alice de Lascy, wife of the Earl of Lancaster from her husband's seat at Canford in Dorsetshire to Earl Warenne's castle at Reigate; Edward the Second, as was alleged, assenting thereto.¹

The Earl of Lancaster divorced his wife, and in a spirit of revenge laid siege to Warenne's castle of Sandal, which he committed to the flames. As an act of reparation, and by a licence from the

¹ *Vita Edwardi Secundi* 228; *Flores Historiarum*, III, 178-179; Rymer's *Fœdera*, II, pt. 1, 478-479.

King, Earl Warenne made a grant of the manor of Wakefield to the Earl of Lancaster for his life.

Thus Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, lord of the manor of Pontefract, became also lord of the manor of Wakefield, and of Sandal castle, and to him the tenants of the manor owed their allegiance.

Once again there was a call to arms, but this time it was by the Earl of Lancaster, who, distressed by the King's misgovernment of the kingdom and his choice of such unworthy favourites as Piers Gaveston and the Despensers, broke into open rebellion and called for a levy of the tenants of his manors of Pontefract and Wakefield in order to raise two thousand footmen, of whom one thousand were to be provided with aketons (padded tunics), basinets (helmets in the form of basins), and gloves of iron; the other thousand to be archers completely armed with bows and arrows.

Robert Hood was one of those who obeyed the summons and took up military service as an archer under the new lord, for his name does not appear among those tenants of the manor who were fined for not attending the muster roll when called upon to do so by Simon de Balderston, Steward of the manor, to whom several letters, still in existence, were addressed by the Earl of Lancaster.

Lancaster, having gathered a great host at his castle of Pontefract, marched to Boroughbridge on Tuesday, March 16, 1322, and was there met by the king's forces; in the battle that ensued the Earl with the chief of his supporters was taken prisoner and conveyed to his own castle at Pontefract, there to be judged by his personal enemies, among whom was Earl Warenne, the king himself presiding over the tribunal. Lancaster was condemned to be drawn for his treason, hanged for his robberies, and beheaded for his flight. In consideration of his kinship to royalty the sentence was commuted to decapitation.¹

Lancaster's numerous possessions were forfeited to the king. When the *inquisition post mortem*² was taken it was found that he died possessed, among other great estates, of the manor of Wakefield, its lands and rents, two watermills, two fairs, and the toll of the markets of the town, all of which had come into the king's hands on account of the Earl's rebellion.³

The Yorkshire estates were regranted to the Earl of Warenne by the king on May 17, 1328, with the stipulation that on the Earl's death they were to revert to the king.⁴

The name of "Contrariant" was given to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and to those who took part with him against Edward the Second, because, on account of their great power, it was not expedient to call them rebels or traitors. Those Contrariants who escaped death or capture at Boroughbridge were outlawed. Many

¹ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, 270-271; *Flores Historiarum*, III, 205-207; *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon*, 77. A most graphic account of the capture and death of the Earl is given in *Brut*, 219-224.

² *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, VII, 56.

³ *Minister's Accounts*, General Series, 1145-b.

⁴ *Calendar of Ancient Deeds*, A, 351.

of the rank and file fled beyond the seas, as the Book of the Abbey of Meaux tells us.¹ Some secreted themselves in woods and fastnesses with which they were well acquainted, and turned their skill in archery against harmless passengers or the still more unprotected herds of deer. These were the men who haunted the forests of Barnsdale and Sherwood defying the king's authority.

On May 18, 1322, a mandate was given to Thomas de Eyvill, keeper of the Castle of Pontefract, to enquire what lands and possessions of Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, and other rebels in the county of York, were now in the king's hands as forfeitures, with the rents and profits thereof, and to certify the king this side of the quinzaine of Midsummer (July 8).²

Simon de Balderston, the Steward of the Manor of Wakefield, and Henry de Athelardestre were appointed to audit the accounts of the receivers of the lands and goods of all the Contrariants north of the Trent, which fell into the king's hands by forfeiture.³ Thomas de Eyvill as custodian of the lands and goods of all the Contrariants in Yorkshire, made a very full report, shewing the rents he had received from these possessions between March 24 and Michaelmas day, 1322, known as the 'Contrariants Roll,' preserved in the Wakefield Manor office, in which is given the name or position of the properties with the rents received from the same, sometimes, but not always, with the name of the former owner, then a Contrariant.⁴

Among these properties is one with "a rent of 23d. for a dwelling-house of five chambers of new construction on Bichill, Wakefield."

It seems almost certain that this building of new construction was the dwelling house that Robert and Matilda Hood erected on the 30 by 16 feet piece of land which they obtained from the lord of the manor on January 25, 1316, only six years previously, which is again mentioned in the Manor Court Rolls in 1357 and 1358 as "a tenement on Bichill formerly in the tenure of Robert Hood."

This Contrariant Roll confirms the belief that Robert Hood was one of the Contrariants who took part in the battle of Boroughbridge, and was therefore outlawed, and that this dwelling-house of five chambers of new construction on Bichill was forfeited to the king in consequence.

From this time there is no further record of Robert Hood in the Wakefield Manor Court Rolls until the year 1335, when he was summoned to appear before the Court for "resisting the lord of the manor."

Barnsdale was an extensive tract of country in the Wapentakes of Osgoldcross, Staincross, and Strafford, in the West Riding

¹ *Chronica Monast. de Melsa*, Rolls Series II.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 15 Ed. II, Vol. IV, 161.

³ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁴ Partic'le' comp'i Thome Deyvill custod : t'rar : Contrariant : in Com : Ebor : a xxiiij die Martii Anno xvo. usq : festu : sci Mich'is p'x seq'ns. Balliva lib'e Cur : de Wakefeld.

of Yorkshire, some six miles from north to south, the river Went forming its northern boundary, and Robin Hood's Well near Skelbrook, mentioned in *Evelyn's Diary*, almost at its southern end; from east to west the forest extended about five miles, from Askern on the east to Badsworth on the west. The Great North Road between Doncaster and Ferrybridge, styled *Watling Street* in *The Lytell Geste*, one of the oldest highways in England, a road laid down by Antoninus Pius in 140 A.D., traverses it from south to north.

Barnsdale was in the time of the Edwards a very dangerous forest to travel through. In 1307 the Bishops of St. Andrew's and of Glasgow with the abbot of Scone were conveyed at the King's charge from Scotland to Winchester. On this journey they had a guard sometimes of eight archers, sometimes of twelve; but when they left Pontefract the guard was increased to the number of twenty archers until they reached Tickhill; the reason given for this increase of guards in the accounts of payments is "on account of Barnsdale." From Daventry to Winchester they proceeded without any archers in attendance. This shows that there was more than common danger in passing through Barnsdale.¹

In 1320, when the sum of 2050 marks was to be transmitted from London to York there was a guard of eleven horsemen and twelve archers.

In 1339 so small a sum as £200 was sent from York to Newcastle carried in panniers slung on horseback, with two men at arms and four archers to guard it.²

The anecdote related by Fordun exhibits Robin Hood installed in Barnsdale, which all the older traditions concur in representing as having been to the last his favourite retreat, and the principal centre of his movements.³

Leland in the time of Henry the Eighth thus mentions Barnsdale, "Along on the lift hond a iij miles of betwixt Milburne and Feribrigge I saw the woodi and famose forest of Barnesdale, wher they say that Robyn Hudde lyvid like an outlaw."⁴

The Sloane manuscript, written about the close of the sixteenth century, gives a short life of Robin Hood, saying that "he joined to himself many stout fellows of like disposicioun, amongst whome one called Little John was principal, or next to him. They haunted about Barnsdale forrest, Plumpton parke, and such other places. In shooting they excelled all the men of the land, though, as occasion required, they had also other weapons."⁵

¹ Hunter, Joseph. *The Ballad Hero, Robin Hood*, 14.

² *Ibid.*, 22.

³ *Scotichronicon*, II, 104.

⁴ Leland's Itinerary, ed. 1769, vol. V, 101.

⁵ The Sloane MS., Brit. Mus., No. 715, occurs as a small quarto volume of miscellaneous tracts, consisting of 189 leaves. The life of Robin Hood commences on folio 157, and occupies five and a half pages, written in a close small hand, with many abbreviations, not easily to be deciphered. It was printed by W. J. Thoms, F.S.A. in his *Early Prose Romances*, 1828. The actual date of this manuscript is unknown, but it is not earlier than the close of the sixteenth century.

Robin Hood's manner of recruiting his band was singular, for according to the Sloane manuscript "wherever he heard of any that were of unusual strength and hardynes, he would disgyse him selfe, and rather than fayle go lyke a beggar, to become acqueynted with them; and after he had tryed them with fighting, never give them over tyl he had used means to drawe them to lyve after his fashion."

In these encounters Robin Hood often came off second best, but this may have been merely a ruse to appear to have been beaten after a hard struggle, and so to attach the competitor to his cause.

After such manner he procured George a Green, as the ballad says :

In Wakefield there lives a jolly pinder,
 In Wakefield all on a green,
 There is neither knight nor squire, said the pinder,
 Nor baron that is so bold,
 Dare make a trespass to the town of Wakefield,
 But his pledge goes to the pinfold.
 All this beheard three active yeomen,
 'Twas Robin Hood, Scarlet, and John ;

The Pinder and Robin fought a long summer's day, until their swords were broken, when Robin cried "Hold thy hand, hold thy hand, wilt thou forsake thy pinder's craft, and go to the greenwood with me?"

Another of Robin Hood's band was the Curtal Friar, who had kept Fountain's Dale seven long yeeres and more, who threw Robin into the brook, saying,

Chuse thee, chuse thee, fine fellow,
 Whether thou wilt sink or swim.

and who was immortalized by Sir Walter Scott in *Ivanhoe* as Friar Tuck, the fattest friar that ever put on a friar's frock, in which he fought and used no other weapon than a good stout cudgel.

The friar is mentioned by John Skelton, Poet Laureate, in his "goodly interlude of *Magnifence*," written about the year 1500, with an evident allusion to some game or practice now totally forgotten :

Another bade shave halfe my berde,
 And boys to the pylery gan me plucke,
 And wolde have made me freer Tuck,
 To preche oute of the pylery hole.

For in the play of *The Downfall of Robert, earle of Hunting-ton*, Friar Tuck says: "As I am true friar, I had rather be thy clarke than serve the prior."

This Friar Tuck could not have been a monk of Fountain's Abbey, as has been so often represented, for that abbey was a Cistercian one and had no friars. He was, doubtless, a friar of the Franciscan order, for they, in accordance with the injunctions of

their founder, wore short habits and were nicknamed *Curtailed Friars*,¹ or it may have been that their habits were *tucked* or folded round the waist by a cord or girdle.

Chaucer in the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales* says of the Reeve : "Tucked he was as is a friar aboute."

He is described as of Fountain-dale, which is in Nottinghamshire, where is Friar Tuck's well and other memorials of him. He may possibly have been a renegade friar from the Franciscan House of Grey Friars in Broadmarsh, not far from the Castle in Nottingham, founded in 1250.

Robin put on his harness good,
And to Fountain-dale went he ;
There was he ware of the Curtal friar
Walking by the waterside.

"Tuck the merry friar, who many a sermon made
In praise of Robin Hood, his outlaws, and their trade."

as Drayton wrote.

The friar is thus described in one ballad :

The chaplain is a fat curtal friar, the merriest alive !
His quarter staff, whack ! greets a crown with a crack !
And 'stead of rough sackcloth, his penance is *Sack* !²

"By the bare scalp of Robin Hood's fat friar" is an oath put into the mouth of one of the outlaws in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act iv, scene 1.

Among others of the company was William Scathelock, or Scarlet, for whom Robin rescued a maid to whom Scathelock was affianced, but taken by her friends and given to an old but wealthy knight, from whom Robin took the bride on the wedding-day and caused the priest to marry her to Scathelock.

Scarlet is alluded to by Shakespeare in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I, scene i, when Falstaff exclaims, "What say you Scarlet and John." Also in the second part of *King Henry IV*, Act V, scene iii, when Master Silence, "that merry heart, that man of mettle" sings in the sweet of night a line taken from "The Jolly Pinder of Wakefield" "of Robin Hood, Scarlet and John."

Included in the band were William of Goldsborough, mentioned in Grafton's Chronicle, whose name was placed upon Robin Hood's gravestone; and Gilbert of the White hand, thrice mentioned in *The Lytell Geste*, as also by Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld :

Thair saw I Maitland upon auld Beird Gray,
Robene Hude and Gilbert with the qwhite hand.³

Another was Much the miller of Wakefield's son, who, in answer to King Edward's question as to his identity, said "Much is my father, and he is one of your tenants in the King' mill at

¹ Staveley, Thomas, *The Romish Horseleach*, chap. xxv.

² *Merrie England in the Olden Time*. Geo. Daniel, 1842.

³ *The Palice of Honour* printed at Edinburgh, 1570; but written before 1518.

Wakefield all on a green." Whereupon the King replied "Much be thou ever mester of that mill, I give it thee for thine inheritance."

But the most famous of the band, next to Robin Hood, was Little John, who on their first encounter gave Robin

Such a blow, that it laid him full low,
And tumbled him into the brook.

The name of Little appears in the Wakefield Manor Court Rolls, for at a Court held at Wakefield on September 21, 1275, Robert Little of Crigglestone paid six and eight pence to the lord of the manor to have an inquisition respecting a bovate of land unjustly withheld from him, as he alleged.

Whether John Little was any connection of this Robert Little of Crigglestone we have no information.

When Robin Hood and his merry men were assembled in Barnsdale Little John was ordered to read out the articles of the company, which ran as follows :

Firstly No man must presume to call our master
By name of earl, lord, baron, knight or squire ;
But simply by the name of Robin Hood.
He no such titles doth desire.
But Robin Hood, plain Robin Hood,
That honest yeoman, stout and good.

Robin. Nay, no more honour, I pray thee, Little John ;
Henceforth instead of Robert, I will be Robin Hood.
My wife Matilda shall be called Maid Marian.

Secondly 'Tis agreed, if thereto she agree,
That fair Matilda henceforth change her name,
And while it is the chance of Robin Hood
To live in Barnsdale, a poor outlaw's life,
She by Maid Marian's name be only called.

Matilda I am contented, read on, Little John ;
Henceforth, let me be called Maid Marian.

Thirdly No yeoman following Robin Hood
In Sherwood, shall use widow, wife, or maid,
But by true labour; lustful thoughts expel.

Fourthly You never shall the poor man wrong,
Nor spare a priest, a usurer, or a clerk.

Lastly You shall with all your power defend
Maids, widows, orphans and distressed men.

The Foresters All these we vow to keep, as we are men.

In all the older ballads, without exception, Robin Hood preserves the yeoman's character; it is only some of the later songsters and playwrights who have been pleased to dignify him, as they thought, by turning him into a disinherited Earl of Huntingdon.

In *The History of George a Green, the Pinder of Wakefield*, George craves pardon of Matilda, otherwise called Maid Marian, after his fight with Robin Hood in what are now known as the Pinderfields in Wakefield.

No man ever betrayed Robin Hood, but many assisted him to escape from danger. A poor woman once said to him, "I would rather die than not do my utmost to save thee; for who has fed and clothed me and my children but thou and Little John."

Robin Hood's character was stated in one ballad thus :

Robin Hood so gentle was,
And bore so brave a minde,
If any in distresse did passe,
To them he was most kinde.

That he would give and lend to them,
To helpe them in their neede ;
This made all poore men pray for him,
And wish he well might speede.

The wrongs of many a virgin he graciously relieved,
Nor from her husband no married woman ever won,
But to his mistress dear, his loved Marian,
Was ever constant known.

The widow and the fatherlesse,
He would send means unto;
And those whom famine did oppresse
Found him a friendly help.

Nor would he do a woman wrong,
But see her safe conveid ;
He would protect with power strong
All those who craved his ayde.

Nor would he injure husbandman,
That toyl'd at cart and plough ;
For well he knew, weren't for them
To live no man knew how.

He wished well unto the king,
And prayed still for his health,
And never practised anything
Against the common wealth.¹

* * * * *

From wealthy abbot's chests
And Church's abundant store,
What oftentimes he took.
He shared among the poor.²

¹ *A True Tale of Robin Hood*. Martin Parker, 1631.

² *Robert Brunne's Chronicle*, II, 667; edition Hearne.

A good custom had Robin Hood,
 Every day ere he would dine
 Three masses would he hear :
 The one in the worship of the Father,
 The other to the Holy Ghost,
 The third was of our dear Lady,
 For he loved her most of all,
 For her sake would he no company harm
 That any woman was in.

To Chaucer we are indebted, in that glorious gallery of national and professional character, which precedes his *Canterbury Tales*,¹ for a fine, exact and lusty sketch of a yeoman of his day, which well applies to Robin Hood :

And he was clad in coat and hood of green,
 A sheaf of peacock arrows bright and keen
 Under his belt he bare full thriftily.
 Well could he dress his takel² yeomanly,
 His arrows drooped not with feathers low,
 And in his hand he bare a mighty bow.
 Upon his arm he had a gay bracer,³
 And by his side a sword and buckler,
 And on that other side a gay dagger,
 Harnessed well, and sharp as point of spear ;
 A Christopher⁴ upon his breast of silver sheen ;
 An horn he bear, his bauldric⁵ was of green.
 A forester was he truly as I guess.

In 1557, Queen Elizabeth, before her accession to the throne, went on one occasion from Hatfield to Enfield Chase, escorted by twelve ladies, and was there met by fifty archers, each of whom presented her with a silver-headed arrow winged with peacock feathers.

Spenser in the *Faerie Queen*, VI, ij, 5, describes the forester's dress :

"All in a woodman's jacket he was clad
 Of Lincoln grene, belayed with silver lace,
 And on his head an hood with aglets spread,
 And on his side his hunter's horn he hanging had."

The marginal note says : "Lincolne anciently dyed the best green in England."

The Lytell Geste is divided into eight "Fyttes" or Cantos, and commences thus :

¹ *Canterbury Tales*. General Prologue, I, iii.

² Takel: tackle, armour, equipment.

³ Bracer: a wrist guard worn over the sleeve on the left arm as a protection against the friction of the bowstring.

⁴ Christopher: a brooch carrying the figure of St. Christopher, worn by foresters.

⁵ Bauldric: the strap or belt from which the horn was suspended.

Lithe¹ and lysten, gentylmen,
 That be of frebore blode ;
 I shall you tell of a good yeman,
 His name was Robyn Hode.

Robyn was a proude outlawe,
 Whyles he walked on grounde,
 So curteyse an outlawe as he was one
 Was never none y founde.

Robyn stode in Bernysdale,
 And lened hym to a tree,
 And by hym stode Little Johan,
 A good yeman was he;

And also dyde good Scathelock,
 And Much the miller's sone ;
 There was no ynche of his body
 But it was worth a grome.²

Take thy good bowe in thy hande, said Robyn,
 Let Moche wende with the,
 And so shall Wyllyam Scathelocke,
 And no man abyde with me.

And walke up to the Sayles,
 And so to Watlynge strete,
 And wayte after some unketh³ gest,
 Up chaunce ye mowe them mete.

The writer of this ballad must have had a very intimate acquaintance with the country of which he was writing, and must, I think, have been a Yorkshireman, one who lived between Wakefield and Doncaster, for none but such a person could have introduced the name of a place so obscure as *Sayles*, a very small tenancy of the Honour of Pontefract, being not more than the tenth of a knight's fee. It occurs as a place in Barnsdale in the account of the aid for knighting the Black Prince in 1347, and was then in the hands of Richard, son of Adam de Sayles, who paid four shillings. In Bernard's Survey of the Honour of Pontefract, 1577, Thomas de Brayton had held a tenement in Sayles as one-tenth of a knights' fee, and at the date of that Survey it was in the hands of William son of Richard Fletcher of Campsall.⁴ This small estate was very near Robin Hood's Well, and on the east side of the Watling Street.

Then follows the ballad story of the Sorrowful Knight and the Abbot of St. Mary's, York.

Now I come to the year 1323, the year following the fateful battle of Boroughbridge, during which Robin Hood and his fellows had taken up their abode in Barnsdale, living on the deer and other game, despoiling rich abbots and others as they travelled along the Great North road, as it passed through that forest.

¹ Lithe: Listen, give ear to.

² Grome: a gramme, equal to 15·432 Troy grains.

³ Unketh: unknown.

⁴ Hunter, *op. cit.*, 15, 16.

The reign of Edward the Second as the period in which Robin Hood became an outlaw is a departure from the commonly received belief which represents him as of the time of Henry the Second or Richard the First. The early part of the fourteenth century, rather than the latter half of the twelfth, as the time when the outlaw flourished is supported by evidence that can be gathered from historical contemporary documents, and also by the statements in the last three fyttes of the *Lytell Geste*.

In the last two lines of the sixth fytte Robin says :

Tyll that I have gete us grace,
Of Edwarde our comly Kynge.

The seventh and eighth fyttes tell of the meeting of the King and Robin Hood, in which "Edward our comly king" is repeatedly mentioned. This mention of Edward our king fixes the period in which the outlaw roamed the greenwood.

It is a matter of historical certainty that Edward the First never was in Lancashire after he became king. Edward the Third was not in Lancashire in the early years of his reign, and probably never in that county; but we know that Edward the Second made a progress to the north in the year 1323.¹

This unfortunate monarch cared little for men of birth or intellect, but preferred the company of singers and actors; he did not consider it derogatory to his position to play at chuckfarthing (pitch and toss) with his servants. Among the Household Accounts are such entries as these:—"To the king for Gaillard and Ernaudyn and others who played quoits in his bedchamber, 6 pence." "To the king on Christmas Eve for Burges de Tyl, Gyles de Spain and Garsi de Pount who played dice with him, 20 shillings."

"To Isabelle del Holde and Alice Conand, ladies of the Queen, who sang Noel and Wassail on Christmas Eve, 100 shillings."

Now the mistress of John, the last Earl Warenne, was Isabelle de Holande, the daughter of Robert de Holande, a Lancashire knight, to whom the Earl styling her as "my companion," bequeathed a gold ring set with a ruby, other jewellery and plate, with half his estate in cows, mares and other beasts, also the residue of all his goods and chattels.

Can it be that Isabelle de Holde, maid of honour to Queen Isabel, the wife of Edward the Second, was one and the same person as Isabelle de Holande, the mistress of John, Earl Warenne?

When Edward the Second made a progress to the North in the year 1323 he left Westminster on April the 18th, and travelled *via* Langley, Newnham and Oakham, arriving at York on May 1; he stayed at the Archbishop's palace at Bishopthorpe until July, making frequent excursions into the East Riding, to Cowick, Kingston-on-Hull and Faxfleet, and hunted in the forest of Galtres. He was at Rothwell from May 16 to 21, and spent three days in the royal parks—Haveragh park, three and a half miles west of

¹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, Ed. II; Close Rolls, Ed. II; Rymer's Foedera.

Harrogate, and Plumpton park, two miles south of Knaresborough, of which park the Plumpton's were the wardens,¹ Sir Robert Plumpton, who died in 1326, being then warden.

In one ballad, *The Noble Fisherman*, Robin Hood says :

I wish I were in Plumpton parke,
In chasing of the fallow deere.

Here begin a series of coincidences between certain historical events and certain incidents as portrayed in the *Lytell Geste*, for it was in Plumpton park that Robin Hood's disregard of the game laws was forcibly brought to the king's notice.

When he came to Plomton parke,
He faylyd many of his dere.
There our kynge was wont to se
Herdes many one,
He coud unneth fynde one dere,
That bare ony good horne.
The kynge was wonder wroth with all,
And swore by the trynyte,
I wolde I had Robyn Hode,
With eyen I myght hym se.

Some writers have placed Plumpton park in Cumberland, but Edward the Second never journeyed into that county. He spent the months of June and July mostly at Bishopthorpe, and thence journeyed north. Pickering was reached on August 8; there he stayed until the 22nd taking seisin of the late Earl of Lancaster's forfeited manors with all his other possessions. At Pickering he found that the deer in his forests there, which had come into his hands through the confiscation of the estates of that earl, were rapidly diminishing; among the offenders being Sir John de Fauconberg and Sir Robert Caponn, who had taken eight greyhounds with bows and arrows on June 29, and took away a hart and a hind, and carried away the venison to Skelton castle. At Martinmas, Sir Robert Caponn with nine other men carried off three deer. The king ordered the sheriff to arrest these transgressors and to keep them in Pickering castle until further orders.²

The king then proceeded to Whorlton castle on the Cleveland Hills, a rectangular building, the walls of which, up to a height of twenty feet, still remain. It was the seat of the Meynell's, where the red deer park was in existence as late as 1826.³

There is the following entry in Edward's Household Accounts, while he was staying at Whorlton castle :—

“Alianore le Rede and Alice de Whorlton, chanting of songs of Simon de Montfort before the king, and other songs, paid 3 shillings.”

¹ Cal Pat. Rolls, 17 Ed. II.

² Victoria County History of Yorkshire, I, 513.

³ Recover. R. Trin. T. Geo. IV, m. 292.

The king spent ten days in journeying between Richmond, Jervaulx Abbey and Barnard Castle, thence to Skipton-in-Craven, where he remained three days; after crossing the Pennines he was on October 4 at Ightenhill Park, Clitheroe, and reached Liverpool on October 23, he thence proceeded by way of the Abbey Vale Royal on November 3, where he stayed three days; thinking of his deer and the outlaws :

I woll be at Notyngham, sayd the kynge
 Within this fourtynyght
 And take I wyll Robyn Hode.

The king is gone to merry Sherwood :
 When he went away, to me he did say,
 He would go seek Robin Hood.

The king arrived at Nottingham on November 9, and was there certified that a great diminution had taken place in the number of the deer in the royal forest of Sherwood, due largely to Robin Hood and his band.

In an early ballad under the title of *The Kyng and the Hermit*, who seems to be Friar Tuck, and perhaps the Curtal Friar of the Robin Hood ballads, occurs the following, laid in the forest of Sherwood :

It befelle be god kyng Edward's days
 For soth the romans seys
 Harkyng, I will you telle
 The king to Scherwod gan wend.

* * * * *

For to solas hym that stond
 The grete herte for to hunte
 In frythys and in felle.¹

The seventh fytt of *The Lytell Geste* commences thus :

The kynge came to Notynghame,
 With knyghtes in grete araye,
 For to take that gentyll knyght (Sir Rychard of the Le.)
 And Robyn Hode, yf he may.

He asked men of that countre,
 After Robyn Hode.
 But coude he not here of Robyn Hode,
 In what countre that he were.

But alway went good Robyn
 By halke and eke by hyll,
 And alway slewe the kynges dere,
 And welt them at his wyll.

¹ Printed in *The British Bibliographer*, vol. IV.

A forester then proffered his advice to the king :

Take fyve of the best knyghtes
 That be in your lede,
 And walke downe by yon abbay,
 And gete you monkes wede.
 And I wyll be your ledes man
 And ere ye come to Notyngham,
 That ye shall mete with good Robyn,
 Myn hede then dare I lay.

This proposal of the forester's met with the king's approval, and he took five of his knights habited like monks, he himself attired as their abbot.

And then they came to grene wode,
 A myle under the lynde ;
 There they met with good Robyn,
 Stondynge by the waye.

The pretended abbot then handed Robin Hood a letter sealed with a great red seal, and said :

Well the greteth Edwarde our Kynge,
 And sent to the his seale,
 And byddeth the com to Notyngham
 Both to mete and mele.

Robin took the royal summons, and bowing to the abbot, said :

I love no man in all the worlde
 So well as I do my kynge,
 Welcome is my lorde's seale;
 And, monke, for thy tydynges.
 Syr abbot, for thy tydynges,
 To-day thou shalt dyne with me ;
 And many a dere there was slayne,
 Upon the kyng's owne lande.
 Anone before our kynge was set
 The fatte venyson,
 The good whyte brede, the good red wyne,
 And therto the fyne ale browne.
 Make thee good chere, sayd Robyn,
 Now shalte thou se what lyfe we lede,
 Than thou may enforme our kynge
 Whan ye togyder be.
 Robyn toke a full grete horne,
 And loude he gan blowe,
 Seven score of wyght yonge men
 Came redy on a rowe.

All they kneeled upon theyr kne.
 The kynge sayd to hymself,
 His men are more at his byddyng
 Than my men be at myn.

An archery match then took place, in the course of which the real rank of the pretended abbot was discovered :

Robyn behelde our comly kynge,
 Wystly in the face,
 My lorde the Kynge of Englonde,
 Now I knowe you well.
 Mercy, then Robyn, sayd to our kynge,
 Of thy goodnesse and thy grace,
 I aske mercy, my lorde the kynge,
 And for my men I crave.

Yes, for God, then sayd our kynge,
 Thy petition I graunt the,
 With that thou leve the grene wode,
 And all thy company.

And come home, syr, to my courte,
 And there dwell with me.
 I make myn avowe to God, sayd Robyn,
 And ryght so shall it be.

I wyll come to your courte,
 Your servyse for to se,
 And brynge with me of my men
 Seven score and thre.

But lyke me not your servyse,
 I come agayne full soone,
 And shote at the doune dere,
 As I am wonte to done.

The king remained at Nottingham until the 24th of November and then returned to London.

Robin Hood had lived as an outlaw in the forests from March, 1322 to November, 1323, a period of about twenty months; he then accompanied the king to London.

Now it is a singular coincidence that in the records of the Household expenses of Edward the Second, preserved in the Public Record Office,¹ are the accounts of payments of threepence a day (equal to ten shillings now) to a number of men, usually about thirty, described as "grooms of the Chamber."

One account is from July 8, 1323 to April 15, 1324; in this wage sheet the payments are entered without specifying the names of the men employed, but in the accounts commencing on April 16, 1324 the names of the grooms, the number of days for which payment to each is given, also the daily rate of pay, always threepence, followed by a statement of deductions for any man's days of absence. Among these names is that of Robyn Hood.

¹ P.R.O., E. 101/380/4.

The entries in Norman-French in the *Jornal de la Chambre* commence in April 1324, and run thus :

1324, 25 April. A Robyn Hod (and twenty-eight others named) por les gages de ces xxix portours del xxiii jour de Marz tanq. al xxi jour Davril, le derrein jour acomptez per xxviii jours, chescun de eux prenant iijd. le jour—xl. iijs.

The following entries (translations) are similar to the above.

17 May, 1324. To Robert Hod (and thirty-one other porters) for wages from the 22nd of April to the 12th day of May at 3d. a day, twenty-one days, less five days pay when Robert Hod was absent.

10 June, 1324. To Robyn Hod twenty-seven days wage, less one day's absence.

30 June, 1324. Robyn Hod, no wages.

22 July, 1324. Under this date the reason for no wages paid to Robert Hood is thus given :

To Robert Hood and six other porters being with the king at Fulham by his command, from the 9th day of June, arrears of wages at 3d. a day for twenty-one days with their pay to the 22nd of July.

21 August, 1324. To Robyn Hod, twenty-eight days wages less eight days pay for non-attendance.

6 October, 1324. To Robyn Hod, full pay.

21 October, 1324. To Robert Hod, no pay, absent altogether.

27 November, 1324. To Robyn Hod, thirty-five days wages, less seven days pay at 3d. a day.

After this entry the name of Robyn Hood no longer appears in the wage sheet of the *Jornal de la Chambre*.

One day, according to *The Lytell Geste*, Robin Hood saw some young men practising archery; this stirred up vivid memories of his old forest life:

Sometyme I was an archere good,
A styffe and eke a stronge,
I was commytted the best archere,
That was in mery Englonde.

Alas ! then sayd good Robyn,
Alas ! and well a woo,
Yf I dwele lenger with the kynge,
Sorowe wyll me sloo.

Robin Hood then went to the King and, under the pretence of a pilgrimage, requested permission to leave the Court and travel to Barnsdale.

I made a chapell in Bernysdale,
That semely is to se,
It is of Mary Magdalene,
And thereto wolde I be.

It has been objected that the entry on 22 Nov., 1324, implies that Robin Hood was an old man, unable to work, and that he was pensioned off with 5's.

To meet this objection Mr Flower of the P. R. O. had a search made for me in the exacted Household accounts of Edward II; but no mention of Robin Hood occurs before 1324, and none after Nov. of that year; so as to doubt of his being in the King's service for a lengthy period is disposed of.

I myght never in this seven nyght,
 No tyme to slepe ne wynke,
 Nother all these seven dayes,
 Nother ete ne drynke.

Me longeth sore to Bernysdale,
 I may not be therfro,
 Barefote and wolwarde¹ I have hyght²
 Thyder for to go.

Yf it be so, then sayd our kynge,
 Yt may no better be;
 Seven nyght I gyve the leve,
 No lengre, to dwell fro me.

Now the only Chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene in Barnsdale is the Norman cruciform church of Campsall, erected in the first century after the Conquest by the Laci's, lords of Pontefract, in the windows of which church were the arms of Laci, Warrene and Despenser. The rector of that church in 1324 being Michael de Melton, presented by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster in 1313.

Richard Holmes in *Pontefract, its Name, its Lords, and its Castle*, thinks that there are good grounds for attributing the Chapel of All Saints, Skelbrook to Robin Hood; but the records of the see of York afford no information respecting the time when this chapel was first founded; but that it was the work of the Butlers, the early lords of Skelbrook, is not to be disputed; for we find that it was certainly existing while still they were living there in the time of Edward the Second. On June 4, 1338, a chantry in the chapel of St. John the Evangelist on the north side of the chapel of Skelbrook was ordained by Agnes le Boteler, wife of Edmund le Boteler, the presentation to be by the Prior and Convent of Monk Bretton. Over the west door of the chapel are the arms of that priory, Three covered cups.³

Right courteously Robin Hood took his leave of the king, and the following entry is recorded in the Household accounts—

22 November, 1324. Robyn Hod jadys un des portours, por ceo qil ne poait plus travailler, de doun par comaundement, vs.

From these Household expenses extracts we gather that Robin Hood was in the King's service from December, 1323 to November, 1324.

Robin Hood then returned to Barnsdale.

It is ferre gone, sayd Robyn,
 That I was last here,
 Me lyste a lytell for to shote,
 At the doune dere.

¹ Wolwarde, to wear wool next to the skin as a penance. "I have no shirt; I go woolward for penance." Shakespeare, *Love's Labour Lost*, v. 2, 717.

² Hyght, vowed.

³ Hunter, J., *South Yorkshire II*, 459.

Robyn slewe a full grete harte,
 His horne than gan he blow
 That all the outlawes of that forest,
 That horne coud they knowe.

Seven score of wight yonge men,
 Came redy on a rowe ;
 Welcome, they sayd, our mayster,
 Under this grene wod tre.

At a Manor Court held at Wakefield on August 10, 1335, Robert Hode, Thomas Hughes and Thomas, son of Ralph Bate, the latter two probably members of Robin's band, were fined 12 pence each "for resisting the lord." The rolls give us no information as to what the act of resistance was, or whether the offenders appeared in person at the Court.

The Lytell Geste tells us that after his return from the Court ;

Robyn dwelled in grene wode,
 Twenty yere and two
 For all drede of Edwarde our Kynge
 Agayne wolde he not goo.

If these two and twenty years are reliable, they give us the approximate time that Robin Hood spent in the greenwood after leaving the King's service, which would bring the narrative to the year 1346, and the ballad *Robin Hood and the Valiant Knight* says:

When Robin Hood and his merry men all,
 Had reigned many years ;
 The King was then told, that they had been bold
 To his bishops and noble peers.

Thus having for a long series of years maintained a sort of independent sovereignty, and set kings, sheriffs and magistrates at defiance,¹ "which beyng certefyed to the king, and he beyng greatly offended therewith, caused his proclamation to be made that whosoever would apprehend Robin Hood and bring him quicke or dead, the king would give him a great summe of money, as by the Records in the Exchequer is to be seene; but of this promise no man enjoyed any benefit."²

No record of this proclamation can be found in the *Close Roll Calendar*, but might possibly be found among the Accounts Various (Exchequer, K.R.). [At present, 1943, these are 'evacuated' from the P.R.O.].

The King then called a council of state to consider what should be done, and it was resolved that a worthy knight, Sir William by name, should go down to Sherwood to capture Robin Hood and disperse his band; and for this purpose take a hundred brave bowmen.

¹ Harleian MS., Brit. Mus., No. 1233. In the opinion of Humphrey Warley, an assistant in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, who catalogued the Harleian MS. in 1708, this MS. is not to be relied on.

² Grafton, R., *Chronicles of England*, 1588; ed. 1809.



The Gatehouse, Kirklees Priory.

On Midsummer day they marched away,
 To conquer that brave outlaw
 The archers on both sides bent their bows,
 And clouds of arrows flew.
 The very first flight, that honoured knight,
 Did there bid the world adieu.
 Yet nevertheless the fight went on,
 From morning till almost noon.

This fight took place on the last day of June, the knight's men then returned to London, Robin Hood and his men to the greenwood.

The effects of age now began to tell upon Robin Hood, and one day, as he was walking in the forest with Little John, he said :

I am not able to shoot one shot more,
 My arrows they will not flee.
 But I have a cousin who lives not afar,
 Please God, she will bleed me.

According to the Sloane MS., Robin Hood became "distempered with could and age, he had great payne in his lymes, his bloud being corrupted; therefore to be eased of his payne, by letting blud, he repayred to the prioress of Kyrkesley, which some say was his cousin, a woman very skylful in physique and surgery; who perceyving him to be Robyn Hood, and waying howe fel an enemy he was to religious persons, toke reveng of him for her owne howse, and al others, by letting him bleed to death; and she buryed him under a greate stone, by the hy waye's syde. It is also sayd, that one Sir Roger of Doncastre, bearing grudge to Robyn for some injury, incyted the prioress, with whom he was very familiar, in such manner to dispatch him, and then all his company was soone dispersed."

The Grafton *Chronicle* says: "The sayd Robert Hood, beyng troubled with sicknesse, came to a certain nonry in Yorkshire called Bircklies [Kirklees], where desiryng to be let blood, he was betrayed and bled to death."

The Harleian Manuscript says: "At which time it happened he fell sick at a nunnery in Yorkshire called Kirkleys, and desiring there to be let blood, he was betrayed and made bleed to death."

Alice de Scriven was prioress of Kirklees, being confirmed as such in 1307, and remained in office until 1328, after which date there is no record of a prioress until Margaret de Savile in 1359; it is not certainly known when Elizabeth de Staynton became prioress, but it is probable that she followed the successor of Alice de Scriven. Elizabeth de Staynton was the daughter of John de Staynton of Woolley-moor-house, by his wife Joan, the daughter of William and Margery de Notton, who purchased land in Woolley between 1290 and 1300. John de Staynton with his younger brother Godfrey and Richard de Halghton, prior of Monkbretton, were among the adherents of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster in his

rebellion against Edward the Second, and after the Earl's defeat were among the Contrariants summoned to answer before the Commission appointed by the king on July 10th, 1323. William de Herle and Geoffrey le Scrop were the justices appointed to enquire touching the goods and chattels forfeited to the king; after a summary trial these Contrariants were convicted of treason and fined £900 as forfeiture for their disloyalty. Of this sum Edward the Second on June 23, 1324, remitted £600, and ordered the repayment of the remainder by yearly instalments of £20.¹

Two of these payments were made, and the remaining £260 of the fine was remitted on 13 March, 1327.²

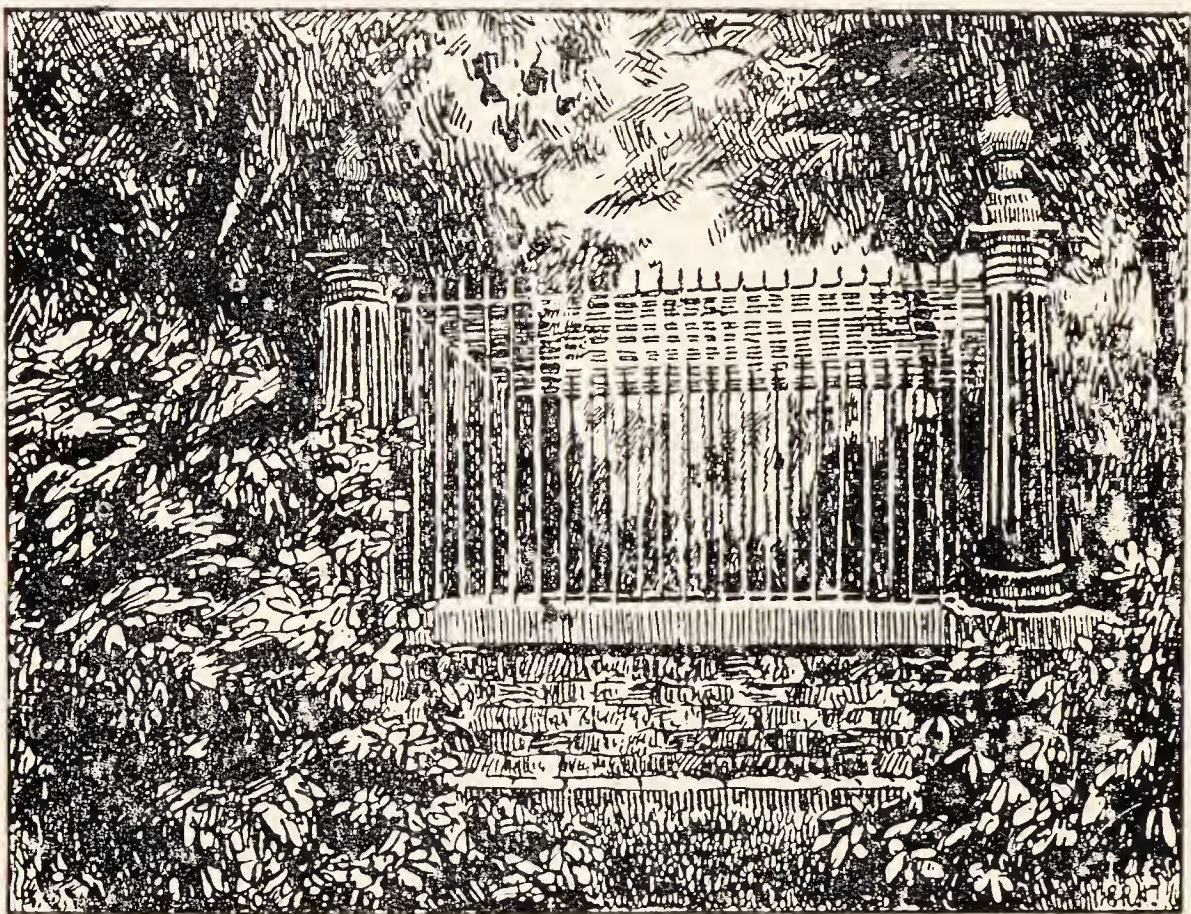
By his wife, Joan, John de Staynton had four daughters, Isabel, Elizabeth, Joan and Alice, the eldest of them being under the age of twelve years on their father's death. The widow Joan contracted a marriage with Hugh de Toothill of Toothill near Rastrick, who, with the consent of his wife, caused Isabel and Joan to marry his two sons, and placed Elizabeth and Alice in Kirklees priory to be brought up as nuns, so that his two sons might enjoy the whole of the Staynton property which descended to the four daughters equally.

William de Notton, Joan Toothill's brother, and uncle of the four children, appointed as their guardian by their father before his death, as also by Queen Philippa, queen of Edward the Third, to whom the marriage of the said heiresses belonged, by reason of the services due from certain tenements in Bargh and Woolley, granted to her during their minority, took proceedings to insist upon proper provision being made for these nuns Elizabeth and Alice, and to annul the placing of them in Kirklees Priory, alleging that their profession had been made before they were old enough to distinguish between a spiritual and a temporal life, also that their profession as nuns had not been promoted by Hugh de Toothill through devotion or charity, but to gain their patrimony for his sons. Elizabeth and Alice de Staynton, however, came to their uncle William de Staynton, then prior of Monkbretton, and, in the presence of Hugh de Toothill, besought him that he would not revoke their profession as nuns at Kirklees if Hugh would give them certain rents for their support out of the tenements which had come to them from their father. To this claim Hugh agreed, and in the presence of William de Staynton, prior of Monkbretton, Sir Thomas de Staynton, Rector of the moiety of the church of Bolton, Robert Clarel, Henry de Staynton and William de Staynton, cousins of Elizabeth and Alice de Staynton, agreed to pay an annual sum of fifty shillings to William the prior and William de Staynton for the life of Elizabeth de Staynton. If Elizabeth cease to be a nun, and claim the fourth part of the lands descended to her from her father this indenture to lose effect. Executed at the Priory of Monk Bretton, 20 December, 1347.³

¹ Fine Rolls, 17 Ed. II, m. 2.

² Patent Roll, 1 Ed. III, p. 1, m. 13.

³ From a deed at Woolley Hall, in the possession of Lieut.-Commander Wentworth.



Robin Hood's Grave.

On Robin Hood's arrival at Kirklees priory, he was admitted by his cousin herself.

And ye prioress gave him a brimming bowle
And bade him drink deep therein.
'Twould solace, she said, his fainting soule
And she smiled when she poured for him
Ye sparkling wine, there was poison therein,
For herself had mingled the drugs with care
And she pledged her guest with a thrill of fear,
Though she touched but the goblet's brim.

She then blooded Robin Hood, who was probably stupefied by the poisonous drugs administered to him, and she allowed him to bleed to death.

A wicked woman it was, I know,
That nigh was of his kin :
The prioress of Kirklees,
She killed him by her sin.

It was a priest, Roger of Doncaster,
That was her own special,
By the prioress he lay,
And there did her beguile.

It was all for the love of him
She practised deadly wile ;
For oft as they together were,
Their counsel was full ill,

How best to do that deadly deed,
And Robin Hood to kill.
Thus they by falsehood wrought the end
Of famous Robin Hood.

The friar, as some say, did this
To vindicate the wrong,
Which to the clergy he and his,
Robin had done by power strong.

His corpse the prioress of the place,
The next day that he died,
Caused to be buried in mean case,
Close by the highway side.

And over him she caused a stone
To be fixed on the ground;
An epitaph was set thereon,
Wherein his name was found.

This woman, though she did him hate,
Yet loved his memory,
And thought it wondrous pity that
His fame should with him die.

Feeling that his end was approaching Robin Hood said to Little John who had come to his dying master :

Give me my bent bow in my hand,
 And a broad arrow I'll let flee ;
 And where this arrow is taken up,
 There shall my grave digg'd be.
 Lay me a green sod under my head,
 And another at my feet ;
 And lay my bent bow by my side,
 Which was my music sweet ;
 And make my grave of gravel and green,
 Which is most right and meet.
 That they may say, when I am dead,
 Here lies bold Robin Hood.
 They raised him on his couch and set
 The casement open wide,
 Sped on its way the feathered dart,
 Robin sank back and died.

So died the body of Robin Hood, but his spirit lives on throughout the centuries in the deathless ballads which are sung of him, and in the hearts of men and women who love freedom and liberty.

There was a chaplain, Roger of Doncaster, who in 1302 witnessed a release by Henry de Holm, parson of Ryther;¹ but whether he was the lover of the prioress of Kirklees it is impossible to say.

The extracts from the Archbishop's registers at York, printed by Mr. S. J. Chadwick in his paper on Kirklees Priory,² show that in the first half of the fourteenth century the conduct of the nuns in that house was very bad, and brought upon them the censure of the archbishops. In 1306, Alice Ragged, a nun, "deceived by the allurements of frail flesh hath gone from her house into the world may now in virtue of obedience be re-admitted as a nun, a sister, or to serve you as a servant." In 1307, the Archbishop ordered a commission to visit the nunnery, and to inquire and reform what they shall find deserving correction. In 1313, the Archbishop absolved Elizabeth de Hopton, nun of Kirkelyes, from the sentence of greater excommunication, which she had incurred for apostacy. In 1315, the Archbishop heard scandalous reports about the nuns of Kirklees, especially about Elizabeth de Hopton and Alice Ragged, who admit both clergy and laymen too often into secret places of the monastery, from which there is a suspicion of sin, and great scandal arises, and that Alice Ragged who on her own confession before the Archbishop has been convicted of incontinence with William de Heton of Mirfield, was to perform her penance. Joan de Heton was convicted of the crime of incest with Richard de Lathe and Sir Michael Scot, priest. Joan de Wakefelde,

¹ *Yorkshire Deeds*, Record S. II, no. 201, p. 82.

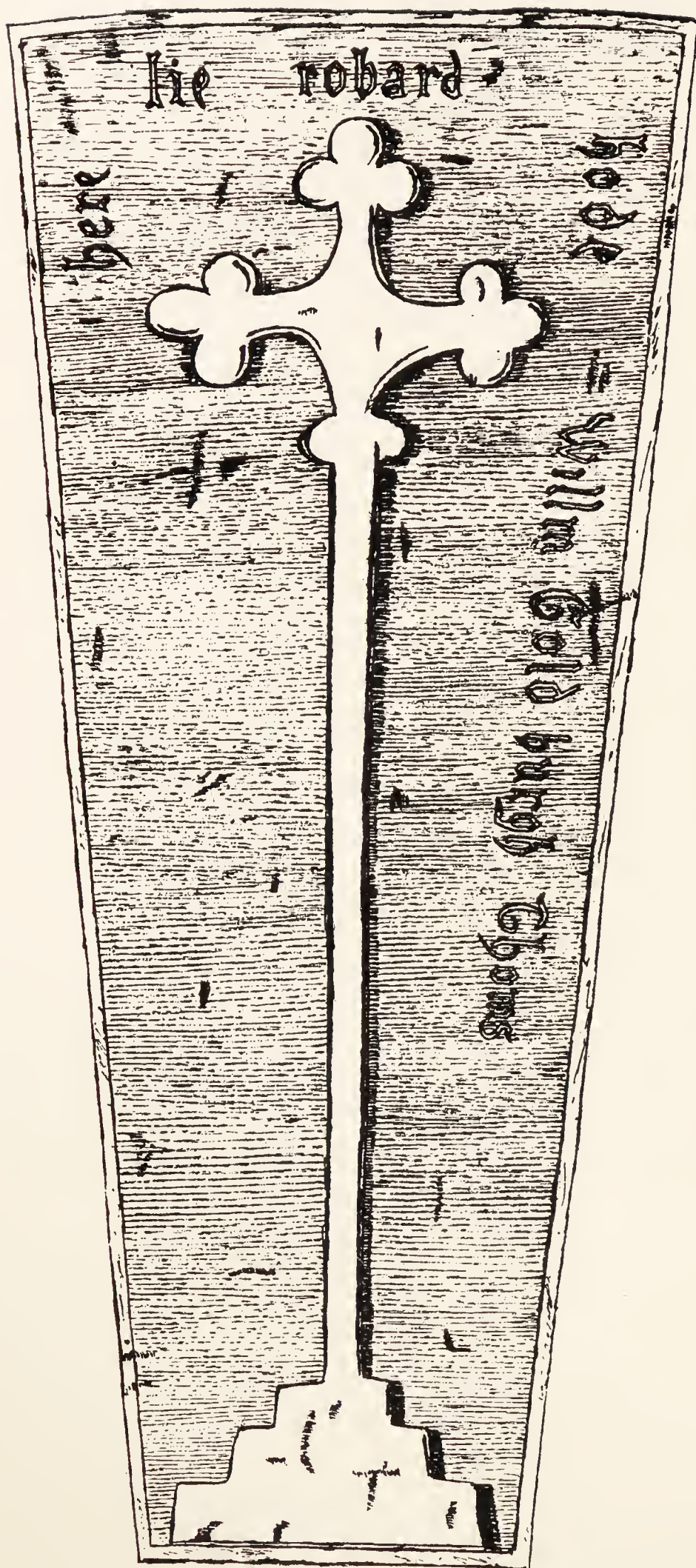
² *Yorks. Archæol. Jl.*, XVI, 354-363.

1301. The Priores of Kirkcaldy complained of Robert
Murray of Warrifeld for seizing and abducting
Elizabeth de Hopler, a nun of Kirkcaldy. The
Priores claimed £200 damages. Robert denied it.

Jury. De Banco, Hil. 29 Ed. I. m. 31d, 71d.

East. 29 Ed. I. m. 2.

'Monasterium' vol II. p. 21.



Gravestone of Robin Hood at Kirklees Priory.

Drawn and enlarged by Ethel W. Walker, from *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, and Dr. Nathaniel Johnston's drawing in 1665.

who inhabited a chamber contrary to the proper credit of religion was ordered to sleep in the dormitory. In 1337, Margaret de Burton acknowledged that "tempted by the insidious persuasions of the enemy of mankind she had been for a long time in great danger from bodily temptations," but was to be re-admitted if she prostrated herself before the gates and suffered whatever penance ought to be inflicted on her according to the discipline of her order.

Thus we see that Margaret de Staynton, the prioress, was not the only nun at Kirklees to break the vow of perpetual virginity promised at her consecration.

The prioress did not bury Robin Hood where his arrow fell, for the distance from the gatehouse to his grave is 650 yards, as measured for me by Sir George Armytage; far too great a distance for a dying man to shoot an arrow. With a six-foot bow and arrows of a cloth-yard length the Tudor bowman was expected to shoot well over 200 yards. The marks at which Henry the Eighth shot with such accuracy at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, June, 1520, were 240 yards apart.

Robin Hood was buried near the edge of the priory grounds, overlooking the highway between Mirfield and Brighouse, at a distance of two miles from the latter town.

The tradition that Robin Hood was buried at Kirklees was credited in the time of Henry the Eighth, for Leland thus records it, "Kirkley monasterium monialium ubi Ro. Hood nobilis ille et lex sepultus."¹

In Grafton's *Chronicle*, 1568, it is recorded:—"upon his grave the sayde prioresse did lay a very fayre stone, with a raised cross botonny on a Calvary of three steps sculptured thereon and an inscription, as recorded by Grafton; "Here lie Robard Hode, Will^m Goldburgh, Thom^s." (the rest obliterated).

Dr. Nathaniel Johnston in 1665 made a drawing of Robin Hood's gravestone at Kirklees, on which is shewn the same inscription: "Here lie robard Hode Will^m Goldburgh Thoms", as recorded by Grafton in 1569. This drawing was in the possession of the Rev. Fleming St. John of Dismore, Herefordshire, in 1901.

As before stated, William of Goldburgh was mentioned in Grafton's *Chronicle* as one of Robin Hood's men.

In Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, it is stated that "at Kirklees nunnery Robin Hood's tomb with a plain cross on a flat stone is shewn in the cemetery. In the ground at a little distance lie two grave-stones, one of which has an inscripton for Elizabeth de Staynton, prioress there."

Thoresby in his *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 1715, wrote:—"near Kirklees monastery the noted Robin Hood lies buried under a gravestone that yet remains, but the inscription scarce legible."

An engraving of the stone over the grave of Robin Hood is given by Richard Gough in *Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain*, 1786; a plain stone with a cross botonny thereon; broken and the inscription illegible.

¹ Leland, *Collectanea*, I, 54.

There is an almost exactly similar gravestone to be seen at Bridgenorth in Shropshire, one at Besthorpe in Norfolk, and one at Willoughby in Lincolnshire. The design was a very common one in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Only a small portion of this stone now remains, for a superstition existed that a chip from it was an effectual cure for toothache. When the Lancashire and Yorkshire railway was being constructed in the second quarter of the nineteenth century pieces of the gravestone were carried away by the navvies engaged on the work, not as mementoes of Robin Hood, but to place under their pillows as a cure for toothache. To guard against further destruction Sir George Armytage enclosed the grave in an iron cage on a low stone wall, into which he inserted a stone, formerly lying by the side of the grave, which bears the following inscription in Roman characters :

Here underneath dis laitl stean
Laz robert earl of Huntington
Ne'er arcir ver az hie sa geud
An pipl kauld im robin heud
Sick utlawz az hi an iz men
vil england iuvr si agen
Obiit 24 kal : Dekembris. 1247.

There was no 24th Kalend of December. The Kalends begin with the 18th, which was on November 14, and ends with the 1st on December 1.

This epitaph is clearly a fabrication and of no great antiquity; the Roman characters are not those of the fourteenth century; the spelling, so far as it deviates from common old English, is not that of the West Riding of Yorkshire, neither is the dialect. It is probably of the time of Henry the Eighth, or of Elizabeth.

Sir Samuel Armytage caused the ground under this stone to be dug a yard deep and found that it had never been disturbed.¹

Bishop Percy, in the first edition of his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, writes, "it must be confessed this epitaph is suspicious, because in the most ancient poems of Robin Hood there is no mention of this imaginary earldom."

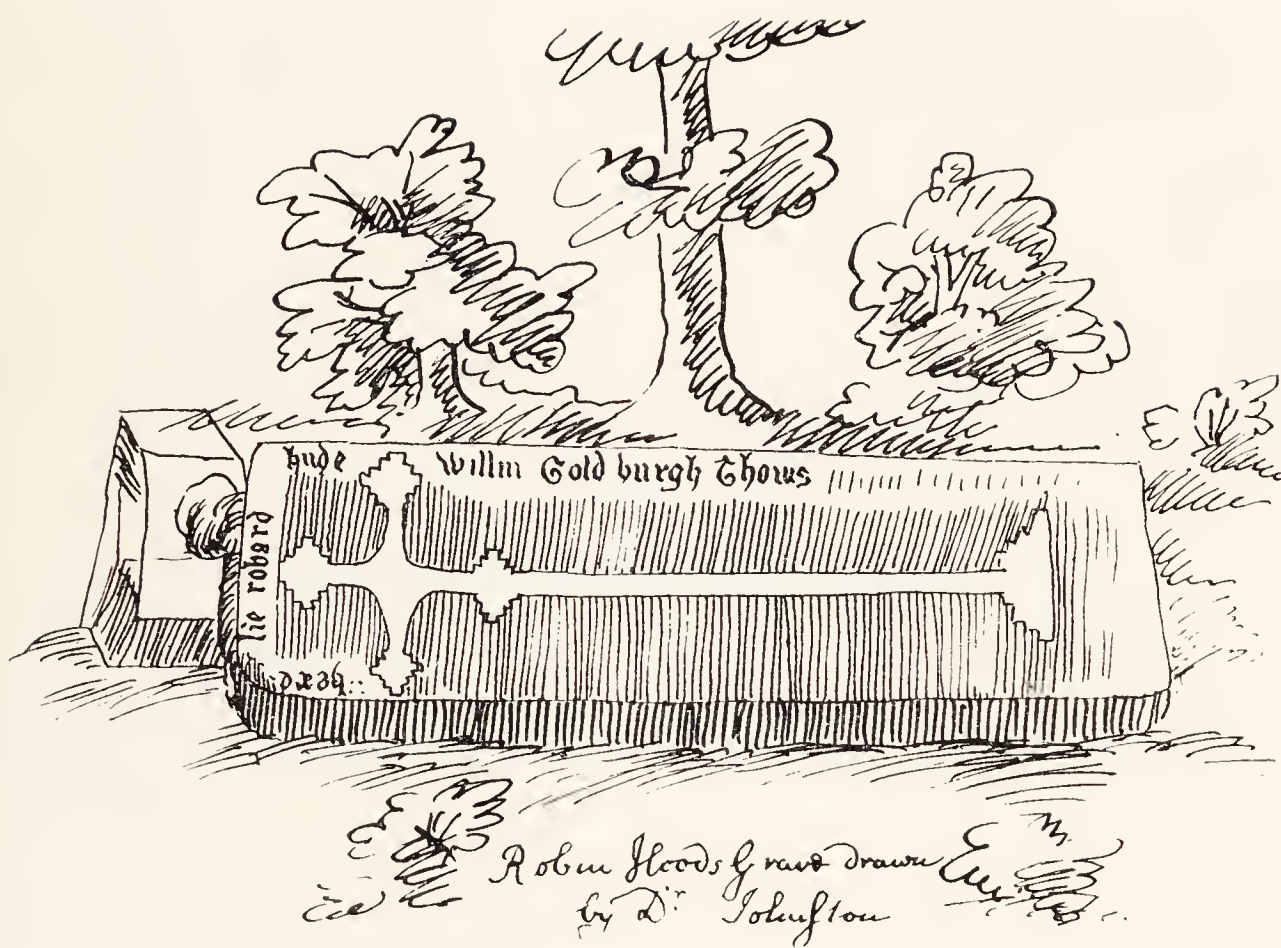
At least four versions of this epitaph have been printed.

The epitaph as quoted in *Sepulchrum Inscriptiones* runs thus :

Here, underneath this little stone,
Thro' Death's assaults, now lieth one,
Known by the name of Robin Hood ;
Who was a thief, and archer good ;
Full thirteen years, and something more,
He robb'd the rich to feed the poor.
Therefore, his grave bedew with tears,
And offer for his soul your prayers.

¹ Mr. Watson's letter in Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries.

There was a belief that Bishop Bitter's tomb in
the chapel of St. Mary the Virgin in the south transept
of Wells Cathedral erected in 1264, was a shrine
for the cure of toothache.



Laz robert earl of Hunting tun
 Neer arcir veraz hie sa geud
 An pipl kauld im robin heud
 Sick utlawz az hi an iz men
 Vil england nuvr si agen
 Obiit 24 kal: Dekembris. 1247

At the end of *A True Tale of Robin Hood* by Martin Parker, 1631, is the following epitaph :

*Decembris quarto die 1198,
anno regni Richardi primi 9.*

Roberte earle of Huntington,
Lies under this little stone,
No archer was like him so good;
His wildnesse named him Robin Hood;
Full thirteene yeares and something more
These northern parts he vexed sore ;
Such outlawes as hee and his men,
May England never know agen.

This extract is given from an edition in black letter printed for J. Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passinger, 1686.

Another version of this epitaph is given in *The Travels of Tom Thumb over England and Wales*, by Robert Dodsley, 1759.

Here, under this memorial stone.
Lies Robert earl of Huntingdon.
As he, no archer e'er was good,
And people called him Robin Hood :
Such outlaws as his men and he
Again may England never see.

These various renderings of the epitaph make it most probable that all of them were concocted by playwrights or others sometime in the seventeenth century, and that one of them was carved upon the small stone and placed alongside the grave.

Robin Hood's funeral ended with the following dirge; as given in *Robin Hood and his Hunted-men* :

Weepe, weepe, ye wodmen waile,
Your hands with sorrow wring ;
Your master Robin Hood lies deade,
Therefore sigh as you sing.
Here lie his primer and his beades,
His bent bowe and his arrowes keene,
His good sworde and his holy crosse :
Now cast on flowers fresh and greene.
And deck his grave with flowers that loved you deere ;
And as they fall shed tears and singe ;
For holy dirges, sing him wodmen's songs ;
And on to Wakefield take your way.

Robin Hood had some time previously given expression to his funeral wishes.

First, I bequeath my soul to All Soul's Saviour,
And my body to be buried
At Wakefield, underneath the churchyard wall ;
For holy dirges sing me wodmen's songs,
As ye to Wakefield walk, with voices shrill.

The last notices that I have found in the Wakefield Manor Court Rolls relating to Robin Hood are, one under the year 1357, when at a Court held on October 16, William Hallestede and Alice his wife surrendered a tenement in Wakefield, formerly in the tenure of Robert Hode, lyng on Bichill on the west and the highway which leads from Bichill as far as Fleshebothes on the east to Thomas del Clyffe of Wakefield, at a rent of forty shillings a year. And, at a Court of the Countess of Warenne held at Wakefield on 17 October, 1358, Agnes daughter of Thomas Mayn gave to the lord 12d. as an heriot for one messuage in Wakefield lying on Bichill on one side of a tenement formerly Robert Hoode's, taken from the waste. This was undoubtedly the tenement built on the land acquired by Robert and Matilda Hood on Bichill in 1316, and forfeited in 1322, when Robin was a Contrariant.

From these entries in the Manor Court Rolls it is seen that Robert Hood's tenement on Bichill on land taken from the waste in 1316 was well known, and they strengthen the belief that Robert Hood of Wakefield and Robin Hood the outlaw were one and the same man.

After Robin Hood's death the prioress began to reproach herself for her unnatural conduct, and, according to one ballad, in a fit of despair destroyed herself by poison the very next night.

The gravestone of the prioress, Elizabeth de Staynton was discovered in digging among the ruins at Kirklees priory in August, 1706; like Robin Hood's it is a flat stone bearing a raised cross upon a Calvary of two steps, surrounded by the following epitaph in Lombardic characters :

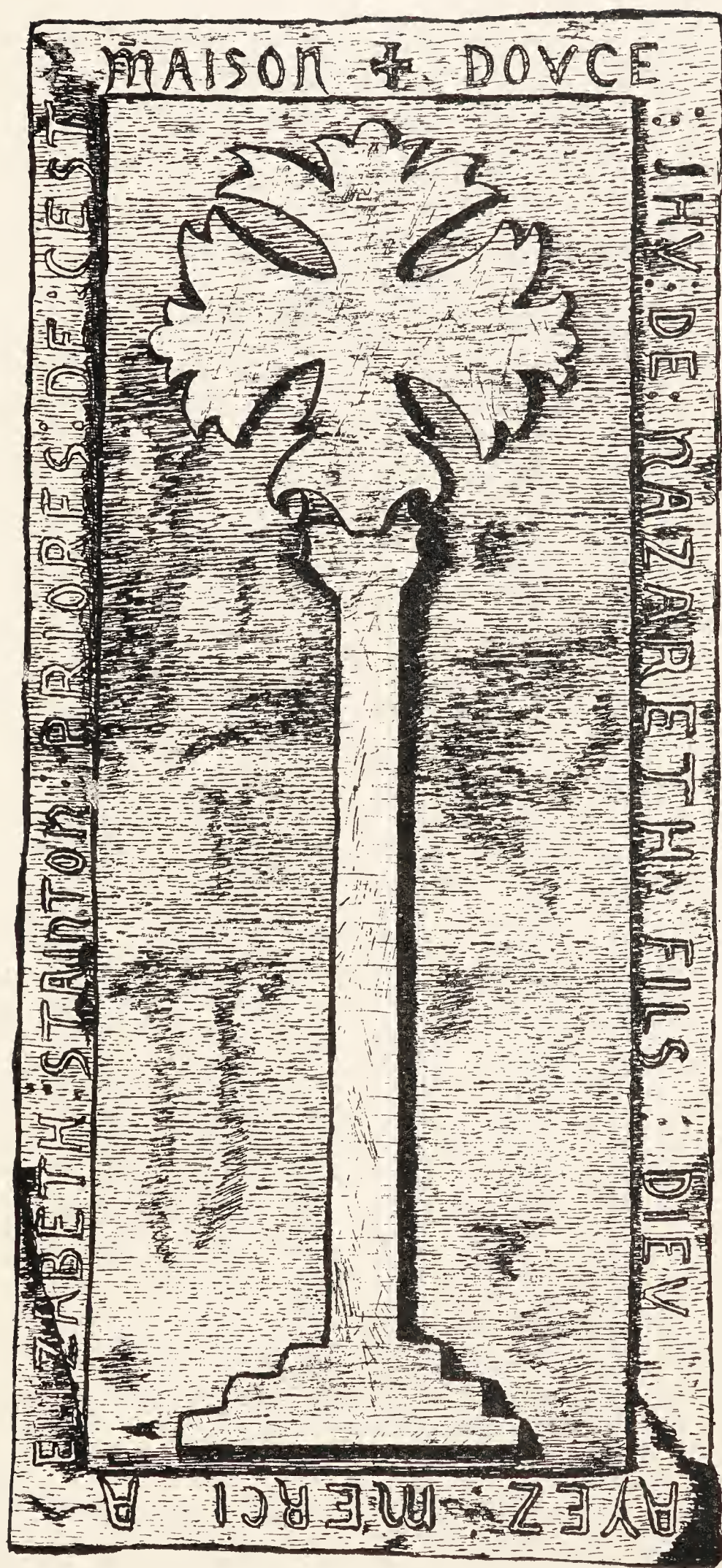
✠ DOVCE JHV DE NAZARETH FILS DIEV AYEZ
MERCİ A ELIZABETH STANTON PRIORES DE CEST
MAISON.¹

The grave lies about eighteen yards from the east end of the Priory Church, and is now surrounded by an iron railing.

Little John, Robin Hood's faithful companion, was buried in the churchyard of the Derbyshire village of Hathersage, at the foot of the southern slopes of Bamford and Stanage Edges, overlooking the river Derwent, some six miles from Castleton.

The manors of Hathersage and Over Padley were, by a deed dated 31 December, 1657, granted to Rowland Moorwood of Norton, esquire, by William Fitzherbert of Norbury, esquire and his son Basil. The Moorwoods held these manors for some years, then they were conveyed to Robert Ashton of Stoney Middleton by a fine levied Michaelmas, 1673. By Robert Ashton's will, dated 24 August, 1683, his estate was bequeathed to his five sons and one daughter, each receiving a specified legacy. Benjamin Ashton, the third son, inherited the estate of Hathersage. He left one son Benjamin and two daughters, Christiana and Alicia Maria, the

¹ The gravestone was engraved by Hearne for the second volume of Leland's *Itinerary*, Appendix, p. 97; and was figured in Camden's *Britannia*, 1789, Vol. III, Pl. II, p. 38.



Gravestone of Elizabeth de Staynton, Prioress of Kirklees.
Drawn and enlarged by Ethel W. Walker, from Camden's *Britannia*, 1789,
Plate II.

latter of whom married Charles, son and heir of Thomas Bagshaw of Bakewell.

The younger Benjamin died in 1725 without issue; he left one half of his estate to his nephew Thomas Bagshaw, son of his sister Alicia Maria; the Hathersage estate was bequeathed to his sister Christiana, the wife of William Spencer of Cannon Hall, near Barnsley, from whom it passed to James the eldest son of their daughter Christiana, the wife of Captain William Shuttleworth, who succeeded to the Hathersage estate in 1780. Four years later James Shuttleworth caused the grave of Little John in Hathersage Churchyard (which was marked by two stones, thirteen feet four inches apart, one at the head the other at the foot, on the south side of the church near the porch, each lettered J.L.), to be opened when there was exhumed at a depth of six feet from the surface a thigh bone $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which was ordered to be reburied; but the sexton kept it at his own house and exhibited it to strangers at a charge of 6d. a head. Later William Spencer was passing through Hathersage in company with Sir William Strickland (then Mr. Strickland), when the latter, to the dismay of the sexton, carried off the bone, and caused it to be buried under a tree at his own home at Boynton.¹

Little John's cuirass of chain mail, his bow and arrows hung for many years in the chancel of Hathersage church, but were removed by William Spencer, when he became possessed of Hathersage in 1729, to Cannon Hall for better security. Unfortunately during the alterations to Cannon Hall by the architect, John Carr, in 1778 for the reception of Walter Spencer Stanhope's bride, Winifred Pulleine, the cuirass disappeared, and has never since been traced.

I have examined the bow which is made of spliced yew, about six feet in length, though the ends where the horn tips were attached are broken off. It required a power of 160 pounds to draw the bow to its full extent. Only 60 pounds is the power used by men now at archery meetings.

Carved on the bow is the date 1715 and the name of Col. Naylor, who in that year strung the bow and shot a stag with it. It has never been strung since.

In a loose paper in Mr. Ashmole's writing in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is the following note :—

“The famous Little John (Robin Hood's companion) lyes buried in Hethersedge churchyard in the peak of Derbyshire, one stone at his head, another at his feet, and part of his bow hangs in the chancell. Anno 1652.”²

In *Anecdotes of Archery*, Hargrove says that there may yet be distinguished some remains of letters J.L. on each of the large

¹ Kindly communicated to me by John Montagu Spencer-Stanhope, Esquire.

² Ashmole MS. 1137, f. 147.

stones placed at the head and foot of Little John's grave at Hathersage. 1792.

I now conclude with some words written in 1631 :

The main of all this history,
You'll find it true, I know,
And I shall think my labour well
Bestowed to purpose good,
When't shall be said that I did tell
True tales of Robin Hood.

SOME YORKSHIRE ARMORIAL SEALS.

By C. T. CLAY, C.B., Hon. Litt.D., F.S.A.

In *The Antiquaries Journal* for October 1941 the proposals for the compilation of a revised Dictionary of British Arms, comprising two sections, an Armory and an Ordinary, were described by Mr. Anthony Wagner, Portcullis Pursuivant and General Editor. It is recognized that especially for the medieval period armorial seals, which furnish an undisputed proof of user, are among the most important sources for the work. With the exception of the *Catalogue of Seals in the British Museum*, vols. II and III, published in 1892-94, and the *Catalogue of the Seals in the Treasury of the Dean and Chapter of Durham*, collated and annotated by Mr. C. H. Hunter Blair from the manuscript made by the Rev. William Greenwell,¹ comparatively little has been done on any comprehensive scale to make lists of English armorial seals available in print; and, so far as our own county is concerned, no survey appears to have been attempted of the armorial seals appended to original documents relating to Yorkshire.

The sources for the catalogue printed in this paper are the calendars of original deeds which have been printed in the publications of our Society—in certain volumes of this Journal, and in the eight volumes of *Yorkshire Deeds* and in the *Pudsay Deeds* published in the Record Series. It is, indeed, only a small instalment of a corpus of Yorkshire armorial seals which could be made available if other published material such as the Rev. C. V. Collier's calendar of the Burton Agnes documents printed in vols. xviii and xix of *The Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society*, or the calendars printed by Mr. T. W. Hall, were included, or the mass of unpublished deeds such as those in the muniment room of our own Society and elsewhere were examined in detail. The present catalogue must, therefore, only be regarded as a tentative and preliminary contribution. Its basis is the inclusion of armorial seals in the strict sense of the term, that is to say personal seals which bear a coat of arms on a shield. It excludes seals which bear devices only, even though these may be of an heraldic nature. Moreover, it only includes those armorial seals of which the ownership of the arms can be identified with a reasonable degree of certainty; and it excludes a considerable number of unidentified arms.²

¹ Published in 2 vols. by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1911-1921. It contains an admirable account of the development of the armorial type in the Introduction, pp. xli-xlvi.

² A list of these in the *Yorkshire Deeds* volumes can be readily compiled by following up the entry "arms, unidentified" in the indexes.

The identification of ownership often presents problems. When a seal bears its owner's name on the legend there is no room for doubt; but legends are frequently chipped away. When the arms can be identified from other records as those borne by the grantor or one of the parties concerned in the deed, there is no reasonable doubt that the matrix was made for the grantor or one of the parties or for some previous member of their family. When, however, such corroborative evidence is not available caution is required. It is often the case that a grantor used someone else's seal. He may not have had his own at hand; he may have supposed that his own was insufficiently known; he may not have had one made. Examples are easy to find which suggest that the prime necessity for the completion of a document was the attachment of an authentic seal rather than the actual seal of the grantor himself. Thus in 1443 John Wentworth inserted a clause in a deed that because his seal was unknown to many people he caused the seal of the mayor of Nottingham to be affixed.¹ In 1408 his father had used an unknown armorial seal of a certain Maurice Brun.² It must not therefore be assumed that an armorial seal appended to a document necessarily bore the grantor's arms.

A lady's armorial seal is also apt to give rise to difficulty, for it cannot always be determined whether the shield bears her paternal arms or those of her husband, though in some cases it bears both. In the list of seals printed in this paper those of ladies are comparatively few; but they deserve a detailed examination if only to prove a great variety of practice. In the main they are entered under the name of the family whose arms are on the seal or occupy the principal position. Eufemia widow of Sir Walter de Heselton, Joan widow of Adam de Newmarch, and Joan widow of Sir Thomas de Richmond all used seals bearing their husband's arms. The same is probably true of Lettice widow of Ralph de Noweis, whose arms appear to be unrecorded otherwise. Christian wife of John de Laton had a seal of her own with her husband's arms presumably impaling hers. The seal used by Isabel widow of Sir John de Bellew bore her husband's arms with an impalement suggesting that she was a Ros by birth. Emma de Cleasby, wife of Henry FitzHugh, apparently used the seal of her first husband Robert de Hastang, who impaled her paternal Cleasby arms. Isabel, widow of Robert Ughtred and wife of William de Ros of Ingmanthorpe, whose father was Richard de Steeton,³ used her first married name on her own seal with three shields, of which the first probably bore the Ughtred arms. The seals of Margaret de Longvillers, wife of Geoffrey de Neville, and Elizabeth Pigot, a much-married lady, bore their paternal arms. Elizabeth, daughter of Robert de Hartforth and wife of Robert de Richmond, and Joan Scrope, wife of Sir Henry FitzHugh, both had seals of their own with their paternal arms impaling those of their husbands—

¹ *Yorkshire Deeds*, vi, No. 59.

² *Ibid.*, No. 387.

³ W. T. Lancaster, *Ripley and the Ingilby Family* . . . , p. 41.

the reverse of the usual practice. There is no evidence to show whether the seal of Isabel, widow of John Lodge, bore her husband's arms or her own; but a seal from another source suggests that Isabel de Kilnwick, whose identity is unknown, used the Kilnwick arms. An interesting seal is that of Maud, widow of Sir John Depden, appended to a document of 1401. The arms would appear to be those of her husband, impaling her own; and a fortnight later another Sir John Depden, engaged in the same transaction, used a seal apparently his own with quite a different coat, being the arms of FitzAucher quartering Waleys, which he had adopted, perhaps, on hereditary grounds. Another is that of Beatrice wife of Sir John de Thornhill. The seal which she used in 1322 has two shields, one bearing the arms of her husband and the other bearing *a fess between 3 fleurs-de-lis*. The latter was presumably her own paternal arms, and may provide some clue to her parentage, of which there is no documentary record available. Lastly the seal of Maud de Lucy, Countess of Northumberland, appended to a document of 1381, deserves special mention. This lady, the heiress of the Lucy family, married firstly Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, and secondly, as his second wife, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Her seal bore the Lucy arms, impaled by those of both her husbands—an arrangement which can be paralleled by the well-known seal of Beatrice Stafford used in 1404.¹

In the following catalogue the seals are known to have belonged to, or to have been used by the persons listed, with a few exceptions, marked with a question mark, about which there is some, though probably only a small element of doubt. The dates are those of the documents to which the seals are appended. The word "used" prefixed to a date indicates that the seal did not belong to the grantor or apparently to any party concerned. The abbreviations J, D and P refer to this Journal, to the volumes of *Yorkshire Deeds*, and to that of the *Pudsey Deeds* respectively, the arabic numerals being the numbers of the pages. Thus Jxiii, 71 signifies the Journal vol. xiii, p. 71; Dvi, 113 *Yorkshire Deeds*, vol. vi, p. 113; and P, 336 *Pudsey Deeds*, p. 336. More details relating to the seals, their size, shape, colour of the wax, and in some cases the lettering of the legends, will usually be found in their full description at the references given. In most cases the deeds themselves give some indication of the locality with which the grantors were associated; and, together with the editorial notes, they sometimes supply proof of the marriages to which impalements were due.

ALLEN, Sir Christopher. 1560.

A fess ermine between 3 dogs passant.

Dii, 164.

[?]ALMODINGTON, John son of John de. 1311.

Ermine on a chief 3 lions rampant.

Dv, 21.

¹ *Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., xiii, 314.

- ATON, Sir William de. 1364.
A cross. Jxii, 251.
- AUBERVILLE, Robert de. 13th cent.
Bendy from the sinister. Dii, 99.
- BADLESMERE. Quartered by ROS, *q.v.*
- BALDERSTON. Quartered by OSBALDESTON, *q.v.*
- BANASTER. Quartered by HARINGTON, *q.v.*
- BARDOLF, Hugh son of Ralph. Early 13th cent.
Chequy a canton [?]vair. Dvii, 8.
- BARTON, John de. Used 1328.
Ermine on a fess 3 annulets. Dii, 87.
- , William de. 1331.
A bend sinister cotised. Jxii, 99.
- BASY, John. Used 1335.
A chevron between 3 [?] lions rampant. Dvi, 175.
- BEAUMONT, William son of William de. 1319.
A lion rampant. Diii, 32.
- [?]BEAUUER, William de. Early 14th cent.
3 escallops in pale; impaling, a lion rampant. Dv, 117.
- [?]BEESTON, Ralph de. 1398.
Per bend a lion rampant. Div, 113.
- BELLERBY, Henry de. 1368.
A chevron between 3 [?]bells. P, 358.
- [?]BELLEW, Isabel widow of Sir John de. 1311.
Fretty; impaling, 3 water-bougets dimidiated [?]ROS]. Dviii, 136.
- BERGH, Walter son of Robert de. 1377.
On a bend cotised 3 [?]roundels. Di, 135.
- BERWICK, William de. 1349.
On a bend 3 roses (or sexfoils). Crest: a stag's head caboshed. P, 217.
- BEVERLEY, Robert. 1614.
Ermine a chevron, on a chief 3 mullets. Dv, 118.
- BIGOD, Sir John. 1374.
A cross [?]engrailed (or raguly). P, 383.
- BIRKIN, Thomas de. Early 13th cent.
A fess, in chief [a label of 5 points]. Di, 80.
- BIRTON, Ellis de. 1358; used 1358.
A chevron between 3 cross-crosslets fitchy. Diii, 66, 93.
- , quartered by THORNHILL, *q.v.*
- BOLTON, William de. 1350.
A chevron between 3 [leopards]. Di, 3.
- , Robert de. 1351.
A lozenge within a bordure engrailed. Dv, 131.

- BOOTH. Quartered by FULTHORPE and THORNHILL, *q.v.*
- BOSVILLE, John. 1407.
4 fusils in fess and 3 mullets in chief. Di, 66.
- BOWES. Quartered by DETHICK, *q.v.*
- BRACKENHOLM, John de. 1373.
A frond of bracken. Jxvii, 108.
- BROWN. Quartered by GARGRAVE, *q.v.*
- BRUN, Maurice. Used 1408.
A cross flory with open ends, the first quarter lozengy. Dvi, 118.
- BUCKTON. Used 1369.
A goat salient [?same as next]. Dv, 132.
- , John son of William de. 1375.
A buck rampant. Dii, 65.
- BULTER, Richard. 1384.
A cross. Di, 129.
- BURDON. Quartered by UGHTRED, *q.v.*
- BURGH, William de. 1474; used 1505.
On a saltire 5 swans. Jxx, 219; Di, 142.
- CARLETON, John de. 1351.
A maunch. Jxii, 256.
- CARR, George. 1500.
On a chevron 3 mullets. Di, 100.
- CHAUFEMOUNT, John son of John. 1343.
On a chevron between 3 lozenges an estoile. Dvi, 176.
- CHAWORTH, Sir Thomas de. 13th cent.
2 chevronels. Dvii, 173.
- , Thomas son of Robert de. 1326.
A chevron between 3 martlets. Dvii, 175.
- CHUSILDEN, Sir William de. 1387.
3 estoiles within a bordure engrailed. Jxiii, 82.
- CLAYTON, William. 1596.
A cross between 4 roundels. Dii, 36.
- CLEASBY, Emma de. 1337.
A fess between 3 lozenges; impaled by HASTANG. Dvi, 34-5.
- CLITHEROW, Hugh de. 1355.
A saltire engrailed. Di, 161.
- CLOTHERHAM, John de. 1359.
A chaplet; with an unidentified quartering. Dviii, 122.
- CONEYSTHORPE, Richard de. 1360.
A chevron engrailed between 3 animals. Dviii, 177.
- COWTON, Roger de. 1353.
A cow between 3 crosses in chief and 2 in base. Dvi, 115.

- DAMORY, Roger. 1317.
 [?] *Vair (or barry nebuly) a bend.* Dvii, 196.
- DARCY, Sir John. 1337.
 [?] *Crusilly 3 cinquefoils (or roses).* Dvii, 78.
- DASSELLS, Sir Adomar. 1393, 1396.
3 palets. P, 374-5.
- DAUTRY, Robert. 1360.
5 fusils surmounted by a bendlet. Dvi, 6.
- , Thomas. 1362.
5 fusils in fess. Dvi, 6.
- DAYVILLE, John de. 1321.
A fess, over all 6 fleurs-de-lis. Di, 213.
- DEPDEN, Sir John. 1401.
Ermine on a chief 3 lions rampant [FITZAUCHER]; quartering, quarterly a bend [WALEYS]. Jxiii, 60.
- , Maud widow of Sir John. 1401.
*A chevron between 3 leaves; impaling, on a chevron 3 annulets.*¹ Di, 169.
- DERWYNE. Quartered by OSBALDESTON, *q.v.*
- DESPENSER, Sir Philip le. 1395.
Barry of 6 a canton ermine [GOUSHILL]. Crest: a flagon. Jxiii, 78.
- DETHICK, Henry. 1611.
Quarterly: (1) argent a fess vair or and gules between 3 water-bougets sable; (2) argent a chief gules, on a bend sable 3 shields argent charged with a chief gules; (3) or, a chevron gules and a chief ermine; (4) [ermine 3 bows gules and a chief for difference] [BOWES]. Crest: a horse's head coupéd argent charged with a crescent for difference. Di, 138.
- DRONSFIELD, Edmund son of John. 1365.
Paly a bend [?] charged with 3 mullets. Dvi, 13.
- DUFFIELD, Thomas de. 1341.
2 charges in saltire and 4 others between them, one being letter D and another a star. Dvi, 175.
- DYNELEY, Roger. 1488; used 1516, 1549.
3 mullets in chief; quartering, a bend engrailed [MANSTON]. Dii, 106, 108, 112.
- ELAND, Sir John de. 1326.
Between 2 barrulets 8 martlets, 3, 2 and 3. Jxii, 247.
- , John son of Sir John de. 1348.
An inescutcheon within an orle of martlets. Di, 120.
- ELYS, Thomas. 1370.
On a cross 5 crescents, in the first quarter an inverted mullet pierced. Jxiii, 49.

¹ The legend has the name Depden.

- ERGHUM, Sir William de. 1379.
A chevron between 3 birds [?] martlets. Di, 191.
- ESSHTON, John de. 1361.
A chevron between 2 anchors in chief and [?] in base. Jxvii, 107.
- EVERINGHAM, Sir Adam de. 1317, 1347, 1357.
Quarterly over all a bend. Crest: a crab. Di, 144, 155, 190.
- , Sir Adam de. 1388.
A lion rampant. Crest: a stag's head. Jxiii, 79.
- FAIRFAX, Thomas son of John. 1341.
A lion rampant over a barrulet. Dviii, 177.
- FAUCONBERG, Sir John de. 1341.
 Sir Walter de. 1361.
 Thomas son of Sir Walter de. 1366.
A lion rampant. Dviii, 17, 70, 85, 107
- FENTON, Thomas de. c. 1323.
Between a cross 4 fleurs-de-lis. Dv, 173.
- FITZAUCHER. See DEPDEN.
- FITZHUGH, Hugh. c. 1290.
 Henry. 1337, 1348.
 Sir Henry. 1376.
Fretty (or 3 chevrons braced) and a chief. Di, 193; vi, 34, 38; P, 340.
- , impaled by SCROPE, *q.v.*
- FITZRANULF. Impaling LASCELLES, *q.v.*
- FITZWILLIAM, William. 13th cent., 1324.
 Sir William. 1384.
Lozengy. Dv, 37-8; vi, 57.
- FOLIOT, Richard son of Jordan. 13th cent.
A bend between 2 crosses patonce. Di, 68.
- FOWBERY, John. 1541.
A hart trippant, a mullet in chief. Dviii, 48.
- FOX, James. 1555.
On a chevron between 3 fox's heads erased an annulet. Div, 138.
- FOXLEY, Thomas. 1436.
2 bars. Di, 191.
- FRANK, Sir William. 1383.
A saltire raguly. Crest: a ram. Di, 146.
- FRAUNCEYS, Alan le. 1293.
Quarterly over all a bend. Diii, 30.
- FROST, Walter. 1388.
A fess between 3 trefoils slipped. Jxii, 292.
- FRYSTON, William de. 1334.
On a fess 3 [?] leopard's faces. Dvii, 191.

FULTHORPE, Christopher. 1611.

Argent a cross moline sable; quartering, argent 3 boar's heads erect and erased sable, an annulet gules for difference [BOOTH].
Di, 138.

GARGRAVE, Cotton. 1579.

Quarterly: (1) *lozengy argent and sable, on a bend sable* [3 crescents or]; (2) *argent on a chief indented gules 3 cross-crosslets fitchy argent* [OTTERBURN]; (3) *sable a cross flory between 4 annulets argent* [WELLES]; (4) *sable 2 lions in bend between 2 cotises engrailed argent* [BROWN]. Crest: *on a torce argent and sable a falcon rising argent*.
Diii, 24.

GASCOIGNE, William. 1400.

A pale.
Di, 191.

———, Richard. 1409.

On a pale a luce's head, with a cross on the dexter side for difference.
Di, 6.

———, John. 1525.

On a pale a luce's head.
Dii, 108.

GATE, Robert. 1632.

[?] *Per pale 3 lions rampant*.
Dviii, 10.

GLASBROK, William de. 1365.

Quarterly, a boar between 3 [?] *escallops*.
P, 233.

GOUSHILL. See DESPENSER.

GOWER, John. 1323.

A bend cotised [?] *flory*.
Dv, 78.

———, Nicholas. 1350.

On a bend 3 dogs passant.
Dviii, 19.

———, John son of John. 1379.

A chevron between 3 dogs passant.
Di, 135.

GRAMARY, Andrew son of Sir Richard de. After 1290.

A cinquefoil, a label of 5 points.
Di, 2.

———, Sir William. 1346.

A lion rampant.
Dvi, 62.

GYFFON, Richard. 1361.

A griffin.
Dii, 84.

HARINGTON, Sir William. 1433.

Fretty; quartering, a cross moline [BANASTER]. Crest: [?] *a dog's head erased*.
Di, 181.

HARTFORTH, Elizabeth dau. of Robert de. Early 14th cent.

Fretty; impaling, a chief and two bars [RICHMOND].¹
Dvii, 142.

HARTLINGTON, William son of Sir Henry de. 1349.

A lion rampant.
Dvi, 84, 122.

¹ The legend gives her name Elizabeth de Hertford.

- HASTANG, Sir Robert. 1306.
A chief and a lion with forked tail over all. Dvi, 37.
- , Sir Robert de. Used 1337.
A lion rampant; impaling, a fess between 3 lozenges [CLEASBY]
Dvi, 34-5.
- HEBDEN, Sir Nicholas. 1404.
Ermine 5 fusils in fess. Crest: a goat's head. Dvi, 26.
- HESLERTON, Eufemia widow of Sir Walter de. 1374.
6 lioncels; and three other shields, one bearing a saltire
[?NEVILLE of Muston]. Div, 160
- HETON, John de. 1419.
2 bars. Di, 74.
- HOLME, John (de). 1422, 1430.
Barry of 6 on a canton a chaplet. Div, 86; vi, 148.
- , John. 1438.
The same impaling, a lion rampant double tailed
[WASTENEYS]. Dvi, 149.
- HOPTON, Adam de. 1344.
3 bendlets and [?]a bordure engrailed. Dvi, 12.
- , Nicholas de. 1393.
2 bars each charged with 3 mullets. Diii, 88.
- HOTHAM, John de, Bishop of Ely. 1317.
Barry on a canton [?]a Cornish chough. Dvii, 189.
- [?]HUMFRAYE, Robert. 1579.
3 barrulets and a crescent in chief. Div, 108.
- INGLEBY, William. 1595.
An estoile. Dvi, 83.
- [?] KERNOWRE, Walter. 1362.
3 pales fusilly, over all on a bend 3 birds. Dii, 102.
- KILNWICK, Isabel de. Used 1310.
*A fess between 3 birds.*¹ Dv, 129.
- , John son of Thomas de. 1314.
A chevron between 3 birds. Dvi, 106.
- KOVERDALE. Quartered by OSBALDESTON, *q.v.*
- [?] KYME. Used 1351.
A chevron between 10 cross-crosslets, 4, 2, and 4. Dii, 174.
- LANGFIELD. Used 1365.
On a bend some charges, a mullet in the sinister point of the chief. Dv, 135.
- LASCELLES, Roger de. 13th cent.
3 chaplets. Div, 95.
- , Ralph de. 1334.
A chief indented [FITZRANULF]; impaling, *3 chaplets*
[LASCELLES]. Di, 103.

¹ The legend has her name in full.

- LASCELLES, John de. 1358.
On a bend [?] *lions rampant.* Dvi, 183.
- , William de, of Sowerby. 1407.
A cross flory. Jii, 91.
- LASCY, Edmund de. 1251.
Quarterly, over all a bend with a label of 5 points. Di, 68.
- LATON, John de. 1338, 1369, 1373.
On a fess between 6 cross-crosslets fitchy a mullet. P, 336, 345-6.
- , Christian wife of John de. 1338.
On a fess between 6 cross-crosslets fitchy 3 mullets; impaling, a fess between 4 lozenges (or cushions), 3 and 1.¹ P, 336.
- LAWSON, Ralph. 1600.
Argent a chevron between martlets gules. Diii, 99.
- LAYBORNE. Used 1441.
Per fess the chief per pale, the contents of the 2 divisions indistinct, below a roundel. Jxiii, 71.
- LEDES, Alexander de. 1341.
3 bars. Di, 196.
- [?] LODGE, Isabel widow of John. 1628.
A chevron between 3 buckles. Div, 38.
- LONGVILLERS, Margaret de. Late 13th cent.
Quarterly a bend dancetty, over all a label of 3 points.² Diii, 29.
- LUCY, Maud de, Countess of Northumberland. 1381.
3 lucas, 2 and 1; impaled by (i) crusilly and a cinquefoil [UMFRAVILLE], and (ii) a lion rampant [PERCY]. Dvi, 113
- , quartered by PERCY, *q.v.*
- LUTEREL, Geoffrey. 1317.
A bend between 6 martlets. Dii, 199.
- LUTERINGTON, Richard de. 1230.
2[?]3 lions rampant and a canton. Div, 27.
- MANCELL, John le. Used 1392.
A chevron between 3 stars pierced. Div, 92.
- MANSTON. Quartered by DYNELEY, *q.v.*
- MARMION, John son of William. c. 1300.
 John. 1372.
Vair a fess. Jxx, 214, 217.
- MAULEVERER, Sir John. 1329.
 [?] *A bend.* Div, 24.
- , Sir John. 1349.
A chief, over all a bend. Dii, 167.

¹ The legend gives her Christian name.

² The letters remaining in the legend show that it was her own seal.

- MAULEVERER, Peter. 1373.
 James. 1627.
3 greyhounds courant. Dii, 115; iv, 24.
- , quartered by MIDDLETON, *q.v.*
- MAULEY, Thomas de. 1377.
On a bend 3 escallops. Di, 134.
- MAUNBY, Thomas de. 1304.
3 palets fusilly. P, 322.
- MEINILL, Nicholas de. 13th cent.
A chief and 3 bars gemelles. Dviii, 88.
- MELDRED, Robert son of. Early 13th cent.
A saltire. P, 362.
- MELTON, William de. 1391.
A cross urdy voided. Jxii, 293.
- METHAM, John de. 1366.
An eagle displayed. Dvii, 38.
- MIDDLETON, Sir Peter (son of William) de. *c.* 1321, 1329.
 (Sir) Thomas son of Sir Peter de. 1346, 1358, 1362,
 1364. Used 1367, 1368.
Fretty a canton. Div, 148; v, 52, 81-2, 84, 115; vi,
 62, 144.
- , William. 1595.
Fretty a canton; quartering, 3 [?] greyhounds courant
 [MAULEVERER]. Dvi, 83.
- MIRFIELD, Adam de. 1388.
2 lions passant. Dvii, 146.
- MOLYNEUX. Quartered by OSBALDESTON, *q.v.*
- MOWBRAY, William de. Early 13th cent.
 John de. 1310, 1318, 1335.
A lion rampant. Jviii, 284; Dii, 16, 88; v, 129; vii, 129.
- NESFIELD, John de. 1360.
A chevron engrailed between 3 [?] fleurs-de-lis. Dvi, 6.
- , William de. 1365, 1368, 1379.
On a bend 3 [?] mullets. Dv, 84; vii, 145, 163.
- NEVILLE, Sir Hugh de. 13th cent.
Lozengy a canton and a label. Dvi, 33, 42, 58.
- , John de. 1301.
A lion rampant. Dv, 176.
- , Sir Robert. 1349.
 John de. 1386.
 Sir Alexander de. 1401.
A saltire. Di, 214; ii, 49; P, 238.
- , see also HESLERTON.
- NEWMARCH, Joan widow of Adam de. *c.* 1283.
Fusils in fess; and another shield indecipherable. Dvii, 110.

NOWEIS, Lettice widow of Ralph de. 1313.

*Per bend 6 cross-crosslets.*¹

Dv, 31.

OSBALDESTON, William. 1654.

Quarterly: (1) and (6) *argent a mascle sable between 3 pellets*; (2) *azure a cross moline or* [MOLYNEUX]; (3) *quarterly argent and sable, in each quarter a leopard's head counter-charged* [KOVERDALE]; (4) *argent 2 bars gules, on a canton gules a rose argent* [DERWYNE]; (5) *argent a lion rampant purpure* [BALDERSTON].

Diii, 72.

OTTERBURN. Quartered by GARGRAVE, *q.v.*

PAVER, William. 1614.

A chevron between 3 [?] trefoils.

Dv, 118.

PEEBLES, John. 1681.

On a chevron engrailed between 3 parrots a fleur-de-lis.

Di, 62.

PERCY, Henry de. 1330.

A lion rampant.

Dv, 144.

———, Henry de, Earl of Northumberland. 1381.

A lion rampant.

Dvi, 113.

———, ———, impaling LUCY, *q.v.*

———, Henry, Earl of Northumberland. 1610.

A lion rampant; quartering, 3 lucas [LUCY], *also 5 fusils in fess* [PERCY] *and ten other quarterings.*

Dv, 121.

PIGOT, Elizabeth dau. of Thomas. 1555.

3 pickaxes.

Div, 128.

PINCKNEY, James. 1596.

Argent 3 fusils in pale azure.

Dii, 191.

PLAYCE, Sir William de. 1318.

A fess, on a chief 3 [?] chaplets.

Dii, 47.

———, Sir William de. 1386.

On a chief 3 chaplets.

Div, 137.

PLUMPTON, Sir Robert de. 1304, 1321.

5 fusils in fess each charged with an escallop.

Dv, 109, 115.

———, William son of Sir Robert de. 1318.

4 fusils in fess.

Dv, 114.

POLE, Michael de la, Earl of Suffolk. 1402.

A fess between 3 leopard's faces; quartering, on a bend 3 pairs of wings [WINGFIELD].

Jv, 235.

PONTEFRACTO, Adam de. 1303.

2 lions passant to the sinister.

Di, 118.

PRESFEN, Michael de. 1335.

A chevron between 3 stags.

Dvi, 111.

¹ The legend has the name Nouwe[is].

- PUDSAY, Simon de. 1317.
 John de. 1353.
 Sir John de. 1399, 1406.
A chevron between 3 mullets pierced. Crest: a unicorn's head and neck, issuing from a coronet. P, 195, 242, 247-8, 344.
- REVILL, William. Used 1528.
A bend between 3 fleurs-de-lis. Dviii, 8.
- RICHMOND, John, Earl of. 1281.
 Secretum: *checky a bordure and a canton.* Dii, 183.
- , John of Gaunt, Earl of. 1362.
France and England quarterly, a label of 3 points ermine. Crest: a bird pecking from the ground. Dii, 184.
- RICHMOND, Sir Thomas de. 1297.
 Joan widow of Sir Thomas de.¹ 1320.
 Sir Roald de. 1321.
A chief and 2 bars gemelles. Dv, 124; vii, 60, 62.
- , Sir Roald de. 1321.
A chief surmounted by a label of 5 points, and 2 bars gemelles. Dvii, 61.
- , see also HARTFORTH.
- RILSTON, Sir William de. 1407.
A saltire engrailed. Diii, 17.
- RIMINGTON, John de. 1390.
A chevron [?]cotised between 3 [?]helmets. P, 239.
- RISHWORTH, John. 1457.
A bend between an eagle displayed and a cross-crosslet. Di, 227; iii, 121.
- ROKEBY, (Sir) Thomas de. 1333, 1358.
A chevron between 3 rooks. Jxii, 293; Dii, 49.
- ROS, William de. 1267.
3 water-bougets. Jvii, 452.
- , Sir William de. 1324, 1325.
3 water-bougets, over all a label of 3 points. Dii, 121, 161.
- , William de. 1412..
3 water-bougets; quartering, a fess between 2 bars gemelles [BADLESMERE]. Crest: a peacock. Di, 136.
- , see also BELLEW.
- ROSSELYN, William. 1398.
On a bend 3 buckles. Di, 147.
- ROUTHE, William de. 1361.
On a chevron 3 cross-crosslets between 3 lion's heads erased. Dii, 49.
- [?]ST. PAUL, Henry de. Used 1369.
3 swords in pale, points to base. Jxiii, 65.

¹ The legend gives her name as Joan de Richmond.

- SALTMARSH, Thomas son of Sir Edward de. 1371.
Crusilly 3 cinquefoils. Di, 104.
- SALVAIN, Sir Nicholas son of Anketin. 1358, 1364.
A chevron between 3 [?] boar's heads. Crest: a boar's head and neck. Di, 123; viii, 141.
- , Roger. 1437.
On a chief 2 mullets. Dv, 35.
- SANDFORD, Thomas de. 1375.
Ermine on a chief 2 boar's heads coupes. Dviii, 143.
- [?]SCARGILL, William son of Sir Warin de. 1351.
Billetty a saltire. Dii, 174.
- SCOT, Sir John. 1376.
A cross botony. Di, 88.
- SCROPE, Sir Geoffrey le. 1334.
 Sir Henry le. 1362.
 John le. 1384.
A bend surmounted by a label of 3 points. Jxii, 258; Dvii, 191.
- , Joan. 1376.
A bend surmounted by a label; impaling, fretty a chief [FITZ-HUGH]. Dvi, 38.
- , Henry. 1564.
A bend; quartering, a saltire engrailed [TIPTOFT]. Crest: out of a coronet ensigned with 3 fleurs-de-lis as many ostrich feathers. P, 360.
- SEWERBY, Robert son of William de. c. 1308.
 Sir Thomas de. 1355.
A bend cotised between 6 lions rampant. Div, 136; vi, 127.
- SHARDELOW, John son of John de. 1345.
A chevron between 3 cross-crosslets fitchy. Jxiii, 60.
- [?]SHEPLEY, John son of Thomas de. 1346.
A fess between 3 escallops. Dii, 194.
- STANTON, Robert son of Thomas de. 1350.
3 crosses paty, 2 and 1, on a chief a lion passant. Dii, 202.
- , John de. 1387.
 [?] *semé with crosses.* Dviii, 170.
- , Robert son of Thomas de. 1402.
3 crosses paty. Dviii, 170.
- STOCKELD, Ralph son of Richard de. 1301.
3 eagles displayed. Div, 147; v, 149.
- STRELLEY, Sir Nicholas de. 1421.
Paly. Crest: an old man's head. Di, 67.
- STUTEVILLE, Robert de. 1307.
Barry. Di, 55.

- SWILLINGTON, Sir Adam son of Adam de. c. 1330.
A chevron and a label of 5 points. Di, 169.
- SWINITHWAITE, William de. 1365.
A bend within a bordure engrailed. Crest: a goat's head. Dii, 102.
- SYKES, Richard. 1651.
A chevron between 3 sykes (or fountains). Crest: a fleur-de-lis. Diii, 118.
- THORNHILL, Beatrice widow of Sir John de. 1322.
A chief and 2 bars gemelles [THORNHILL]; a second shield, a fess between 3 fleurs-de-lis [unidentified]. Div, 152.
- , Thomas de. 1334.
A chief and 2 bars gemelles, over all a bendlet dexter. Diii, 19 [and see p. 34].
- , John de. 1422.
 William (de). 1420, 1438.
A chief and 2 bars gemelles. Diii, 35-6; vii, 44.
- , John. 1665.
 Quarterly: (1) and (8) *gules a chief and 2 bars gemelles argent*; (2) *argent a chevron between 3 cross-crosslets fitchy gules* [BIRTON]; (3) *argent 3 boar's heads erect erased sable, a crescent for difference* [BOOTH]; and four other quarterings. Diii, 73.
- THORPE, Thomas son of William de. 1364.
A chevron between 3 lions rampant. Jxii, 261.
- THWAITES, William. 1522.
An estoile of 6 points. Dii, 144.
- THWENG, Sir Marmaduke de. 1227.
A fess between 3 popinjays. Di, 101.
- TIPTOFT. Quartered by SCROPE, *q.v.*
- TOCKETTS. Used 1334.
A chevron between 3 [?]birds. Dii, 145.
- TRE[?]OURAN, Roger. Used 1370.
A chevron between 3 cinquefoils. Dvii, 162.
- UGHTRED, Isabel widow of Robert. 1324, 1325.
*On a cross 4 mullets. Two other shields, one bearing an orle, and the other a cross patonce with a label of 5 points.*¹ Dii, 121, 161.
- , Henry. 1498.
 Robert son of Sir Henry. 1520.
A cross patonce; quartering, 3 bourdons (or pilgrim's staves) [BURDON]. Crest: a stag's head. Dii, 123, 162.
- UMFRAVILLE. Impaled by LUCY, *q.v.*
- [?]UPSALL, Sir Geoffrey de. 1329.
A cross. Dviii, 150.

¹ The legend assigns the ownership of the seal to Isabel Ughtred.

- USFLEET, Gerard de. 1363.
On a fess 3 fleurs-de-lis. Div, 109.
- VAVASOUR, Sir Mauger le. c. 1290-95.
A fess and 2 mullets in chief. Dvi, 60.
- , John. 1522, 1595.
A fess dancetty. Dii, 144; vi, 83.
- , Mauger. 1596.
A fess dancetty; with two quarterings. Dii, 166.
- WALEYS. Quartered by DEPDEN, *q.v.*
- WANNERVILLE, Adam. 1362.
3 crescents, 2 and 1. P, 231.
- , impaled by WORTLEY, *q.v.*
- WANSFORD, John. 1423.
Per fess 3 ewers, 2 and 1. Crest: an ewer with a branch inserted. Dv, 168.
- WARD, Sir Simon. 1320.
A cross flory. Dvii, 60.
- WASTENEYS. Impaled by HOLME, *q.v.*
- WELDE, Henry de la. 1358.
3 bugle-horns. Diii, 93-4.
- WELLES. Quartered by GARGRAVE, *q.v.*
- WENSLEY, Peter de. 1357.
 John. 1528.
A bend between 6 roundels. Dvi, 115-6.
- , Simon de (rector of). 1368.
A chevron between 3 pheons. P, 357.
- WHITBY, William de. Used 1370.
A chevron engrailed between 3 ammonites. Dvii, 163.
- WOODROVE, Oliver. 1416.
A chevron between 3 cross-crosslets. Dii, 151.
- WORTLEY, John de. 1413.
On a bend between 6 martlets 3 roundels; impaling, 3 crescents [WANNERVILLE]. Dvi, 107.
- WYCLIFFE, Robert de. 1399.
A chevron between 3 cross-crosslets. Dii, 145.
- [?]WYOTT, John. 1426.
6 fusils in bend between 6 annulets. Dviii, 94.
- ZOUCHE, Eudo la. 14th cent.
Bezanty. Di, 82.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY AND THE HOLY ANGELS, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS ST. SEPULCHRE'S CHAPEL, AT YORK.

By A. HAMILTON THOMPSON. C.B.E., D.Litt., F.B.A.

PART I.

In the north aisle of the nave of York Minster there remains, in the second bay from the west, a blocked doorway which communicated with the chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, probably through a passage or vestibule. The chapel itself, founded by Archbishop Roger of Pont-l'Evêque, was a separate building which adjoined the gatehouse of the archbishop's palace. Its destruction has been so complete that the only trace of it which survives is this doorway, and no records remain to give us a definite idea of its appearance or of any alterations that may have taken place in its fabric after the death of its founder. Fortunately, there is enough documentary material, though of a somewhat formal and jejune kind, to enable us to trace the history of a remarkable foundation which grew up under the shadow of the Minster and was intimately connected with it. The summary account in the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire*,¹ while generally accurate, omits any positive statement with regard to its purpose, and there are certain points in its constitution which deserve closer attention than they have hitherto received.

Had it not been for the insertion of copies of two important documents, one of which is unique, in the Register of Archbishop Greenfield, at the opening of the fourteenth century, little would have been left of the early history of 'the chapel', the title by which the foundation was habitually known to the archbishops and their clerical staff. Of these, the ordination of the chapel by Roger and a second ordination, made some seventy years later, by Archbishop Sewall de Bovill, no originals exist; but of Sewall's ordination there is another copy in the *Registrum Magnum Album* of the dean and chapter of York, the text of which is printed in the volume of documents supplementary to Raine's *Historians of the Church of York*.² Here also is included the text of the earlier ordination from Greenfield's Register, which, if not the actual charter of foundation, may be regarded as closely associated with the act.³

¹ III, 384-386.

² *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), III, 175-184.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 75, 77.

Mr. Charles Clay has shown that the date of this ordinance is clearly fixed within the last four years of Roger's life (1177-81) by the occurrence and position of the name of Magister Gwydo among the witnesses.¹ This was the *magister scholarum* of the Minster, who did not succeed to his office until 1177. Thus the foundation of the chapel was among the latest acts of Roger's long episcopate of twenty-seven years, and in his preamble he looks back along its eventful and somewhat chequered course :

What abundant thanks we ought to render to the divine goodness for all that in our time it has thought meet to accomplish for its honour, we could not express in a few words. But among these we think that it would not be right to pass over in silence the chapel which we have built and dedicated hard by the cathedral church (*juxta majorem ecclesiam*) under the name of the blessed and undefiled virgin Mary and all the Angels; wherein, to the end that divine service may be celebrated for ever to the honour and glory of God and for the remission of the sins of us and of our successors,² we have purposed that thirteen clerks of different orders shall there make their dwelling for ever and continually do service at the hours, matins and mass, according to the constitution³ of the church of Saint Peter.

Of these thirteen, four were to be in priests' orders, four to be deacons and four subdeacons, with one sacrist

who shall ever be diligent as regards internal business at the bidding and disposition of the archbishop.

The endowment was furnished by the grant of a number of parish churches, of which a moiety of the church of Otley, the church of Bardsey, and the three Nottinghamshire churches of Everton, Hayton and Sutton with its chapel of Scrooby, were of the archbishop's own gift. Four churches were supplied by their lay patrons, Calverley by William Scot, Hooton Pagnell by William Paynell, Harewood by Avise de Rumilly, and Thorp Arch by Adam Brus and Ivette Arches his wife. This grant of course implied the appropriation of the churches to the uses of the sacrist and canons. Therefore to indemnify the archbishops and their officials for the financial loss incurred, synodal and other fees were to be paid as usual from the churches which had been in lay patronage, while those which were of the archbishop's gift and demesne were to remain free and quit of charges, as in time past.

Statements with respect to residence and stipends follow. Roger's intention was that the sacrist and canons should be perpetually resident.

¹ *Y.A.J.*, xxxv, 133.

² The printed text has the reading *ad Dei honorem et successorum nostrorum gloriam, et ob peccatorum nostrorum remissionem*. Roger, though not remarkable for humility of character, could hardly have allowed the statement of his intentions to pass in this form.

³ *Constitutionem*, as printed, is probably an error for *consuetudinem*.

We decree that none of the aforesaid clerks shall be allowed to tarry outside the city. If he shall so do and will not return when warned by the archbishop, then it shall be lawful for the archbishop to remove him and assign his portion to another person who shall diligently do service in the said chapel according to its constitution.

The stipend of each priest-canon was fixed at ten marks *per annum*; that of each deacon at five pounds; that of each subdeacon at six marks. The sacrist was appointed paymaster with the annual revenue of ten marks.

If the revenues of the aforesaid churches cannot suffice by any chance to make up the sum due to each individual, then enough shall be subtracted from the portion of each to leave ten marks for the sacrist. But when the amount of the revenues can suffice to make up all the portions to their full sum, the residue shall go to the use of the sacrist.

Finally, the sacrist and the canons of the chapel have certain duties to observe in their relations with the adjacent cathedral church.

That in all things the honour of the church of Saint Peter may be maintained, we will and prescribe that on Maundy Thursday (*in Coena Domini*) the aforesaid sacrist shall find at his own expense such things as may be needful with respect to matters appertaining to the canons of the mother church, to wit the church of Saint Peter, in wafers and in wine, ale and water for washing the feet of the canons and poor clerks, ten shillings for the use of the same poor, and for their victuals sixty shillings to wit, so that in all things brotherhood and the unity of the church may be preserved.

The ordinance ends with the names of the witnesses, Robert the dean, Hamo the chanter, Master Gwydo, Ralph the archdeacon and John the archdeacon, all members of the mother church.

It needs no stretch of imagination to regard the foundation of the chapel as Roger's thank-offering for the blessings of his episcopate at a time when it had lasted some quarter of a century, and we probably should not be far wrong if we placed it in 1179, when that period was completed. In common with every religious foundation of the middle ages, its primary object was the maintenance of constant intercession for the founder and for the faithful, living and departed. Its constitution was closely akin to that of the great church beside which it stood. The division of its prebends into three grades was customary in the larger communities of secular canons, originally intended to supply their churches with a ministry of three orders. Roger's action at York was to be imitated, whether consciously or not, on a more imposing scale within the next few years by Archbishop Baldwin's attempt to establish a college of secular priests at Hackington, close to

Canterbury.¹ But Baldwin's aim was to create a chapter of secular clergy which might form a bulwark against the claims of the monastic chapter of the cathedral church, and it was precisely for that reason that his ambitious scheme failed. At York, in spite of the growing insistence of the dean and chapter upon their rights and privileges, Roger had no intention of founding a rival body. The tie between the chapel and the cathedral church was from the beginning close and with years was to become closer. But between the two bodies there was an essential difference. In the cathedral chapter the practice of non-residence by individual canons was common: the actual number of residents was a fraction of the entire number of canons, and, as time went on, the stringent conditions prescribed by statutes of residence reduced it further, while the place of absent canons was supplied by their vicars. The chapel, on the other hand, was contemplated as the home of a body continually resident, following the daily round of services without the need of deputies to minister in their place, and with adequate stipends corresponding to their orders. Over them was set the sacrist or warden, charged with the payment of their stipends from the general fund and with the oversight of the whole establishment. The permanence of his income was guaranteed by a special provision in view of the possible lack of sufficient funds to pay the full stipends of the canons.²

Constitutionally Roger's chapel was an early example of the colleges of resident chantry priests which became common at a later date. In the twelfth century the establishment of such colleges was overshadowed by the monastic ideal and by the popularity of houses of Augustinian canons in which the inmates led a common life with observance of a rule. In Roger's foundation, as in many chantry colleges after his day, the conventual number of thirteen members, a head with twelve companions, continued unbroken throughout its history. But, while it is possible to point to several parallels at a later period, of which Edward III's chapels at Windsor and Westminster are the most conspicuous, the chapel at York had few parallels in its own day. On the one hand, Baldwin's foundation at Hackington was projected in a more ambitious form, on the lines of a cathedral chapter, while, on the other, such chapels as that founded by Henry of Blois in his manor house of Marwell, near Winchester, were for a much smaller number of priests.³ A later bishop of Winchester, John of Pontoise, was to found, at the gate of his castle of Wolvesey, the chapel of St. Elizabeth, in situation resembling the York chapel, though at a greater distance from the cathedral church and

¹ See Gervase of Canterbury (Rolls Ser.) I, 337, etc.

² It should be noted that the appropriated churches which formed the endowment of the Chapel were regarded as appropriated to the sacrist in whom its *personatus* was legally vested. Presentations to the vicarages were always made, not by the sacrist and canons as a corporate body, but by the sacrist as an individual.

³ *Monasticon* VI (iii), 1343-1344.

outside its monastic precincts.¹ Later still Bishop Adam Houghton, with the aid of John of Gaunt and his wife Blanche of Lancaster, founded at St. Davids the chapel which still stands between the north side of the cathedral church and the bishop's palace.² In neither of these, however, was the number of clergy so large as at York, and, while each had its warden, the chaplains or fellows under his care were never given the title of canons. How far the example of Roger had an influence over later founders it is impossible to say; but, considering the fact that such secular foundations were not common in his own time, it seems clear that he desired to apply to a secular community an experiment of which there were plenty of examples in houses both of monks and canons.

From an early period in its history the chapel was known by the alternative name of St. Sepulchre's, which was given to it popularly. This appears in the course of the thirteenth century,³ but never formed part of its formal dedication and official title.⁴ The reason is doubtful. The chapel was near the churchyard of the Minster, '*ultra portam palatii*,'⁵ which some have taken as meaning that it was above the gate of the archbishops' palace. But, though *ultra* often has that sense, in this instance the chapel was above the gateway in the sense that it stood beyond it, on the other side from the outer entrance. This situation near the churchyard and its possible use for funeral masses, with the importance given in its services to the office of the dead, may have been responsible for its popular title. It has also been suggested, which is quite possible, that it contained the Easter Sepulchre of the Minster, to which the host was conveyed after the mass of Maundy Thursday, to rest there till it was restored to the high altar for Easter. On the other hand, there is nothing to prove this, and the absence of a permanent Easter Sepulchre from the Minster itself is by no means peculiar to York among cathedral churches. On the whole, the first theory seems the more probable, though the second cannot be dismissed as wholly groundless.⁶

¹ See *Winton. Reg. Pontissara*, pp. 128-133; *Monasticon* VI (iii), 1339-1341.

² *Ibid.* VI (iii), 1387-1390.

³ In 1266 (*C.P.R.* 1258-1266, p. 557); also in 1282 (*Reg. Wickwane*, 332).

⁴ In 1546 the alternative title is given: 'the chapel called the Holy Sepulchre's or St. Mary and the Holy Angels (*L. & P. Hen. VIII XXI*, 485 (g. no. 970, 34)). The alternative also appears in *Val. Eccl.*, where the chapel is said to be *vulgariter nuneupata* St. Sepulchre's chapel.

⁵ *Reg. Wickwane*, 337.

⁶ The site and remains of the building disclosed by excavation are described, with a plan, by Browne, *Hist. Metrop. Ch. York* I 183 sqq. According to him the original building was aisleless, with its longer axis from N.E. to S.W. The S.W. angle, projecting in front of the N.W. angle of the Norman nave of the Minster, was merged in the westward extension of the nave in the fourteenth century, but of the alterations which must then have taken place the only trace is the doorway in the north aisle of the Minster. The date of this agrees well with the licence granted by Archbishop Melton in 1333 for an extension of the site for the erection or enlargement of building in connection with the chapel.

The connexion of the new chapel with the cathedral chapter is shown by the appointment of the cathedral treasurer Hamo as the first sacrist.¹ There is, however, no indication of the effect of this. All that can be said is that the fostering care of Hamo was probably successful in setting the institution upon a sound footing. It seems unlikely that Hamo, when preferred to the deanery of the cathedral church, still combined the office of sacrist with it; but it is certainly probable that his interest in it continued until his death in 1219. Again we have no information when the full quota of canons was reached, whether at once or by degrees, and allusions to the chapel during the first half of the thirteenth century are entirely wanting, save for the mention in 1236 of Master Gilbert de Tywa as sacrist.² But during the interval between the foundation and the second ordination of the Chapel in 1258 some readjustment in the sources of endowment had taken place. The church of Harewood does not figure among those enumerated in 1258, while the church of Otley is treated, not as a moiety, but as an entire benefice.³ The church of Collingham on the Wharfe takes the place of Harewood,⁴ and to the three churches in Nottinghamshire are added those of East Retford and Clarbrough with its chapels of Gringley, Welham and Bolham.

The new ordination, issued by Archbishop Sewall on 4 May 1258, six days before his death, effected no change in the number of canons or in the position of the sacrist, but was designed to augment their revenues, to define their duties, to furnish them with supplementary assistance, and to provide for the maintenance of divine worship in the appropriated parish churches. To the stipends named in the original ordinance it added payments for attendance at daily matins, mass and vespers, a penny for each service, to be paid from the sacrist's purse. Absence from a service or quarrelsome and unruly behaviour during one was punished by the fine of a penny, the decision of what constituted such ill conduct being left to the sacrist or his proctor. No doubt this provision was intended to make residence more attractive, under safeguards, to the canons. The mention of the sacrist's proctor or deputy shows that he cannot have kept strictly to the original idea of permanent residence, and in any case, where an establishment such as this was largely recruited from clerks who in the nature of things, as we shall see, could not be always on the spot, the obligation of perpetual residence became little more than a counsel of perfection.

¹ This appears from the details of an assize of darrein presentment *c.* 1204. As Hamo was then treasurer, it seems likely that he retained the sacristy with the treasurership until his promotion to the deanery *c.* 1215-17. See *Y.A.J.*, xxxv, 28.

² *Reg. Gray* (Surtees Soc.), p. 74.

³ The moiety of this church is mentioned in 1281 (*Reg. Wickwane*, 320). The other moiety belonged to the preb. of South Cave in York (see Lawton, *Collections*, p. 98), but no vicarage was ordained in it.

⁴ Institutions to the church of Harewood in 1280, on the presentation of Isabel des Forz, make special reservation of tithes appertaining to the church of York or the chapel, assigned by ordinance of Archbishop Gray (*Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 29, 261).

It was owing to the same circumstance that the body of clergy serving the chapel was reinforced by two priest-chaplains, two deacons and two subdeacons.

Apart from the twelve canons abovesaid, there shall be two priests celebrating every day for the dead, two deacons and two subdeacons; the which deacons and subdeacons shall continually pay devout service to the priests when they celebrate in the same chapel. And these priests, deacons and subdeacons, being present day by day at the canonical hours and at high mass, shall every day, together with the others, canons and ministers of the said chapel, say in full *Placebo*, *Dirige* and the rest of the service for the dead. And although the canons and ministers may by carelessness or of their fault or in some other way omit to say the same service for the dead, yet shall the said two priests, deacons and subdeacons be of necessity bound to this.

For these supernumerary clerks of the chapel stipends were assigned, to each priest five marks, to each deacon three and to each subdeacon two and a half marks. The fines for absence from one of the hours or for brawling in church were a penny for each priest and a halfpenny for each deacon or subdeacon. No payment was made for attendance at the hours. While the appointment of the sacrist and canons was reserved to the archbishop's collation, that of the additional ministers was in the hands of the sacrist, who was at liberty to remove them for incontinence, misbelief or unruliness and other lawful causes without legal procedure.

By this means the maintenance of divine service in the chapel was secured, the position of the inferior priests, deacons and subdeacons being analogous to that of vicars choral in cathedral and collegiate establishments. The provision of additional clergy, however, was not intended wholly to remedy the danger of possible non-residence on the part of the canons, for whom, by an exceptional arrangement, a part was reserved in the cathedral services.

We further ordain that the canons who hold priest-prebends in the said chapel should celebrate the morrow mass or the high mass at the altar of the *major ecclesia* week and week about, as shall be convenient, at the appointment of the precentor, who shall give them notice in the chapel on the day before. The canon of the chapel who shall celebrate the morrow mass or the high mass at the said altar of the cathedral church, shall thus receive two pence in the same place from the sacrist's purse, while the deacon and subdeacon canons of the chapel who minister at the high mass with the said priest canon shall likewise receive two pence, the deacon one, and the subdeacon another, apart from the revenues of their ancient prebends and apart from the three pence at matins, high mass and vespers in the chapel which they should receive, as is expressed above, according to this our ordinance. But, if it happen that, by ordainment of the

cathedral church, two canons of the chapel have to celebrate at the high altar of the same church on the same day, each one of those celebrating on this wise shall receive on that day two pence from the sacrist's purse. All subtractions that must be made from the canons, priests, deacons and subdeacons, on account of absence, brawling or unruliness, shall be converted to the use of the sacrist at his discretion; but, if so it happen that the deacon and subdeacon canons of the said chapel, for sickness or any other reason, which God forbid, will not or cannot on any day serve at the high altar of the cathedral church, then the deacon and subdeacon of the (cathedral) choir who shall serve at the altar shall require nothing of the sacrist, but shall be content with the two shillings which they were accustomed to receive before this ordinance.

This of course does not mean that the celebration of the morrow and high masses was committed to the care of the canons of the chapel. Ordinarily speaking, they would be celebrated at the high altar by one of the residentiary cathedral canons, and the high mass would be served by a deacon and subdeacon chosen from among the vicars choral. If it happened that the canon whose turn it was to celebrate either of these services was hindered from doing so, the precentor, the dignitary specially charged with the arrangement of the Minster services, was to give a day's notice to the canon of the chapel who was ready in his turn to supply the place of the absentee; and, if the service was high mass, the places of deacon and subdeacon were to be filled by canons of the chapel, if possible. This regulation transgressed the habitual rule which prohibited anyone of lower rank than a canon of the cathedral chapter from celebrating at the high altar, and no parallel example, so far as the present writer is aware, can be found in any other English cathedral foundation. There seems to be no indication of its success or failure; but its enactment shows at any rate that in the middle of the thirteenth century the residentiary canons of the Minster, who ordinarily might be expected to take the place of absentees, were probably few in number and could not be depended on for attendance.

This provision is followed by a series of brief ordinations of the vicarages in the eleven appropriated parish churches and their chapels. The endowments are stated as follows :

Thorp Arch. The vicar has all the altarage and the rectory house, with free ingress to the grange and egress, together with liberty to dry his corn in the croft in front of the grange and to make a rick, reserved to the sacrist. The vicar is to have a tenth of the sacrist's tithe and two marks from his purse; while the sacrist is to give two marks a year to the poor of the place.

Collingham. The vicar has all the altarage, except the tithes arising from the food of beasts on the king's demesne. For his dwelling he is to have two tofts joined together, with a bovat of

land and a tenth of the local tithe. Here again the sacrist is charged with two marks yearly to the vicar and a similar sum to the poor.

Bardsey. The vicar has all the altarage, with the exception of hay and revenues arising from beasts' nourishment as in the last. He also has a tenth of the tithe due to the sacrist and, for his dwelling, a bovate of land towards 'Rulay,' if no dwelling-house is provided by the sacrist. There is no further payment to the vicar, but three marks a year are to be given to the poor.

Otley. The vicar has either twenty marks from the altarage deducted from the sacrist's portion, or is to take the whole altarage and answer for twenty marks to the sacrist. The poor are to have eight marks a year.

Calverley. The vicar has fifteen marks of the altarage as above, with a similar alternative. The yearly payment to the poor is six marks.

Hooton Pagnell. The vicar has the altarage and the tithe of the sacrist's demesne or twenty shillings. A tenth of the tithe or two marks are to go to the poor.

Sutton. The vicar has the altarage and the demesne tithe, a dwelling-house in the vill, and the tithe of hay from Scrooby. The sacrist is charged with four marks for the poor.

Everton. The vicar has the altarage and all the land of the church, or half a mark from the sacrist's purse and the tithe of hay from the further (i.e., the western) side of Scaftworth on the straight road to Bawtry. The sacrist is to find him a dwelling or give him half a mark in lieu of one every year. The poor are to have three marks.

Hayton. The vicar has the altarage and the church land with a garden. The sacrist is to give three marks to the poor.

Clarborough. The vicar has the altarage with the toft and croft next adjoining the churchyard, the tithes of the enclosed crofts of the vill and the tithe of the mills of Bolham. He shall find adequate maintenance for the chaplain of Gringley and shall find duty for another chaplain at Clarborough, Welham and Bolham. The sacrist is to give the poor five marks.

East Retford. The vicar has a hundred shillings from the altarage, the small tithes, to wit of foals, ducks and piglings, the bread and ale which may happen to be brought to the altar. The sacrist is to give the tithe of the mills to the poor.

In all these cases, if the annual value of a vicarage were found, on the sworn testimony of the priest and two faithful parishioners, to be less than ten marks, it should be augmented at the archbishop's discretion. Vicars whose revenue exceeded ten marks, so that they could maintain the services of another priest, were bound to provide their churches with an assistant. In every case the vicar was bound to meet the repair of the chancel and

keep it furnished with necessary requirements, and, where procurations were payable to the archdeacon, the vicar was responsible for them.

The sacrist was thus freed of much of the responsibility which ordinarily fell upon the proprietors of parish churches, and, in case of disputes which might arise on such points between him and the vicars, he was to have the option. If any of the vicars of Calverley, Otley and East Retford, where the altarage was divided between them and the sacrist, were found, either himself or his ministers, to withhold any part of the sacrist's portion, he would incur deprivation of his vicarage, and another person would be appointed in his stead.

Of two supplementary clauses, one concerned the newly nominated priest, deacon and subdeacon chaplains and ministers, who, if hindered from performing their duties by genuine infirmity, were to lose nothing thereby, but should, if possible, chant the day office for the dead during their period of illness. The other recognised the labours of Gilbert de Tywe, the sacrist, in acquiring benefices for the chapel and procuring their improvement and the present ordinance.¹ As the labourer is worthy of his hire, his obit was to be celebrated yearly in the Minster, in the chapel, and in all the churches appertaining to it.

Sewall's ordinance shows quite clearly that the ideal of a resident body of canons, as contemplated by Roger, was difficult to maintain, and the list of canons which forms the second part of this article indicates that it was no more permanent than was the strict maintenance of the connexion of individual prebends for the clerical order for which they were intended. Of the internal history of the institution little record remains apart from memoranda of collations of prebends, which are plentiful. It is clear, however, that such benefices formed modest rewards for clerks in the service of the archbishops and occasionally of other prelates, while, during vacancies of the archbishopric, the Crown was always ready to take advantage of a vacant prebend for one of the king's clerks. The sacristy, moreover, was, as has been seen, a benefice of considerable emolument: if master Gilbert de Tywe had been diligent in building up its solvency and augmenting its resources, his successors were perfectly ready to reap the fruits of his labours without emulating his personal industry.

The growth of non-residence among the canons received an attempted check from Archbishop Romeyn in 1289, when on 31 July he ordered the sequestration of the fruits of all the prebends except those of Henry Mileford and Ralph Knovill, a priest and a deacon.² On the following day a subdeacon canon, Simon of Oxford, known as le Crocer, was warned to reside,³ and it is not unlikely

¹ It was no doubt owing to his diligence that the benefices named for the first time in Sewall's ordinance were acquired and the arrangement made with regard to the tithes of Harewood, as noted above, p. 68 note 4. The reference to him in 1236 (*Reg. Gray*, 74) relates to the assignment of certain tithes from the church of Calverley.

² *Reg. Romeyn* I, 379.

³ *Ibid.*

that the appointment of his successor a few months later was the consequence of his deprivation. At this date the fruits of the sacristy were out at farm. The sacrist, Percival of Lavagna, a brother of the cardinal Ottobon (Oddobuono Fieschi) who for a brief space in 1276 had been pope under the title of Adrian V, had been appointed during the legation of his brother in England. He left the affairs of his office in the competent hands of a deacon canon, John of Lucca (de Luca or de Luco), who was otherwise much engaged in business of the court of Rome in this country.

In the Taxation of 1290 the fruits of the sacristy are not noted; but each priest prebend was taxed at the sum appointed in Roger's ordinance, i.e., ten marks, each deacon prebend at seven and a half marks (£5), and each subdeacon prebend at six marks (£4). Only two of the subdeacon canons are named.¹ It was, however, in 1290 that Percival of Lavagna died, and the office was given by Archbishop Romeyn to the chancellor of York, Thomas Corbridge, who, by virtue of his dignity in the Minster, was continually on the spot. Corbridge entered upon the sacristy after a preliminary skirmish with the archbishop over his retention of the chancellorship, but there is no reason to suppose that his appointment did not mark a change for the better.² But, when in 1299-1300 Corbridge was preferred to the archbishopric, the sacristy reverted for a time to an Italian incumbent. The king, taking advantage of the vacancy of the see and Corbridge's cession of his office, gave the sacristy to his clerk Master John Bouhs or Busshe together with the prebend of Stillington in the Minster.³ But Francesco Gaetani, a nephew of Pope Boniface VIII, had for some time been expecting a benefice in the church of York, and for the time being, Corbridge, disregarding the king's wishes, conferred the sacristy on this candidate. When, in 1303, Gaetani obtained the treasurership of York, Corbridge gave the sacristy to Gilbert Segrave, archdeacon of Oxford. Edward I, however, renewed the claims of John Busshe, pressing them during the earlier part of 1304 upon the archbishop. After Corbridge's death on 22 Sept., the king obtained his wish and on 28 Nov., Segrave having presumably retired without a contest, Busshe was admitted by the dean and chapter as guardians of the spiritualities of the vacant see.⁴

¹ *Tax. Eccl.* (Record Comm.), p. 298.

² In the notice of Corbridge's admission, it is said of the chapel, 'que multis retroactis temporibus sacrista indigena caruit.' A special permission was granted to the archbishop by Nicholas IV to collate the sacristy to an Englishman. The intention both of pope and archbishop was that Corbridge should resign the chancellorship before entering on the sacristy: this, however, he did not do, as he found that there was some obstacle to peaceful possession of the latter. Meanwhile the archbishop had treated the chancellorship as vacant and, appointing someone else to it, threatened Corbridge with excommunication. Corbridge set out for Rome to appeal: the pope required the archbishop to withdraw his sentence, and Corbridge remained in possession both of his dignity and his office (*Reg. Romeyn* I, 385, 386). The sentence was revoked 24 March 1290-1 (*ibid.*, II, 2).

³ See date, etc., in list of canons below.

⁴ For the dates, see list of canons below.

Such an appointment, delivering the sacristy once more into the keeping of an incumbent who, as a busy clerk in the king's service, could not be expected to reside, was profitable not even to Busshe himself for the time being. Gaetani had left the sacristy with its contribution to the tenth imposed by Boniface VIII unpaid, and Busshe was pressed for payment. The king intervened with an order that arrears should be met by distraint upon Gaetani's goods in England, which were about to be moved abroad.¹ Busshe had stepped into Gaetani's prebend of Stillington with the sacristy. This, however, he was not allowed to keep. His possession of it depended upon a royal grant, and, when Edward I's son and successor, or, rather, those who controlled his power in 1310, wished to appoint John Hotham, afterwards bishop of Ely, to the prebend in 1310, Archbishop Greenfield, after holding an inquiry, removed Busshe from it.² He retained the sacristy until his death in 1333, probably not without some difficulty, as the issue from time to time of letters of protection to him in this office shows.³ He also appears to have obstructed or in some way impugned Archbishop Greenfield's right of visitation of the chapel and its churches in 1313 and 1314; this ended, however, in remission of the sentence incurred for acts of contumacy.⁴

There is little to be said about Busshe's successors in the sacristy, who appear in the list below. The most distinguished of them was John Waltham, who ended his days as bishop of Salisbury in 1395, a member of a family active in the royal service, and a nephew of the chancery clerk Richard Ravenser, archdeacon of Lincoln, who, as canon of Beverley, took a leading part in the rebellion of the canons against Archbishop Alexander Neville's attempt to assert his authority over them. Waltham no doubt shared his uncle's antipathy to Neville, and, when Neville and the other counsellors of Richard II were overthrown in 1388, he was preferred to the bishopric of Salisbury and in 1391 was appointed treasurer of the exchequer. In that position, he either won the confidence or was himself won over by the personal attraction of the king, who, on his death, insisted that he should be buried with the kings in St. Edward's chapel in Westminster abbey, where his brass effigy may be seen to-day. It will be seen, however, that in the hands of the archbishops, the sacristy was usually granted to men who were members of their own household and well known in the diocese. Of these, the most conspicuous were Henry Bowet, nephew of the archbishop of that name, who held preferments in the chapter of York and Beverley and Southwell and became for many years archdeacon of Richmond, and the last holder of the office, Thomas Magnus, whose long life was spent in affairs of church and state, with its centre of interest in York and the diocese.

¹ *Reg. Greenfield* (Surt. Soc.) I, 20, 21.

² *Ibid.* I, 57, 61.

³ *C.P.R.*, 1307-1313, pp. 333, 375; 1317-1321, p. 395; 1324-1327, p. 34; 1330-1334, p. 396.

⁴ *Reg. Greenfield* I, 86, 87, 98.

The list of canons of the chapel which follows is so broken by gaps that it is impossible to trace the line of succession in individual prebends after the early part of the fourteenth century. That line, however, is approximately continuous where the office of sacrist is concerned. Although there are certain omissions from the archbishops' registers of memoranda of dates of appointment, such dates can be supplied without danger of mere conjecture. As regards the canons the state of things is otherwise. In some of the registers collations of prebends are recorded with some regularity, but here and there intervals occur in which for some years, during which it is impossible that the chapter should have remained stationary, none are noted. In vacancies of the see of York, the Crown is usually found exercising its privilege of disposing of prebends; but such appointments were so often made upon insufficient information that we cannot always be certain that the presentee obtained admission. Nevertheless, it is possible to recover a large number of names, and occasionally, here as elsewhere, additional names may turn up from unexpected sources.

It is probable that the original intention of the founder was to supply the staff of the chapel with clergy from his own personal service, maintaining the connexion between it and the Minster through the person of the sacrist, who, in the case of the first holder of the office, was actually a dignitary of the greater church. Sewall's ordinance made this alliance between the Minster and the chapel more explicit, regarding the canons of the chapel as a supernumerary body of which use could be made to supply the place of absent canons of the Minster. As has been already said, it is clear that, at the time at which this ordinance was made, the chapel itself was beginning to feel the effects of non-residence. A careful study of its *personnel*, as revealed by the names in the list, will show that the type of clerk from whom the canons were chosen did not differ materially from that which furnished members to the cathedral chapter. There are several instances of the simultaneous tenure of prebends in both chapters, and more in which canons of the cathedral church held prebends of the chapel in the course of their career. Early in the fourteenth century, however, Archbishop Greenfield several times gave prebends to clerks whose main business lay, as we know from his register, in his employment, such as William Jafford and Roger Thornton, and he availed himself frequently of the services of one of the canons, Nicholas Moleyns. Such busy persons can seldom have had time to reside. In any case, the obligation of residence was never very strictly enforced, and there is no indication that any statute was made by which, as in cathedral churches, residence was regulated. No statutes survive, and the sole evidence of a constitution are the ordinances of Roger and Sewall.

Crown presentations to prebends, moreover, did not tend to promote residence. The case of John Wynwyk, presented to a prebend during the vacancy of the see after the death of Archbishop Melton, was that of a pluralist upon a large scale whose

preferments formed the chief source of income of a clerk constantly engaged in the royal service. As the fourteenth century advanced, circumstances which affected the larger chapter, had their influence upon the smaller as well. Between 1381 and the fall of Archbishop Alexander Neville in 1388 the archiepiscopal register is wanting. Arundel's register from 1388 to 1396 is defective and is entirely without any notices of admissions to prebends in the Chapel. The register of his successor Waldby is again imperfect, and it is not until the translation of Scrope from Coventry and Lichfield to York that anything like a systematic record of institutions to benefices throughout the diocese is regained. Through these years the names of canons come entirely from grants of prebends entered on the Patent Rolls during the vacancies of the see. These are fairly numerous, for the political circumstances of the later part of the reign of Richard II naturally led to changes in the personal constitution of bodies whose benefices were used as rewards for public servants. During this period, the position of the sacrist appears to have been somewhat ambiguous. Among the promotions which followed the triumph of the Lords Appellant in the Merciless parliament of 1388 was the appointment of John Waltham to the bishopric of Salisbury, which left the sacristy vacant. The grant of the office to Roger Weston describes the chapel as a 'free chapel,' which, though it might be regarded as such from the archbishops' point of view, is a definition given nowhere else. The grant, moreover, followed by a mandate for the induction of the grantee, resembles those usual in the case of benefices in royal free chapels. For this there had been some precedent in the past, when the see of York was vacant; but on this occasion Arundel had been translated from Ely to York some months before, and the direction of the mandate to him appears to overlook the fact that the actual collation of sacristy and prebends lay with him. Be this as it may, it seems probable that Arundel delayed to execute the mandate, while it is certain that, after his translation to the see of Canterbury, a fresh grant of the sacristy was made to Weston, who was duly admitted by the dean and chapter of York as guardians of the spiritualities of the vacant see. How far political causes were responsible for these events it is impossible to say. Weston's tenure of the sacristy remained undisturbed during the changes of 1399. The rebellion and death of Archbishop Scrope, which brought about considerable alterations in the chapter of the Minster, do not seem to have affected the chapel to any noticeable degree, and Weston appears to have continued in possession until late in 1416.

Scrope, however, was more noticeably active than his immediate predecessors in giving prebends in the chapel to the members of his household, and his example was followed in later times, a prebend being often a step or an accompaniment to a prebend in the greater chapter, seldom held for long by those who were busy in amassing and exchanging benefices, but sometimes retained for many years by the less ambitious. Exchanges

constantly took place here during the period, in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when the practice ran riot, and examples occur in which admissions and resignations of the same persons within a few days, or even on the same day, suggest an expedient which ensured some financial advantage to the parties concerned and to those brokers of benefices whom Archbishop Courtenay of Canterbury condemned as 'Choppe-chirches.' It would be interesting to learn the conditions which, in the first half of the fifteenth century led to a series of exchanges in which prebends in the chapel were involved with canonries in St. George's at Windsor and the rectory of Clewer, Berks. The exchanges were not in every case direct, but they point to an interest by the parties in a group of benefices for which parallels can be found by students of the disposal of patronage during this period. It certainly would appear that the ecclesiastical authorities were complacently blind to the manipulation of such exchanges by the clergy who controlled them.

The stipends of the canons, as we have seen, were assessed in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of 1290 at the amounts prescribed by Roger more than a century before.¹ In 1535 they had risen considerably at least on a superficial estimate, the priest prebends from ten marks (£6. 13s. 4d.) to £11. 4s. 7d., the deacon prebends from £5 to £9. 11s. 3d., and the subdeacon prebends from six marks (£4) to £8. 11s. 3d. each. The sacristy was now assessed at £14. 17s. 6½d., this and the other sums being probably obtained from an average.¹ The sacrist, by the original ordinance, had always been guaranteed a minimum stipend of ten marks, and it is probable that his receipts above that sum varied very much at different epochs. At a slightly earlier date, Magnus, sacrist in 1535, was assessed to a clerical subsidy on a sum of £19. 1s. 10d., while two of the canons, John Milde and John Simpson, were assessed on £9. 4s. 4d. and £8. 6s. 8d. respectively.² One other point that may be noticed is that in May 1546 the king was in possession of the next appointment to the sacristy, by the gift of the late Archbishop Lee, with the confirmation of the dean and chapter of York, and parted with it to Cuthbert Horsley.³ Such an alienation of patronage from its proper holder was a foretaste of the approaching end of the foundation.

The dissolution of the chapel came after the passing of the second Chantries Act in 1547. The appropriated churches which had been the main source of its revenues came to the Crown, which took the place of the sacrist as rector and presented their vicars as the vicarages fell vacant. The subsequent history of these benefices and of the impropiators to whom the rectories passed from the Crown does not concern us. The fabric of the chapel was allowed to fall into decay and gradually disappeared until its last traces were cleared away in 1816.⁴

¹ *Val. Eccl.* (Rec. Comm.) V, 18-20.

² L. & P. Hen. VIII, IV (i), 423 (no. 970).

³ *Ibid.* XXI (i), 485 (g. 970. 34).

⁴ The second part of this article will contain lists of the sacrists and canons with biographical details.

SCULPTORS AND SCULPTURE IN YORKSHIRE.

BY MRS. ESDAILE

PART II.

CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS (1621-1707), a London mason whose second master, Christopher Kingsfeild, was a notable monumental sculptor, was after the Fire of 1666 largely concerned with the building of the new Royal Exchange, being ultimately presented with plate by the Gresham Committee for the excellence of his work there, and himself designing the Cornhill front of 1671, the year he built St. Benet Fink for Wren, as well as Bow Church, St. Antholin's and part of St. Paul's. The City made him chief mason at London Bridge, and he carried out much work for the Corporation. The quality of his masonry at St. Mary-le-Bow has (1941) been vindicated during recent air raids, his spire, "unparalleled by the Steeple of any parochial church in Europe," as a contemporary said, still standing in spite of a great hole in the Cheapside wall and the destruction of most of the nave; Bow Bells, alas, are gone. He was Master of the Masons' Company besides, which is something of a triumph, seeing that in 1658 he had actually been sent to prison for refusing to obey that Company's orders; it is as if a young solicitor, severely punished for disobedience to the rules of the Law Society, subsequently became Master of the Rolls. Cartwright died in a good old age and was buried in Bunhill Fields in June, 1707, leaving a son of the same name, also of considerable distinction in his own profession.

Cartwright, like many masons of the day, was a very considerable sculptor, and his masterpiece at Ledsham, described by Thoresby as "a noble monument delicately performed," is to Sir John Lewys and his wife, the grandparents of Lady Elizabeth Hastings (see *Scheemaker, Peter*) and is signed in full "Tho. Cartwright Londini Sculptore (sic) fecit." It was erected by Lewys's heir Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon in 1677, and consists of two reclining effigies in white marble on different altar tombs resting on a common base; on the sides of this base are armorials, and over the centre shield a lovely cherub head; so fine is this work that Thoresby's other comment, "almost unparalleled.... a most delicate stately monument, of curious white marble with well cut statues to the life," is no exaggeration. It is an apt illustration of the rapid growth of our knowledge of English sculpture that in 1933 I described a mural monument of 1689 in the Temple Church as the only known example of Cartwright's monumental sculpture, whereas in 1941 we can point to this noble work at

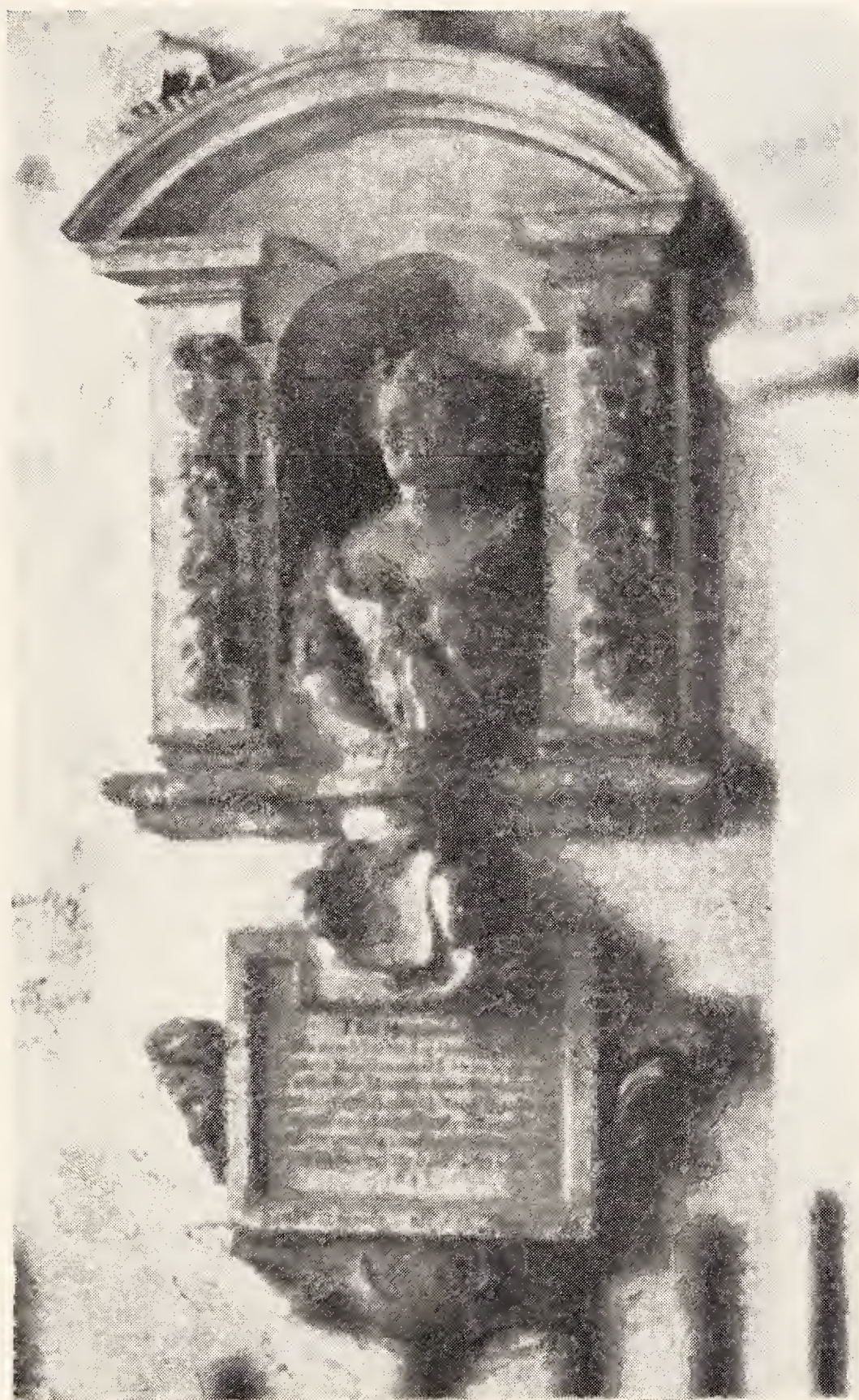


PLATE I.

SNAITH, YORKS. W.R.

LADY ELIZABETH STAPYLTON (d. 1653).

Signed :—" Samuel Carpenter, Carver, York Fecit."
(See *Y.A.S.J.* 1942, 1st part of this Article).

Photograph by J. B. Todhunter.



PLATE II.

SIR JOHN & LADY LEWYS

(erected 1677).

Signed :—" Tho: Cartwright, Londini, Sculptore fecit."

By permission of Mr. Alderman Morrell and the National Buildings Record.

LEDHAM.

Ledsham, a lovely and unique (?) wrought iron cartouche tablet of 1683 at Whittlesea St. Mary, Cambs., and a fine curtain tablet of 1692 at Runwell, Essex as bearing his signature. I am convinced, also, that another though unsigned work at Ledsham may safely be attributed to him, the excellent voluted mural monument to Lewys Cartwright, father of Lady Lewys, since it is made of the same black and white marble as the altar tombs, and is certainly London work. Why the Sir John Lewys should be ignored in Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmete* is inexplicable, since it is one of the best tombs in Yorkshire, placing Cartwright as high in the ranks of sculptors as his work at St. Mary-le-Bow does in those of Wren's colleagues. In both the traditional aspects of the mason's art, that is, Cartwright is a great master. Beyond a passage in my *Temple Church Monuments* (1932) there is no literature dealing with Cartwright as a sculptor. (Pl. II).

CHANTREY, SIR FRANCIS, R.A. (1781-1842) was the son of a carpenter owning a small farm at Jordanthorpe, a hamlet of Norton, Derbyshire, only four miles from Sheffield; educated at the village school, he worked on the farm, and was afterwards sent to a Sheffield grocer with a view to his apprenticeship; but his protests prevailed, and he was apprenticed to a Sheffield carver named Robert Ramsay, in whose window were two figures of Faith and Charity, by James Taylor, which he much admired. He was articled on September 19th, 1797, and the prints and casts, the usual appurtenances of a carver's shop, stimulated his taste; he went about the country with Ramsay and Taylor, who were then employed on the decoration of Renislaw and Wentworth Woodhouse, so that he became familiar with works of art. He worked hard at drawing, made an experiment in casting from the life, and early in 1802 paid Ramsay £50, provided by friends, to cancel his indentures, and set up for himself as an artist, as an advertisement in the *Sheffield Iris* for April 22nd, 1802 shows: "F. Chantrey, with all due deference, begs permission to inform the ladies and gentlemen of Sheffield and its vicinity that, during his stay here, he wishes to employ his time in taking of portraits in crayons and miniatures.... Terms—from 2 to 3 guineas. 24, Paradise Square." Seventy-two known commissions followed, and having thus acquired funds, he went to London to an uncle in service as a butler in Mayfair with a grand-daughter of Sir Hans Sloane, who gave "the Boy of Genius" a room in her house as a studio. Within a few months he sailed to Dublin along with his old friend Taylor, fell ill, lost his hair, which never grew again, and returned to London via Edinburgh, where he worked for Bogaart, a German wood-carver, at 5s. a day; did some work at the R.A. Schools; and in 1804 actually exhibited a portrait of Daniel Wale, the generous butler-uncle, now lost. In October, he was back at Sheffield, and advertised himself (*Sheffield Iris*, Oct. 18, 1804) as painting and modelling from life at No. 14, Norfolk Street; it was during this winter that he met Joseph Hunter and

Lord Fitzwilliam, and cast the face of the dead Rector of Sheffield, whose bust in the Cathedral there, so Hunter says, was his first attempt at chiselling; he then returned to London, where his charge for a portrait was twenty guineas, "which" as he wrote, "answers better than painting portraits in Sheffield for five guineas each." Working at the R.A. every night from 6 to 8, in 1807 he produced four colossal stone busts of Admirals for Greenwich Hospital, three of which were in the R.A. in 1809, and at Twickenham, where his uncle's mistress was now living, married his cousin Miss Wale, with a portion of £10,000, in that year. In 1809 he won the competition for the statue of George III for Guildhall; in 1810 he had six busts in the R.A., the finest that of Horne Tooke, which Nollekens, who had admired his J. R. Smith, generously placed between two of his own. A flood of commissions followed, and from henceforth Chantrey became the best known English sculptor of his generation. It is probably significant that his group of the dying Mariamne Johnes with her parents at Hafod—totally destroyed by fire in April, 1932—was as early as 1812; it had something of Roubiliac, whom Chantrey greatly admired, in the intensity of feeling which pervades it, and no existing monument by him can compare with it in quality, though it was long the fashion to place the meretricious *Sleeping Children* (1817) at Lichfield at the head of his works in this field. Of his busts those of Horne Tooke (now at the Fitzwilliam Museum) and Scott are the best. In his original medium, wood, the famous Woodcock at Holkham show him as a Grinling Gibbons manqué. The list of his works in bronze, marble, stone and plaster is enormous; his patrons included all the famous men of the day; he was personally loved and lovable, as Lockhart's pages prove; and his is still probably the best known name in English sculpture. But this does not mean that he was the best English sculptor—far from it. He was in fact a poor carver in marble, "had never," as he himself said, "had an hour's instruction from a sculptor in his life" and had not the inducement which Bacon had to learn the art thoroughly, since (except for Mr. Wilkinson's bust at Sheffield) he made enough money by modelling from life and by painting portraits to enable him to pay assistants to do his carving for him. In the year 1925 Mr. Paul Ryan, then and for many years head of Brucciani's, the famous cast makers, told me that in his youth he had known well an old workman of Chantrey's, who told him (not later than 1880, I gathered) that the falling-off in the carving of that sculptor's later works was due to the fact that he had quarrelled with a very good Italian who carved for him, and could never afterwards get an adequate substitute. This was clearly the sculptor F. A. Lége, who is known to have carved the *Sleeping Children* of 1817, though his claims to its design have been disproved; it is therefore safe to say that Chantrey's bronzes, which were cast direct from the model, are original works in a sense which his marbles very rarely are. In thus delegating his carving Chantrey was only

following the example already set by Nollekens and, in his later life, by Wilton; but Chantrey's busts, conventional as they usually are, were so overwhelmingly popular that to them must be ascribed the dulness of most portrait sculpture between 1800 and 1880. Signs of reaction against the practice of delegating the carving have happily set in since 1900; but Chantrey's malpractices in this respect need not blind us to the fact that he was a remarkable man and, in an earlier age, would have been a more remarkable artist. His generosity to younger men was great; he was a witty and popular host and guest; and the Chantrey Bequest—the great fortune which, having no children, he bequeathed to the Royal Academy for the purchase of contemporary works of art for the nation—would alone preserve his name from the oblivion which might otherwise overtake too many of his uninspired and too abundant works.

Adulatory biographies abound, but critical judgement is entirely lacking. His manner varies greatly. His best monument has, as has been said, much of Roubiliac in it; others are influenced by the neo-Hellenism of his day; and his busts are usually of the pseudo-classical character which we now resent, as are many of his statues; only the dislike of realism typical of his age can explain the absence of saddle and stirrups of his equestrian George IV in Trafalgar Square. His most ambitious work, the Pike Watts monument at Ilam, Derbyshire (1828) is frankly a failure; in spite of the dramatic effect produced by the special lighting, there is no feeling in it, no solemnity, only an attitudinising father above the group whom he is supposed to be blessing; the whole thing is far indeed from the Mariamne Johnes, where the father's sorrow was shared by every one who saw it.

Yorkshire, as might be expected both from its riches and from Sheffield's pride in "Sir Francis Chantrey, Sculptor in Hallamshire" as his friend Holland, writing at Sheffield, calls him in the sub-title of his *Memorials* of the artist, abounds in his works; many busts are also probably in private hands, so that even as regards Yorkshire it is impossible to give a complete list; here are those known to me :—

RELIEFS.

Plenty, from Sheaf House, Sheffield, subsequently removed to the Library, Eardley (*D.N.B.*).

Faith and Charity, Sheffield Infirmary, after the designs by James Taylor (p. 14) which set him hoping to be a sculptor.

MONUMENTS.

Cowton. Mrs. Foord Bowes.

Ecclesfield. Thomas Raworth (identified from style; signature probably behind bust).

Hackness. Margaret Anne Johnston, dated 1821, a death-bed.

Owston. Mrs. Cook.

Sheffield. Rev. J. Wilkinson. Rev. A. Mackenzie. Mr. and Mrs. Harrison.

Sledmere near Milton. Chantrey's friend Mr. Mason.

Snaithe. Lord Downe (1832), monumental statue.

Wragby. John Winn of Nostel, the most important of those here noted, and the most characteristic.

PORTRAITS.

York. Sir W. Vernon Harcourt, bust given to the Philosophical Society's Museum 1833. Plaster statuette of Wilberforce, Blind School.

COADE. "Coade and Sealy London 1813." This signature on the large pyramidal monument to Major-General Foorde Bowes at Beverley Minster, with its victory writing in a Roll of Honour before his urn, is the most conspicuous example in Yorkshire of the monuments turned out by the Artificial Stone Factory in Lambeth started by William and Eleanor Coade in the 1760's. John Bacon, R.A. (q.v.) was the manager and other important sculptors were employed to design the works, whether monuments, statues or architectural ornaments, which were subsequently cast in artificial stone and finished by hand. Sealy was a partner brought in after 1800, and till his death the Factory flourished, its products justifying themselves by the excellence of many of their designs and the astoundingly lasting quality of their material. This monument belongs to an unfortunate period of English art, when those "braggart heathen allegories," as Thackeray calls them in *Vanity Fair*, were being erected to the heroes of the Napoleonic Wars; this is no bad specimen of the type. Coade's own catalogues in the British Museum are the most instructive documents we have for the work of the firm.

COLT, MAXIMILIAN (fl. 1595-1645), sculptor, was a young Huguenot from Arras who came to this country in 1595 to join an elder brother John, also a sculptor, who had come over in 1585, and in 1589 had been entrusted with making the funeral image of Mary, Queen of Scots, on whom Queen Elizabeth bestowed a great and costly State funeral. The younger Colt—the brothers usually used the English translation of their original name of Poultrain—early found Court patronage, and in 1605 was entrusted with a very important commission, the monument of Queen Elizabeth in Westminster Abbey, with its noble effigy, a work so popular that "shadows," or outlines of it, were painted on the walls of many London churches before the Fire, and of some country churches too, St. Stephen's, Canterbury for example; one such painting actually survived at Cotterstock in Northamptonshire till the 1850's, and was fortunately copied in a water-colour now in the Department of MSS. at the British Museum; it is a quite unmistakable version of the Westminster Elizabeth, and shows the



PLATE III.

THORNHILL.

SIR GEORGE SAVILE (d. 1622).

by Maximilian Colt.

(Whitaker saw Colt's drawings and the agreement for this and the companion tomb of Lady Savile at Horbury at Rich. Beaumont's).

care with which the monument was in essentials reproduced. This great tomb was followed by other Royal commissions for the tombs of James I's little daughters, also in Westminster Abbey, over which, Fuller tells us, women visitors would linger and weep while passing over greater works of art. When these tombs were finished, James I bestowed on their author the new title of Carver to the King; the patent was renewed by Charles I., and in that capacity Colt did much carved work on the Royal barges. The Cecils, through whom he obtained these royal favours, were also consistent patrons, employing him both at Hatfield House and in the church, where he executed the splendid monument of the second Earl of Salisbury; other documented works at Chester¹ and Thornhill. Holding as he did an official position, Colt obeyed the order of the Earl Marshall of November, 1618, that all monumental designs should be submitted to the College of Arms for the Heralds to check the heraldry; in 1934, his Notebook, containing eight of his designs for works in hand was there discovered, the first for the funeral effigy and Hearse of Anne of Denmark, the rest for monuments; it is possibly worth while to mention that the three of these which I had previously seen, including the fine Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury in Westminster Abbey, I had already ascribed to Colt; such confirmation was naturally most satisfactory, and these designs have led to the identification of other works by this most important sculptor.

The date of Colt's death has not been discovered; he was alive when his wife died in 1645, and in 1660 his brother's son John Colt the younger petitioned Charles II for the post held "by my late Uncle Maximilian Colt" as Carver to the Crown, so that Maximilian was dead before the Restoration. From this document we learn that young Colt had been his uncle's apprentice and afterwards assistant to Le Sueur himself, who was the Colts' neighbour in Smithfield; the results of the petition have not yet been traced.

As for Colt's work in Yorkshire, Whitaker records seeing both the agreement and the sculptor's drawings for the monuments of Sir George Savile (d. 1622) at Thornhill and of Lady Savile at Horbury Chapel, but the last-named is not in Carr's church, and was unhappily destroyed when this was rebuilt in 1791 though the epitaph is known; that of Sir George is in good order, and shows him in full armour under a dignified canopy with armour carved in the spandrels and an entablature bearing an escutcheon and the pyramids of Elizabethan literature, symbols of Eternity, now too often called obelisks (Pl. III). The loss of the companion tomb of Lady Savile is unfortunate, but it is to be hoped that the Colt drawings seen by Whitaker in his friend Beaumont's possession still exist; their publication is most desirable, and Yorkshire antiquaries might well try to trace them, since the Thornhill monument is Colt's only certain surviving work in the county.

¹ See Canon Cooper Scott's *History of St. John's, Chester*, 1892, p. 86.

It is a permissible conjecture, however, that the monument to another Savile, Sir John (d. 1606), and his son (d. 1632) and daughter-in-law at Methley is also by Colt; we know that he was employed by the family; the effigies are in his manner, and the arrangement by which the ledger on which they lie rests on Ionic columns is found on his documented monument at St. John's, Chester; style and probability alike point to Colt's authorship of this second Savile tomb. (A good account of Colt will be found in the *D.N.B.*; I have found in the P.R.O. much other material, some of which is used in the text and elsewhere; to give a complete bibliography is impossible here.)

CUNDALL, WILLIAM, sculptor of York, nephew of Peter Atkinson I, is mentioned by Knowles (I, p. 11), and was buried on July 22, 1865; I have not met with his work.

The DRAWSWERDS were a York craftsman family, at least two members of which were sculptors:

DRAWSWERD, THOMAS, image-maker (d. 1529), owned three houses in York and was Sheriff in 1505, Lord Mayor in 1515; entries relating to his work in the Fabric Rolls of the Minster are many, and include a "picture" in 1499 and the mending of the Holy Dove and a Crucifix; he erected the aisle screens, which were finished by his son; and he made a pattern for an image in copper for Lord Derby, full details of which will be found in Raine's *York Fabric Rolls*. That he had a great reputation is proved by the fact that he was sent for by Henry VII to work on his Chapel at Westminster, where he executed much of the work on the Screens, and, as told in the Introduction, was to have executed Henry's own effigy but for the desire of the young Henry VIII to rival Francis I and Charles V as a patron of Italian artists. Drawswerd made his will in 1529, and was buried at St. Martin's, Coney Street. WILLIAM DRAWSWERD, the son of the above, was paid for carving work at the Minster in 1525-6; for the heraldic adornments at Archbishop Savage's funeral in 1507; and executed the screen near Archbishop Gray's tomb and part of the screens begun by his father, but he does not seem to have gone south; probably he carried on the yard at York while his father was employed on Henry VII's Chapel.

Raine, *Fabric Rolls*; Knowles I, pp. 135-136.

ETTY, WILLIAM, JOHN, I AND II, AND MATTHEW, carvers, were members of a craftsman family who conferred distinction on York for a full century. One William Etty, born probably about 1620, had two sons, JOHN I, who was described as a "liminer" when he was made a freeman of York in 1697, and MARMADUKE, a painter; JOHN I (d. 1709), buried in All Saints North Street, was the master of Grinling Gibbons (*q.v.*) and the friend of Thoresby; his epitaph described him as "JOHN ETTY, carpenter, who died Jan. 28, 1709 :—

His art was great, his industry no less,
What one projected, th'other brought to pass," &c.

(The text is not fully given in Drake, but is given in *Eboracum: History and Description of York*, 1788, II, p. 208.)

The phrases Limner and Carpenter, taken together, seem to imply that all-round craftsmanship characteristic of the time.

His son and successor, JOHN ETTY II, "who departed this life May 23, 1779, aged 74," was therefore born in 1705; his son MATTHEW died Dec. 24, 1828, aged 75, and was therefore born in 1753. These latter facts are stated on the tablet erected in All Saints', Pavement in 1852 by Matthew's son Charles, "after 40 years Absence in India"; those dealing with the earlier generations are derived from Knowles's summary of various sources (vol. I, p. 157). It was Gibbons' master John Etty I who did the reredos in St. Michael Spurriergate; whether the similar ones in other York churches—St. Martin-cum-Gregory is one of the best—which seem less bold in style are by him or by his son John Etty II I do not know, nor have I ascertained whether either worked in stone or executed monuments, as did so many woodcarvers of the period both in London and the provinces; but the family played too large a part in the artistic history of York to be omitted here. I strongly suspect that the fine reredos in the chapel of Hazelwood Castle is by the first John Etty, though this applies only to the wooden portions and the rich "fretwork" band, not to the panels treated of under *Hazelwood Castle* in my concluding pages.

EVESHAM, EPIPHANIUS (b. 1570), the fourteenth and youngest son of a small Herefordshire squire, was until 1932 known only from the statement that he was a pupil of Richard Stevens of Southwark,¹ and from a reference to him as "that most exquisite master" in the Preface to a book of epigrams published in 1624 which was noted by Vertue and consequently repeated in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*; the monument which called forth this tribute was a small laureate brass to the epigrammatist John Owen (d. 1622) in Old St. Paul's. Late in 1931 the late Mr. Ralph Griffin happened to find, and send me, Evesham's signature on a monument in Kent, and on Jan. 30, 1932 Evesham was formally introduced to the readers of *The Times*. Since then other signed works have turned up, including a brass, and many more without signatures have been identified, so that his style is now as well established as it is unique. His training under Richard Stevens (1541-92), a Flemish refugee sculptor settled in Southwark (*Gent's. Mag.*, 1816), taught him the art of working in stone and alabaster, and at nineteen he had engraved the bronze sundial now at Hereford; his earliest tablets, tiny works of the 1590's at Mersham and Hythe, show his peculiarities in the lovely brooding cherub head that he made his own, the use of olive sprays and rosary as ornaments, along with a curious type of skull; by the

¹ *Gent's. Mag.*, 1816, p. 598.

reign of James I he was executing splendid kneeling and recumbent figures, combining them with small but infinitely gracious groups of mourning children, totally different in their individuality, beauty and devotional feeling from anything carved before or since in England. Originality in the use of stereotyped materials is the keynote of his work. He gives a lady an "escutcheon," but the quarterings are made up of the Emblems of the Passion (Stansted Mountfitchet); he shows a future Lord Chancellor led in his youth by Justice, Prudence and Charity (Felstead); he carves a despairing husband by his wife's deathbed, with the children absorbed in the new baby in the cradle (Westminster Abbey—the Crewe monument); mottoes of a mystical and religious character are often introduced; nothing is ever quite what other sculptors would have made of the subject. His will and the date of his death have not been discovered, but he was certainly at work in the 1630's; the date of the "exquisite master" reference is 1624, but persistent delving in Caroline literature and records has failed to disclose another.

Yorkshire is fortunate in possessing two fine works here first identified as by Evesham; both are at Knaresborough; with his probable work at Hazelwood Castle I deal in the concluding section of these papers.

1. Sir William Slingsby, the discoverer of Harrogate (d. 1634). One sentence from Pennant's *Tour from Alston Moor to Harrogate* (1804) is quoted in all the Guide books, but the passage deserves to be given in full, with the warning that the appended plate is a grotesque and disproportioned caricature of the exquisite original: "A most beautiful memorial of *Sir William Slingsby*, who is represented standing in a niche in an easy attitude. His head reclines a little on one hand, the elbow resting on the guard of his sword, the other hand hangs down, and holds a shield, with the family arms. On his head is a high crowned hat; his hair and beard finely curled; he has on a buff jacket, loose breeches, boots, and spurs. The whole is one of the best sculptures I have seen in our churches. He died in 1634, aged seventy-four. If the conclusion of his epitaph is true, his life and death were happy: *Vado, sed nec me taedet vitae; nec timeo mori.*"

If we conceive one of Lord Teynham's kneeling sons at Lynsted—Lord Teynham's being the Kentish tomb on which Evesham's signature was first found—risen to his feet, we should (save for the hat) have a complete counterpart of Sir William, probably the most devotional figure of a soldier ever erected in an English church. The cant of the modern guide books about its unsuitability to a Gothic building cannot be too strongly reprobated; were it in a foreign cathedral, it would be starred in Baedeker (Pl. IV).

Unfortunately, the epitaph proper, in the noble capitals typical of Evesham, is almost illegible; and I can find no transcript save of one sentence in Pennant; Hargrove's translation in his *Knaresborough*, however, runs as follows:—



PLATE IV.

KNARESBOROUGH. SIR WILLIAM SLINGSBY
(erected 1624)
by Epiphanius Evesham

"Sir William Slingsby, knight, of the renowned family of the Slingsbys, in Yorkshire, was the son of Sir Francis Slingsby, and Mary, the only sister of Thomas and Henry Percy, Earls of Northumberland, a lady of the greatest worth and piety. He was born at Knaresborough, January 29, 1562. As a soldier, a courtier, and a Magistrate, he distinguished himself under four princes.

"In Queen Elizabeth's reign he was commissary of the Army, in the fortunate expedition to Cadiz, in 1596. Under King James he served at court as honorary carver to the Queen: In 1603 and during the same reign, when the king went to Scotland, he was constituted Lord Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex; He also filled the same post, with applause, in the succeeding reign of King Charles."

"August, 1624—I depart (in ?) time, not tired of life, nor yet afraid of death."

Over the niche in which the effigy stands I was able to decipher the following, all but the two last words, which are filled in from Pennant's plate: *Rede animā meā in requiē tuam cum Jehova beneficus sit erga te.*

Obviously Slingsby ordered his monument himself, and the date, August, 1624, must be that either of the commission or of the erection, not of his death, since he held office under Charles I and according to Pennant, did not die until 1634. The devotional motto above is wholly in keeping with such phrases as *Nux vitae lux animae* or *QUAMDIU DOMINE JESU, QUAMDIU* found upon other monuments by Evesham; their frequency indeed seems to indicate that the sculptor did not merely copy what was given him but had a say in the text of such epitaphs.

Slingsby, as Lord Lieutenant of Middlesex, must have known Lord Keeper (Archbishop) Williams, who put up the laureate brass to John Owen already noted as inspiring the one literary allusion to Evesham, and Williams may well have been the connecting link between patron and sculptor.

2. Sir William's brother Sir Henry died in the same year, but his monument, also at Knaresborough, is later than Sir William's and represents not a living man awaiting death but a dead man rising in his shroud to greet the Resurrection; unlike the earlier work, the figure has an elaborate architectural setting: on the pediment, in Thoresby's words, is "An angel with a trumpet, calling *Venite ad judicium*; Under the name and titles of the Knight in his winding sheet, *Omnia Vanitas*." It is almost incredible that Murray's *Handbook to Yorkshire* actually describes this shrouded figure as "in a Roman habit." There is every indication that it is also by Evesham; style and probability are alike in favour of the theory. The inscription, in the same fine lettering as Sir William's, is now only partly legible, but is translated by Hargrave as follows :—

"Here lies Sir Henry Slingsby, Knight, son and heir of Francis and Mary Slingsby, who died 17th of December 1634, aged 74. All is vanity." This, and Thoresby's addition, really complete our knowledge of the epitaph.

One last point is worth noting: Evesham sometimes puts his signature below the inscription, and the perished lettering on both these works may well have included his name; the fact that Hargrave gives no signature goes for nothing, seeing that he ignores the signature of Nollekens on the Weddell monument at Ripon when Nollekens was the fashionable sculptor of the day, and Pennant only notes a single sentence of the epitaph, so that his silence is no argument either way.

The FISHERS of York, here arranged chronologically, were an important family of provincial sculptors settled in the City for nearly 150 years.

FISHER, RICHARD, sculptor of York, is said to have been born at Ripon about 1690, but this is certainly too early. He originally bore another name, now unknown, and tradition says that he was the illegitimate son of one of the Rockingham family, probably Lewis, the first Lord (d. 1723); certain it is that he was patronized by the famous Marquis (Knowles I, p. 165), but Knowles's theory that he might have been the son of William Fisher, head gardener to William Aislaby of Studley Royal, must be dismissed as untenable in the light of persistent and unvarying family tradition. As Richard Fisher he was married at Ripon on March 8th, 1729 to Alice Bradley, by whom he had five children, the third child and second son being John, also a sculptor (*q.v.*); and took an active, though unpunished part, according to family tradition, in the rising of 1745. This tradition, which was vaguely known to Dean Purey Cust, has been communicated in more detail by a correspondent who states, on the authority of a contemporary diary, that Fisher and his wife were walking one day in a town in the South when they stopped to read a Proclamation offering a reward of £10,000 for the body of — (so in the Diary); Mrs. Fisher exclaimed, "That's just like you"; he hushed her sternly and forbade any allusion to the subject. Certain it is that the pair had settled in York before 1754, since on April 21st, Hannah, daughter of Richard Fisher, Carver of this City," was buried in St. Michael-le-Belfry at the age of 23 (*Eboracum*, 1788, II, p. 210), and I learn from a descendant that he lived in a red brick Georgian house at the corner of St. Saviour's Gate and Spen Lane, now divided into two houses, No. 35, St. Saviour Gate and Spen House, with a Victorian bay window added to the former; the yard and garden stood at the side of the house, and the workshop was used by several generations of the Fisher family.

In 1761, as I pointed out in a letter to the Yorkshire Press in June, 1941, a Mr. Fisher, whom I ventured to equate with Richard, exhibited at the newly formed Society of Artists two important works :



PLATE V.

CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS

by Richard Fisher.

Exhibited at the Free Soc. of Artists in London, 1761.
A landmark in the history of religious art in England.

95 a statue of Jupiter.

96 A statue, in white marble, of our Saviour, bearing the Cross. Pl. V.

As a statuette of the latter subject was given to the late Dean Purey Cust by the late Miss M. A. Fisher and was by him placed in the Minster Crypt (see the Dean's *Walks round York Minster*), the equation seemed obvious, as the subject was remarkable in an age when the absence of religious subjects in English sculpture is notorious, and when I saw the figure itself in 1941 (when it had been ejected from the Minster to the office of the Minster Clerk of the Works) and found Fisher's signature, the conjecture was proved to be correct, and the present Dean has in 1942 placed it temporarily on the Lady Altar, its essential dignity and seriousness being thus for the first time fully recognised. To this letter to the Press I owe all the new information contained in this account of the Fisher family.

As to the *Jupiter*, exhibited at the same time, the letter brought information as to that also. Miss Fisher, I learnt, bequeathed this statuette to the York Philosophical Society, but no reference to it could be found among the Society's papers, and the quest seemed hopeless when, in September 1941, the keen eye of my friend, Mr. Morrell, detected it on a shelf in the Students' Room, and a few days later I had the pleasure of seeing it. It is smaller than the *Christ* and much damaged, lacking head and right arm; but even so it is a very fine thing, the carving at once strong and delicate, the style the purest baroque; the low pedestal with curved and voluted ornament, is effective and unusual; and if the Eagle at his side is somewhat timidly handled, the god's limbs and drapery are admirable, and but for the signature RD FISHER SCULPT, might be by a 17th century Italian sculptor.

It is surely most improbable that an artist born as early as 1690, the date usually quoted, should in 1761 have taken the bold step of sending two statuettes to what was only the second formal Art Exhibition ever held in London. The other exhibitors were mostly young, in no case that we can test more than middle-aged; and as Fisher married in 1729, we may surely put his birth between 1700 and 1706 or 7, which would make his exhibiting in 1761 infinitely more explicable. But the unfortunate fact remains that of his work before 1761 we know nothing, nor can those exceptional Exhibition subjects—subjects, moreover, executed in very different styles—help us to ascertain what his usual work was like. We are handicapped too by not knowing the date of his death, but it is probable that the signature "Fisher York Invenit et sculpsit" on the Morley-Osbaldestone monument (1756-66) at Brayton is his—a plain but well-proportioned work with urns of an unusual type; and it also seems certain that the signature "Messrs. Fisher York" indicates that he had taken his son John into partnership in such works as the monuments to Charles Floyer (d. 1766) at Ripon, a collective Osbaldestone monument at Hunmanby (c. 1770), the W. Hutchinson (1772) at St. Michael, Spurriergate, and

the Lady Graham at Wath, this last a good figure of a mourner leaning on an urn. We may, I think, conjecture that Richard Fisher died about 1772, since we learn from *Eboracum: The Historical Description of York* (1778 II, pp. 356-7) that the monuments to Dr. Dealtry (d. 1773), Mrs. Pulleyn (1786) and Sir Thomas Davenport (1786) are by "MR. FISHER" only; the two last at least can hardly have been by an artist born soon after 1700; this Mr. Fisher must be Richard's son John. It is among the monuments of the 1740's, 50's and 60's that we must hope to find Richard's signature, as it is in country houses that imaginative works of the class of those exhibited in 1761 may be discovered. Where he learnt his art it is probably too late to find out, but he was, a correspondent tells me, working in Yorkshire in 1730.

FISHER, JOHN I of York, son and for a time partner of Richard F., was probably born in the 1730's, since his sister (see above) was born in 1731; the date of his death has not been discovered, but should be discoverable in the York Registers and probably from the York Press. He was himself the father of three sculptor sons, SAMUEL (born 1784), JOHN (born 1786) and CHARLES (1789-61), and had an immense practice as a monumental sculptor, occasionally achieving higher flights, as in the statue of Sir George Savile, M.P., erected in 1784, and engraved for subscribers, in commemoration of his public services. Long despoiled of its pedestal and dumped in the Crypt, it has now been cleaned and replaced by the present Dean, so that Savile, who thought he could serve his country better as an independent member than as a Minister under Lord Rockingham, whose house was wrecked in the Gordon Riots because he had carried a Bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, who tried to make peace with America and urged the abolition of the Press Gang, is again honoured in the City he so long represented; we may well afford to forgive him his one recorded weakness, a belief that tea was "destructive to the healths of the people of England."

But the Savile statue was an exception among Fisher's works, which were mainly monumental. Mention has already been made of a few monuments executed in conjunction with his father (see Fisher, Richard) but only a representative section of his own vast output can be here enumerated.

York Assize Courts. Statue of Justice.

BUSTS (in the possession of various descendants): The Duke of Wellington; Sir Isaac Newton; Shakespeare (information from descendants of John Fisher).

MONUMENTS.

York Minster. Mrs. Dealtry (1773); Sir T. Davenport (1786); Mrs. Pulleyn (1786), see FISHER, RICHARD. P. Reeves (1793; R. Wharton (1784); Ensign Thomas Whitters (1809); Mrs. Mary Thornhill and others (n.d.).

St. Crux. Henry Wade (1780), tablet with medallion, a nice work.

St. Michael-le-Belfry. No fewer than six, all ordinary enough, and not worth particularizing, that to the Rev. W. Richardson perhaps the best.

Holy Trinity Goodramgate, another of the same class.

Holy Trinity Micklegate, another poor tablet.

St. Helen's. The Acaster family (c. 1810), a better work.

St. John Micklegate. Tablet.

St. Mary Bishop's Hill Senior. A Fairfax (d. 1744), quite pretty.

St. Mary Castlegate. W. Musket (1792), definitely one of his better works.

St. Martin's, Coney Street. Mrs. Radcliffe (1789), a nice work.

St. Saviour's. The Perrot family (after 1799), and two lesser works.

Beverley. Tablet erected by Henry Roxby to his ancestors (1801), uninteresting.

Bolton Percy. Typical urn tablet (1776).

Brayton. (see under Richard Fisher).

Durham. R. Prosser (1809).

Healaugh. Henry Stapylton (1771), an early work.

Howden. Mary Rawson (1787), with pretty medallion; R. Jefferson (1811), large and ambitious, but not really good, with figure of Religion; and 3 lesser works.

Otley. Colossal pyramidal tablet with wreathed urn to Frances Fawkes (1786); there are several lesser works also by him or his sons.

Thornhill. Sir Charles Savile, a charming and well carved tablet, one of John Fisher's best works.

Wighill. Henry Stapylton (1779) an early work with an urn of the traditional English type, not of the neo-Hellenic kind usual in his work; it may, of course, have been taken from a design by his father, then recently dead.

It is clear that John Fisher took at least one of his sons into partnership, since the following bear joint signatures :

Lowther. Very large tablets to James, Lord Lonsdale (1802), and another to his brother Richard, Lord Lonsdale. "Messrs. Fishers York". (For the form of signature cf. Fisher, Richard).

Fisher also did much decorative sculpture, and mantelpieces by him probably exist in many Yorkshire houses. (Knowles I, pp. 166-9).

His son CHARLES, and one WILLIAM FISHER jointly sign the pyramidal tablet to R. W. Hotham (1801) in St. Dennis,

York, another at Thormanby, and a good one to John Dealtry at Hunmanby. SAMUEL'S independent work I have not met with. Charles lived till 1861 and is buried in Holy Trinity, Goodramgate.

Lesser works of the Fisher yard are legion; one may even be seen in St. Magnus, London Bridge; but for the most part they are not worth particularizing. At Cawood (1848), Healaugh (1842), Howden, Methley, New Malton, Ripon and Wighill examples may be seen, all, alas, characterized by that peculiar deadness of surface and deplorable lettering characteristic of the monumental tablet after 1820; 1864, the date of that at New Malton, is the latest I have come across with the signature of a Fisher, and in its ignominious common-place ends the artistic line which in Richard Fisher, a century before, had achieved something more than promise, and had even struck a new note in English sculpture of the period.

(I have to thank John Fisher's great-great-grandson, Mr. F. W. Porteus and other correspondents for valuable help in elucidating the traditions of the Fisher family; Mr. Alderman Morrell's loan of the generally despised *Eboracum* of 1788 proved of the highest value here and elsewhere in these papers, and my son's 1925 notes have been of great use.)

FLAXMAN, JOHN, R.A. (1755-1828). Born at York, but essentially a Londoner, Flaxman was the son of a notable figure-caster in Soho, to whose shop came many interesting people who took notice of the child's precocity and encouraged his reading. He began to exhibit at the Royal Academy in 1770, failed for the Gold Medal in 1772, when he was already much employed by Wedgwood to make models for cameos, medallions, tablets, busts, and friezes, to be turned into jasper ware at Etruria, a fact which had a profound influence on his art. Another influence was that of the Royal Academy and its President. Reynolds's views on art are set forth in his Discourses, and those on sculpture are wholly disastrous. Setting forth the doctrine of the Ideal and Typical in sculpture, he attacked realism in every form, denouncing Bernini, pleading the example of the ancients, and necessarily ignorant, like all the school of Winckelmann, that most of the antique statues on whose merits he dilated were not Greek at all, but late copies, made by slaves under the Empire for the adornment of Roman villas. The truth, of course, is that Greek sculpture was from the first, as recent excavations have shown us, as realistic as the sculptor could make it; but the result of Reynolds's teaching can be traced in most of Flaxman's art along with the Wedgwood influence, which stressed the value of outline and of low relief which plays so large a part in his best work. He thought as it were in relief and in terms of the Antique, and was vehemently opposed to the realistic portraiture which was part of the English tradition, and to the monumental sculpture of the age. When in 1787 he set off for Italy with his young and devoted wife, whose brother was the Denman whose name is found associated with his

on a few late monuments, he, unlike the artists and sculptors of earlier generations, ignored the Renaissance and confined himself to the study of "Greek" sculpture, but both there and on his return to England he found many patrons alike for ambitious groups, monuments and reliefs, and became one of the most prolific sculptors on record. Yet, however much he might preach and practise the doctrine of neo-Hellenism—Greek art as he understood it—his works in the eighteenth century manner are usually better than most of those in his classical mood: to perceive this we need only contrast his Lord Mansfield after Reynolds in Westminster Abbey with the deplorable allegorical figures which attend it.

With one small exception, his works in Yorkshire are not his best; those known to me, some of which are identified in the recent publication of Flaxman's Notebook by the Walpole Society, are as follows :—

1. Rev. Thomas Brand (d. 1814), Wath, a lovely tablet showing a young Greek warrior seated on the shore; he might well be a figure of Philoctetes.

2. Lamentable, pretentious work, Flaxman at his worst, to two young officers, Captains Walker and Beckett, who fell at Talavera, in the church, Leeds.

3. The children of Sir Thomas Frankland, a stela¹ with urn and two mourning figures (Walpole Soc. XXVIII, p. 67), Thirkleby. Flaxman also executed a chimney-piece for Frankland's seat, Thirkleby Park.

4. The Yarborough family (1803), Campsall, with relief of almsgiving (*ibid.*, p. 80).

5. A small rectangular tablet to Miss Lawrence (1805), Kirby Fleetham (*ibid.*, p. 85).

6. A rather more elaborate one to the Smyths of Heath Hall, Kirkthorpe near Wakefield (*ibid.*, p. 64).

7. Samuel Bucke, Recorder of Leeds (1806), Rotherham (*ibid.*, p. 90), with three female figures; it cost £210 (Walpole Soc., XXVIII, p. 89).

8. J. S. Wortley (1803), Wortley. (Walpole Soc., XXVIII, p. 79).

9. Sir Rowland Winn and wife (erected long after their deaths), Wragby. Fine, with a standing figure of Justice and two reclining figures, the best large work in a rather undistinguished list; it cost £200. Flaxman, Blake's "Sculptor of Eternity," is, however, only at his best in Yorkshire in the modest tablet at Wath; the rest are typical of only too much of his work in the field of monumental sculpture.

¹ This Greek word, now anglicised, implies a plain background often surmounted by palmettes, with figures in relief, usually à la grecque.

"FLINTOFT, YORK," signature on a large pyramidal tablet at Snaith, in which the Fisher tradition is seen at its last gasp.

GOTT, JOSEPH, sculptor (1785-1860), won the Royal Academy Gold Medal in 1819, and after making a great success two years later with a group of the Babes in the Wood, was sent by Mr. Benjamin Gott of Armley Hall, Leeds, and Sir Thomas Lawrence to Rome, where he settled, continuing to exhibit at the Royal Academy, and finding many patrons. Mr. Gott, though no relation, continued a generous patron, and his monument in Armley church, with a recumbent effigy attended by figures of Grief and Resignation, is one of the sculptor's most notable works. At East Gilling is a pretty mourning figure with two urns in memory of Thomas Fairfax (d. 1828), which is not quite conventional, and there is a good work by him in Sir Gilbert Scott's church at Haley Hill, Halifax; but his colossal Colonel Cheyney at Gaddesby, Leics. showing that warrior seated upon a dying horse, with battle scenes on the pedestal, is a colossal failure. A number of his works are, or were, in private collections in Yorkshire.

FRAUNCEYS, S. AND F. Sculptors of Liverpool, were brothers who executed an enormous number of works, often very ambitious, in and about that city, but are best known as the masters of John Gibson, R.A., who worked for them for several years and bitterly resented their habit of signing works entirely executed by himself when in their employment. The only example of their art which I have met with in Yorkshire—one from any blame for which Gibson can, I think, be exonerated—is a tablet at Kirkheaton signed "Fraunceys, Liverpool," to Charlotte Curry (n.d. about 1800?); it is a Resurrection scene, the tablet itself being represented as split in half and the coffins with their lids open, while the Curry family ascends to heaven as the Trumpet sounds. Not a great work of art.

GIBBONS, GRINLING (1648-1721) "came from Holland to England about 15 years of age—went into Yorkshire where he was first employed." So Thomas Murray the portrait painter told Vertue in 1721, soon after Gibbons's death; in 1693 Thoresby, visiting Windsor, calls Gibbons "our countryman," which in Thoresby's mouth inevitably means that Gibbons was looked on in the North as a Yorkshire artist, and in 1701 he mentions "Mr. Etty the painter (i.e., Marmaduke Etty) with whose father, Mr. Etty Sen. the architect, the most celebrated Grinlin Gibbons wrought at York but whether apprenticed with him I do not remember well." His age as given by Murray, "about 15," seems to indicate an apprenticeship to Etty, and the tradition is confirmed, according to Knowles (I, p. 15) by a mass of sketches and correspondence sold at Christie's in March, 1928, and can, he says, be unhesitatingly accepted; it was in Yorkshire, moreover, that his

earliest known carving, now mysteriously lost, was executed, a tiny panel of six inches by four (representing Elijah under the juniper tree, in Thoresby's possession, *Ducatus Leod.*, p. 488); even Walpole, fifty years later, did not know what had become of it, and it is to be feared that it will hardly come to light to-day.

Gibbons is represented in York Minster by the monument of Archbishop Lamplugh (1691), the receipt for which for £100 has recently been acquired by the Bodleian; the work has the very unusual feature of a standing effigy of a prelate—in itself an excellent innovation—and is quite up to his usual standard in marble, that is to say, it is not first rate. Gibbons was so popular that commissions flowed in on him, many in mediums quite alien to his training as a wood carver, and he had a large body of assistants to carry out most of his works in bronze and marble; the famous James II at the Admiralty for instance was both modelled and cast by assistants to his design, as the antiquary Vertue, who knew both him and his staff, informs us.

A second monument in the Minster, that of Archbishop Sterne (d. 1683), is almost certainly by Gibbons. Like the Lamplugh it has a semi-circular pediment, and the mouldings are identical; the shields of arms are framed by typical Gibbons palms; the curtain edges are turned back in the same way (a trick that appears on another documented work at Harefield, Middlesex); and the cherubs and flower wreaths are marble versions of Gibbons' woodcarvings. The canopy and setting of this fine work, after having been removed, have (1941) been replaced by the present Dean, so that the monument again appears as Drake knew it; the quality of the carving shows that one of Gibbons' best assistants must have been employed on it, for it is only too true that, outside his own medium of wood, Gibbons' execution is curiously inferior, witness the signed Mrs. Mary Beaufoy in Westminster Abbey. As a woodcarver he is incomparable; as a marble carver he is not to be compared with many of his forgotten contemporaries; and no one who compares the Lamplugh tomb with that of his predecessor Dolben by Latham (p. 41) can say that this verdict is too severe, whereas the study of his woodwork either in the original or in Mr. Avray Tipping's magnificent volume will lead to the inevitable verdict, as true to-day as in his own lifetime, that, where his own medium, wood, is concerned, no praise of Gibbons can be too high.

GUELFİ, GIOVANNI BAPTISTA (d. 1734) is a name which causes surprise to most visitors to York Minster, nor does any guidebook explain who he was or why he executed a monument in York. Though he is slightly mentioned in Walpole's *Anecdotes*, it was not till 1922 that a serious account of him by myself appeared in *The Architect*, and was repeated in *English Monumental Sculpture*, and one further reference has since turned up (Esdaile, *Rysbrack's Work in Terracotta*, 1932, p. 7). Guelfi, born at Bologna, was trained in Rome and brought to England by Lord Burlington,

given free quarters in Burlington House and recommended to various patrons, including Queen Caroline; and several allusions to him and his Westminster Abbey monument to James Craggs are to be found in Pope's Letters (Elwin & Courthope's Works, vol. X, *see* Index). Now Lord Burlington built the fine Assembly Rooms at York at his own expense, designed the Mansion House, and I suspect, was responsible for the choice of William Kent, another protégé of his, to design the new pavement for the Minster; he was emphatically the *arbiter elegantiarum* of the day; his wife was a Savile; and it was only natural that, when Mr. Wentworth Watson, heir of the Wentworths under the will of the second Earl of Strafford (p. 47), died, his son Thomas, Lord Malton, should consult Lord Burlington about his monument, equally natural for Burlington to recommend his protégé Guelfi, as he recommended him to Pope, to Addison (for the monument of his stepson Lord Warwick in St. Mary Abbots Kensington), to the Brudenell family (monumental bust of the Duchess of Richmond in Deene Church, Northants.) and to Lord Pomfret, in the last case for the repair of the Arundel Marbles. As for Guelfi's royal commission, Queen Caroline originally ordered "Four Busts in Stone" for her Hermitage (Vertue III, p. 51), which, rumour said, were to be done by Guelfi; in the end, there were five, of marble, and Rysbrack, writing about his own share in them, says that while he did four, "Dr. Clark (was) Done by Mr. Guelphi an Italian, who is dead."¹ The identity of these busts had been lost sight of when I found them scattered about Windsor Castle in 1922; they are now at Kensington Palace.

And this is all that is known of Guelfi save that Vertue tells us he went back to Italy, Walpole that he died at Bologna, his native city, but the following vignette from Vertue brings him to life: "A man of slow speech, much opiniated (*sic*) and as an Italian thought no-body could be equal to himself in skill in this Country. Yet all his works seem to the judicious very often defective, wanting spirit and grace, its thought that Ld. Burlington parted with him very willingly." (Vertue III, p. 74).

Guelfi's work is rare, and his three chief monuments at Westminster Abbey (now cruelly mutilated), Kensington and York are of the same type, pyramidal, with a mourning figure or figures of a curious dreamy grace grouped with an urn; of the three, that at York is easily the most important; though the recent total destruction of the pyramidal background when the Sterne setting was removed was as wholly unjustified as the removal of the background of the Craggs monument in Westminster Abbey; the present Dean has replaced the armorial shield, which was saved by the Clerk of the Works and seen by myself in his office. It is satisfactory to be able to connect the name of Burlington with an important monument in the Minster.

¹ Letter to Sir T. Lyttleton, Jan. 20, 1756 (Esdaile, *Rysbrack's Work in Terracotta*, 1932).

HARVEY, DANIEL, sculptor of York (1683-1733), was known to me first from the epitaph in St. Olave's preserved in the *History and Description of York*, 1788, II, p. 215. I hunted in vain for the original among the tablets in reach, but it may be skied and only accessible with a ladder. His signature has been noted by Mr. Morrell on the monument to Mrs. Mary Ramsden at Adlingfleet, together with that of Charles Mitley, whose partner he may have been. His name as given was probably anglicized from Hervé. *Hic jacet Dan. Harvey, stirpe Gallus idemque probus sculptor, architectonicam peritus, Ingenio acer, integer amicitiae; quam sibi citius aliis beneficus.*

Abi, viator, sequi meminisce.

Obiit undecimo die Decem. 1733, aetatis 50.

JOHNSON, NICHOLAS (1590-1620) was the elder son of an Amsterdam tomb-maker, Gerard Janssen, who came to England in 1567 as a refugee and settled in Southwark, in a district, that is, outside the City Liberties, so that he could at once practise his craft though not a freeman, and have access to a wharf, a matter of importance in the days of water carriage (*see Introduction*). He started a sculptor's yard there, and executed many monuments, those which are documented being the three alabaster tombs of the Gage family at Firle, Sussex, two of them with brasses, the third an altar tomb with alabaster effigies and a brass escutcheon in alabaster setting on the wall above, and the tombs of the third and fourth Earls of Rutland at Bottesford, in which he had Nicholas's help; none are signed. The Gage monuments are of especial interest because the original drawings sent for John Gage's approval exist in the Firle archives (*Sussex Notes & Queries*, 1929), two of them being signed; on the margins of one, to the benefit of posterity, the sculptor and his patron carried on a lively correspondence. Mr. Gage strongly disapproved of his wives being represented in new-fangled headdresses, farthingales, and dresses showing their ankles, and said he was sending "a French cap bowed in a box" as a pattern for the last item. Johnson did as he was told, and the ladies appear on the brasses, not as he had drawn them, but in French caps, no farthingales, and with shapeless old-fashioned dresses covering all but their toes. Gage also wanted the ledger stone made longer, and Gerard Johnson replies that this will cost more, both for stone and workmanship. There is much of human interest also in the history of Johnson's Bottesford tombs, as recorded in Vo. IV of the Rutland MSS. published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, thanks to the detailed accounts kept by the Earl's Steward at Belvoir. The monuments went by water to Boston and were loaded on to fifteen carts; the axle of one broke, and the men who welded it were allowed 4d. for beer while watching it and more beer on the erection of the monuments. Gerard took his elder son Nicholas with him to supervise the setting-up, and they stayed for ten

weeks at the village baker's, whose bill, and that for the grazing of the Johnsons' horses, is duly recorded.

In 1593 Gerard, who married an Englishwoman, had five children; when he made his will, only two, Nicholas and Gerard the younger, both sculptors and pupils of their father's, were alive; the latter was not a good sculptor, but had the luck to immortalize himself by making Shakespeare's monument and that of his friend John à Combe at Stratford; his brother, NICHOLAS, was a far finer craftsman, and was associated with Nicholas Stone (*q.v.*) on one important work; he was moreover the author of the monument of the fifth Earl of Rutland at Bottesford, a work at least as fine as his father's in the same church, and of much the same character—effigies on a canopied altar tomb, executed in a refined and dignified style. As an Englishman born, he was a member of the Masons' Company; in 1613 executed the Aston monument at Cranford, Middlesex, where all the figures kneel, and in 1615 collaborated with Stone (*p.* 53) and another mason named Edmund Kinsman on the monument of Thomas Sutton at the Charterhouse, miraculously saved by the heroism of an A.R.P. warden during the raid of April 16th, 1941; here Johnson was the senior, and therefore responsible for the design and effigy, Stone doing the "carven work about the tomb," which is very abundant, and Kinsman the architectural setting; three years later, with William Cure II, Master Mason to the Crown before Stone, as senior partner, he was responsible for the splendid monument of Bishop Montagu at Bath. The style of the Johnsons, both father and sons, is therefore thoroughly well established, alike for kneeling figures and recumbent effigies, and Yorkshire, I venture to say, possesses an exceedingly fine example of the work of their yard.

At Wentworth Woodhouse the monument to Sir Thomas Wentworth, Kt. (d. 1612) father of the great Strafford, has all the marks of Johnson authorship; it may well have been designed by Gerard before his death late in 1612, but was certainly executed by Nicholas. The parents kneel at a desk under twin arches, whose corbel is identical with that on the Rutland monuments; three escutcheons stand on the entablature; and below kneel the children, the future Lord Strafford in the centre being on a larger scale. It is interesting to compare this youthful portrait with that on the monument erected by his son in 1688 or 89; the latter is obviously based on the famous Vandyck at Wentworth Woodhouse, the former done from life—the Johnsons were often asked for "exact portraictures"—and this gives a unique interest to this fascinating portrait of the future Strafford.

JOSEPH, SAMUEL, R.S.A., sculptor (d. 1854), said to have been the son of the Treasurer of St. John's College, Cambridge, was a pupil of the elder Peter Rouw, a portrait of whom formed Gott's first exhibit at the Royal Academy in 1811; in 1815 he won the Gold Medal, and up to 1846 sent no fewer than 98 works to the Academy, chiefly busts and medallions. Most of his work therefore

is in private hands, but his busts in the National Gallery of Scotland, executed during the few years he spent in Edinburgh, his Sir David Wilkie at the Tate Gallery, and above all his thrice delightful seated statue of Wilberforce in Westminster Abbey, keep his name alive; and if his bust of Wilberforce in the Blind School at York were better known, it would be recognised as one of the very finest executed during the 19th century.

Joseph executed very few monuments; I have come across only three, all in Kent, but one curious episode belongs to the very end of his career. In 1844 he was asked by the Gresham Committee to submit a design for the pediment of the new Royal Exchange, exactly as Rysbrack (*q.v.*) and Scheemaker (*q.v.*) had been asked by the same authority to submit designs for the pediment of the Mansion House in 1738; it is hard to conceive of Joseph, a portrait sculptor *par excellence*, producing an architectural design, nor was his work in fact accepted, if indeed it were ever executed; but it looks as though the traditional practice of treating the sculptor as though he were inevitably ready to undertake an architectural work still lingered on in the City of London, where the Masons' Company, and the City Mason, had been conspicuously influential for centuries.

KEARNE, ANDREW is a minor 17th century sculptor who was brother-in-law to Nicholas Stone (p. 53) and executed a number of decorative and other works for Stone's patrons. His especial patron, Sir Henry Slingsby, employed him at Red House for "a blackamore cast in lead with a candlestick in each hand," which was, and though damaged remains, "on the newel post on the half pace that leads into the painted chamber," and for a now much injured statue of the horse of Sir Henry's "which did win the plate on Achombe Moor, the King being there, 1633," as Slingsby's *Diary* has it, and some charming lead garden figures at Nun Monckton are by him; four others in a garden in Danegate, perhaps from the Fairfaxs' house in York, may well be his. It is highly probable, as Sir L. Weaver suggests, that he is the author of the lead bust of Fairfax in the Museum at York, the earliest known in the material; the traditional attribution to Roubiliac is quite impossible, and there was a marriage connection between the Slingsbys and Fairfaxes which makes a commission to Kearne highly probable.

KENDRICK, JOSEPHUS (1766-1829) was a pupil of James Paine the architect; he exhibited various architectural subjects at the R.A., but turned to sculpture and settled at Exeter, where he executed a large number of monuments and ultimately restored the cathedral. The only work of his in Yorkshire which I have traced is to Janet Maude (1824), a relief of mourners and urn in Neo-Hellenic style at Wakefield.

LATHAM, JASPER (born 1607/8, d. 1692 or 3), was a friend of the astronomer Flamstead and the artist Le Piper as well as a colleague of Wren, for whom he built St. Mildred's Poultry and part of St. Paul's as well as working for him at Hampton Court, where, however, in 1689 Wren "objected against Mr. Latham for a madman" (Knoop and Jones, *The London Mason*, p. 24, n.4); they had trouble earlier, since, as early as 1677 "an expedient about Latham and Wren" was proposed;¹ we may infer that Latham's work as a mason was first-rate, since Wren valued him highly enough to put up with his temper for twelve years, during which he entrusted him with important buildings. As a sculptor Latham was admirable, though his known works vary greatly in character; he first appears as replacing the head of a captured equestrian statue of John Sobieski by one of Charles II for Sir Robert Vyner; the erection of the result at the Stocks Market led to Marvell's famous *Dialogue between the Horses at Charing Cross and Stocks Market* (1672); the statue was removed to the Vyner seat, Newby, Yorks., when London's Mansion House was built on the site. Next came the signed Grandison monument at Oxford, erected by the Duchess of Cleveland in 1671; the Archbishop Sheldon at Croydon, signed and dated 1676; and the delightful Captain Maples, at the Trinity Almshouses, Mile End Road, of Portland Stone, part payment for which in 1683 is on record; this statue, now that it is freed from the many coats of paint which caused the A.M.C. volume on East London to describe it as lead, proves to be one of the best carved statues of the century.

Of the foregoing works it is the Sheldon monument which concerns lovers of York. Though it was seriously damaged in the fire which destroyed Croydon parish church in 1867, the effigy is fortunately in fair condition, and though the setting exists only in fragments, we know from engravings the nature of the architectural background and the ossuary on the base; even the Gothic-ridden Neal and le Keux describe the effigy as "a most exquisite statue—the head is really quite a masterpiece of sculpture" (*Collegiate and Parish Churches II*, with engraving of the work), and Ducarel protested in 1786 that it ought to be widely known that it is not an Italian work, as was then commonly reported, but by English craftsmen, being signed by Latham and his assistant Bourne. The seventeenth century made no such mistake, it was praised in *Notitia Anglicana*, the Whitaker of the 1680's, and by John Evelyn; Vertue admired it profoundly; and its partial destruction is a serious loss to English sculpture.

It was on stylistic grounds alone that I ventured in 1941 to state that the tomb of Archbishop Dolben (d. 1686) in York Minster was certainly by Latham, that opinion being based on the quality of the effigy and draperies, the fine pointillé work on lace and mitre, and the masculine character of the whole. It was only later that I realized that Dolben's wife was the niece of Archbishop Sheldon: so we need look no further for the choice of sculptor.

¹ Hooke's *Diary*, published 1935.

The background of this important work has always been stated to have been destroyed in the Minster Fire of 1825; the present Dean, late in 1941, discovered the fragments, and these are being fitted together, so that we shall again see this masterpiece of English sculpture as it appears in Drake's *Eboracum*.

MARSHALL, JOSHUA (1629-78) was Master Mason to the Crown in succession to his father EDWARD (1598-1675), who inspired, if he did not execute, the Sheffield monument (1633) in York and himself had succeeded Nicholas Stone (*post*) in the same office.¹ Joshua designed and executed the pedestal of the famous statue of Charles I at Charing Cross, executed the urn of the Princes in the Tower in Westminster Abbey after the design of Wren, for whom he built Temple Bar, and worked at St. Paul's. Like his father he executed a large number of monuments, but in Yorkshire he seems to be represented only by a large mural monument at Kirkleatham carried out in that black and white marble popularized in England by Stone. The preservation of this work when the church was rebuilt *temp.* George II (see *Scheemaker, Peter*) may well be due to the conspicuous signature "Joshua Marshall Sculptor Fecit."

MITLEY, CHARLES, Statuary of York (1705-58), was a mason in the true sense, ready to work in all materials and to build as well as carve. A statue of George II made for the Cross in Thursday Market in 1739 and later at the Guildhall has disappeared, but, Knowles says, is said to be at Middlethorpe; it was probably for this statue that he received the freedom of the City in that year. His monument to Lady Frances Graham, well designed and carved, is in Holy Trinity, Goodramgate in a sad state of neglect, and two other monuments are known with his signature, one, a good plain classical tablet, to Roger North (1734), at St. Michaelle-Belfrey, signed "Chas. Mitley Edwd Raper Fecit," one to Mrs. Ramsden (1755) at Adlingfleet near Howden (Knowles p. 263, "Mitley and Harvey Statuary" (*sic*); Raper is unknown, Harvey must be Daniel Harvey, p. 97); they were presumably his assistants. He made and carved the pews at Beverley for £155 (Knowles, pp. 261-2); built Cumberland Row, York, which took its name from the fact that the houses were being roofed when the Duke of Cumberland came to York after Culloden; and carved a pulpit for the Minster in 1741. There was clearly marked artistic talent in the family, for Mitley's daughter married Peckitt the glass-painter and not only designed and painted a memorial window to him in St. Martin-cum-Gregory but apparently carried on his business, to judge from the inscription: "This window was designed and executed by his afflicted Widow 1796." Close by is Peckitt's own charming window to their

¹ The fine brass to Robert Coulthurst (1631) also at Kirkleatham in style and lettering is so like the elder Marshall's signed brass at East Sutton, Kent, that it may well be by him; it is certainly London work.

daughter Charlotte (d. 1758), the grand daughter of Charles Mitley, whose own epitaph is given by Knowles, not quite correctly, it would seem: "Near this place lies interred the Body of Charles Mitley of this City, Carver, who departed this life the 26th of August 1765. Aged 53 years."

The inscription on his widow's window, "Sacred to the Memory of WILLIAM PECKITT glass painter and Stainer, who died 14th October 1765 and whose remains are deposited in the Chancel," is more likely to be correct as to the date.

NOBLE, MATTHEW (1818-76) was a Victorian sculptor who has received less appreciation than his best work deserves. Born at Hackness, he went to London as a pupil of J. Francis, a well-known sculptor of the day, and thereby gained considerable knowledge of the portrait art of the past, since Francis's practice was by no means confined to his rather poor original monuments and portrait busts, but largely consisted of copying busts by masters such as Roubiliac, examples of which may be seen, e.g., at Windsor Castle and St. Thomas's Hospital; the fact must have reacted upon Noble's own work, which is at times much above the average of Victorian sculpture. He did not himself become an exhibitor at the R.A. till 1845, one of the two busts he showed being that of the Archbishop of York of whom a statuette followed in 1849, and finally the monument in the Minster; in 1854 he exhibited amongst others a bust of William Etty, R.A. His work is very abundant; that he carved the Queen, the Prince Consort, Wellington and Peel goes without saying, and few great towns are without examples of his work, largely in the form of statues of Victorian worthies.

His monuments are sometimes almost distinguished; the following can be named as examples in Yorkshire: 1, 2, York Minster, Archbishops Vernon Harcourt and Musgrave; the recumbent effigy of the former is fine; of his statues (3) Queen Victoria, in the Town Hall at Leeds, is perhaps the best. Though Lancashire can show more of his works than his native county, his best productions are the monuments in country churches elsewhere, e.g., at Flitton, Beds. and Wimpole, Cambs., where he carries out an older tradition in a manner not wholly unworthy of it, and his stone statues of Hunter, Hume and Sir Humphrey Davy on the Civil Service Commission in Burlington Gardens and the bronze Lord Derby in Parliament Square are far from the worst in London.

NOLLEKENS, JOSEPH, R.A. (1737-1823), the subject of "the most candid biography in the language" is not an attractive figure; though Dr. Johnson called him "Nolly," and jocosely stated that Mrs. Nollekens, daughter of his old friend Saunders Welch, would have married him "had not little Joey stepped in." The sculptor was the son of a Flemish decorative painter settled in London, where the promising boy was in 1751 apprenticed to Peter Scheemaker (q.v.); the one known anecdote of his youth—a

pleasant sidelight on the domesticities of apprenticeship—is that Mrs. Scheemaker said he was “such an honest boy, that he could always be trusted to stone the raisins.” In 1760 he went to Rome; where he worked for seven years and whence he returned the richer for much close study of ancient art and considerable dealings in the profitable trade of “botching” antiques, i.e., fitting heads, legs and bodies of antique statues together and selling them as wholes for large sums to English connoisseurs; but we must always gratefully remember that it is to him we owe the splendid Roman terracotta reliefs in the British Museum. In London his success as a sculptor was great; his busts were famous, but he also executed statues, Venuses especially, and many more monuments than are included in J. T. Smith’s long list; I have myself added over twenty from visits to various churches, and there must be others besides.

His biographer, J. T. Smith, was the son of Nollekens’ old playfellow and assistant Nathaniel Smith, and was a pet of the sculptor’s from childhood; hence the minute and often ignoble details to be found in the biography aforesaid. But Nollekens was full of stories of old London, the artists who inhabited it, and the art they practised; hence the biography is a storehouse of valuable information on the history and topography of London, its treasures, houses, inhabitants and art, sculpture especially, from Scheemaker’s day onwards. Nollekens’ art is well represented in Yorkshire. First and foremost comes the contents of Carr’s Mausoleum at Wentworth Woodhouse, his most important single commission, with its statue of Lord Rockingham surrounded by busts of Burke, Fox, Keppel, Lord Portland, Sir George Savile, Montagu, Lee and Lord Cavendish (see Wraxall’s *Memoirs*, ed. Wheatley, II, p. 350 for an account of this Whig Holy of Holies); and it is not too much to say that Ripon possesses the most attractive of all his monuments, that of William Weddell (1789), with a marble bust in a charming “temple” setting of stone, with four Ionic columns; that of Charles, Viscount Irwin at Whitkirk, with its gracious mourning figure leaning on an urn, is also good, and the meretricious character of much of his work is refreshingly absent from both cases. Another bust of Weddell is said to be at Newby, and the Museum at York was in 1941 presented with Nollekens’ fine bust of Carr, his colleague at Wentworth Woodhouse, so that both aspects of his art can be studied in the Ridings.

NOST, JOHN (d. 1729), born at Mechlin, came to England soon after 1680 as the foreman of Arnold or “English” Quellin (d. 1686), married his widow Frances, and carried on his yard with Andrew Carpenter, of whom we have already spoken, as his foreman. In 1694 he was a member of the Masons’ Company with a shop in the Haymarket; he then moved to Hyde Park Corner and extended his business to leaden figures, which he was the first to make here on a large scale, one of the very best examples in England being his figure of Sir Robert Jeffery over the door of the Jeffery Almshouses at Hoxton, now the L.C.C. Museum. He

was extraordinarily successful, obtaining many important commissions and, happily, signing a key monument, that of Digby, Earl of Bristol at Sherborne, Dorset: other documented works are the tomb of the Duke and Duchess of Queensbury at Durrisdeer, and the terracotta model of the lost statue of William III set up by the City on the Royal Exchange in 1696, acquired by the Victoria & Albert Museum in 1939 (see Esdaile in *Burlington Magazine*, April, 1940); his style is therefore well established. Three Yorkshire monuments can be assigned to his studio. The second Lord Strafford and his second wife, a Larochefoucault in York Minster;—we shall see him with his first at Wentworth Woodhouse. Within an architectural setting are two standing effigies flanking a flaming urn; he, being alive, is in his robes holding a coronet, she being dead, is shown by a not unusual convention, in a nondescript classical costume; twin arches separate them, and in the space above is a white marble coat of arms in relief against a black background as at Durrisdeer, and the whole is set under a curved pediment flanked by flaming urns of the same type. The Fauconberg monument at Coxwold and the Squire at St. Michael-le-Belfry, have been discussed under Nost's assistant Andrew Carpenter (p. 385) both were certainly designed, and in part carved, by Nost, though two of the effigies and probably much of the settings seem to be by Carpenter; they are typical examples of Nost's stately style, but in part inferior to the Strafford tomb as works of art.

ORCHARD, JOHN was the alabasterer who carved the figures on the tomb of two infant children of Edward III in Westminster Abbey; Mr. Lethaby (*Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*) states that he is convinced that the tomb of William of Hatfield (d. 1344) in York Minster is by him; this is extremely probable, since the young prince, who died at the age of eight, would naturally be commemorated by the sculptor already employed by the king on the tomb of his other children.

PLOWS, BENJAMIN (1765-1824) can hardly be described as a sculptor, but he was a good example of the monumental mason; there are three tablets by him (1817, 29, 34) in All Saints' Pavement; one (1799) is at Selby, two more at Hemingborough (1800, 1810) and others at New Malton; some of these are plain, others pyramidal tablets, with urns and sarcophagi. There are two others at Selby signed by W. PLOWS (1797/99), the latter a larger and more elaborate work than the rest; this W. may have been a brother of Benjamin, and the probability is that several of the later works may be by his mason son William. Benjamin also had an apprentice, JOSEPH BUCKLEY (fl. 1842) described on his tombstone as "an Eminent and Ingenious Stone Mason," who set up a yard at Coppergate after working as a journeyman mason at the Minster for 27 years; his work has not been traced (Knowles II, pp. 318-20; notes by E. Esdaile). Alderman Morrell has seen a book of his designs.

ROILEY, RICHARD and GABRIEL, alabasterers of Burton-on-Trent, executed a very large number of monuments in decadent Burton style, chiefly in the Midlands, between 1565 and 1590. They appear to have changed their name from Cartwright and their work is admirably documented, the agreements for tombs at Clifton, Notts., Breedon, Leics., and Somerton, Oxon. being in existence. The tomb of Thomas, Lord Wharton (d. 1568) and his wife at Healaugh, with its misunderstood Italian detail and its oddly disproportionate children as weepers on the base, can be identified from these works without hesitation, and with all its weaknesses is an example of their better work; it is possible that the attractive Wharton coat of arms over the main door of the church is also theirs. They belong to the period when provincial sculptors were being largely superseded by London men who imported their material from the quarries instead of living beside the source of their material, so that, while many Burton tombs of the 1530's, 40's, and 50's were of a very high order, those by masters such as the Roileys, who were not prepared to meet, like the London men, the new demand for "exact portraitures" of the deceased, but went on in the mediaeval fashion of presenting "an image of a gentleman" or of "a gentlewoman in the habiliments proper thereto," naturally tended to fall out of favour with patrons accustomed to the new and more faithful methods of the South.¹

ROUBILIAC, LOUIS FRANÇOIS (d. 1762), has, unlike any other sculptor in these pages, a full-dress biography, and it is only in 1943 that a work of his—the lovely head of Pope at Temple Newsam—is to be found in Yorkshire. This is a noble example of the refined and realistic art of this Huguenot whose known work is only to be found in England.

RYSBRACK, JOHN MICHAEL (1696-1770) came over from Flanders in 1720, lived in England till his death, and has always been regarded as an English sculptor. He began as an assistant to James Gibb the famous architect, who required a sculptor to carry out his monumental designs (we may note that Andrew Carpenter (p. 8) did so on one occasion, the work in question being at Amersham, Bucks.), and he gave him plenty of work but very little pay; Rysbrack also worked for Kent. Rysbrack's merits, however, soon won him public favour; he it was who took the death-mask of Sir Isaac Newton from which the Westminster Abbey monument was carved, and by 1732 his list of patrons for portrait busts was a very long one (see Vertue III, pp. 56-7). No word of dispraise is to be found in literature; connoisseurs like Horace Walpole, friends like Charles Rogers liked and

¹ The quotations are from contemporary agreements of Gerard Johnson (*q.v.*) and the Roileys; for further information on these Burton alabasterers see *Birmingham Archaeological Transactions*, xlviii, pp. 140-1 and 166, and add to the references those given J. C. Blomfield's *Deanery of Bicester*, p. ff 108.

admired him and exalted his work, and his portrait busts and statues are second only to Roubiliac's.

What is said to be a fine statue of William, second Lord Strafford of the second creation, at Wentworth Castle near Barnsley I have not seen, and considering the abundance of Rysbrack's work elsewhere, the lack of it in Yorkshire is certainly curious.

Even the Minster can only show a mediocre example of his art. the monument to Dean Finch and his brother¹ which gives no idea of his powers as we see them in the Newton, the Sir Hans Sloane in the British Museum, or the equestrian William III at Bristol, easily the finest bronze statue of the century in England. No sculptor of his age represented so many famous men. His drawings of sacred subjects have been alluded to under Richard Fisher (p. 29), and it is pleasant to think that Pope, who wrote the epigram carved under his statue of the Nymph at Stourhead, sat to him for the noble portrait head now in the Athenaeum.

Rysbrack lies buried in the churchyard of Old St. Marylebone, his lavish charities and his collections of Old Master drawings having alike impoverished him; even to-day his mark upon a drawing is a guarantee of its quality; and if Walpole exaggerated in calling him "the best sculptor that has appeared in these islands since Le Sueur," he was far nearer the truth than Flaxman, who termed him "a mere workman"; that verdict, popular in the days of Neo-Hellenism and the dreadful sculpture of what I have ventured elsewhere to term the Peninsular School would be put forward by no serious critic to-day, and an exhibition of his terracottas held in London in 1932 resulted in all but one going to enrich various public collections: Flaxman has been answered by the verdict of posterity.

SCHEEMAKER or SCHEEMAKERS, PETER (1691-1784) was another sculptor who, though like Rysbrack a Fleming by birth, will be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, though the date of his death is wrongly given, and is here supplied from M. Henry Rousseau's *La Sculpture aux XVII et XVIII Siècles*, Brussels, 1911. Scheemaker, who came to England in 1716, stayed here till 1771, when he sold off his collections and retired to Flanders; a visit to Rome in 1728 was the only break in this long residence, during which he trained several of the notable sculptors of the next generation, including both Cheere and Nollekens (q.v.). He is not so great a craftsman as Rysbrack, but his works have a massive dignity of their own, and he has a niche in English literature as the author of the world-famous statue of Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey, which for the time swung public favour away from Rysbrack to him, and of the four busts of English poets, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden and Pope, which were given by Frederick, Prince of Wales to Pope, and by him bequeathed to Lord Lyttelton;

¹ One of the terracotta models for these busts was seen by Vertue in the sculptor's studio in 1732 and is now at the Finch family seat, Burley-on-the-Hill.



PLATE VI.

MAUSOLEUM, KIRKLEATHAM.

MARWOOD WILLIAM TURNER,
died at Lyons on the Grand Tour, Oct. 9, 1739,
by Peter Scheemaker.

they are still at Hagley, where they have stood since Pope's death.

Scheemaker's style was much influenced by Roman art; he used the pyramidal form freely, but imitated the Etrusco-Roman fashion of figures reclining on a sarcophagus, and his classical costumes were more exact than Rysbrack's; but their long lives formed the public taste for two generations, and, if we add Scheemaker's pupil Nollekens, for three, and their careers offer a curious and interesting parallel. Not only did each practise every form of sculpture then in use, but both were known to Vertue, who has presented many curious details of their lives and work; models and marbles by both are now eagerly sought after for the national collections and by American galleries as essential to the study of English art.

Scheemaker is represented in Yorkshire by a number of important works. Sir Michael Warton (d. 1724) with two female figures with book and inverted torch respectively, leaning on a sarcophagus surmounted by an urn. Beverley Minster.

John Silvester (1722), mural monument erected by his son, Darton.

The church at Kirkleatham and the Mausoleum attached to it form the most important group of Scheemaker's works that I have come across; they are in superb condition, and include not statues only but decorative details such as the cartouche over the entrance from the church describing the building of the Mausoleum in 1740 and the enchanting marble hood with its pediment, bearing reclining figures flanking an urn, its cherub head below and the flanking volutes. The church itself is described as having been built by Robert Corney, a native of Kirkleatham in 1758, the year after the death of Cholmondeley Turner, whose grandfather Sir William Witham (d. 1670) had founded the neighbouring hospital; his tomb, a typical London altar tomb of the 1670's, has been removed from the churchyard and now stands in the Mausoleum built by his grandson, "To the Memory of his own son Marwood William Turner Esqr.," as the inscription round the Mausoleum has it. But not all the Scheemakers are there.

In the chancel, opposite the hooded doorway above described, stands Scheemaker's monument to Sergeant Turner (d. 1682), brother of Sir William, a stately architectural structure framing a full length statue of the Sergeant, robed and holding a scroll.

In the Mausoleum itself are two very fine works:

Statue of Marwood William Turner, who died at Lyons while on the Grand Tour, 1739, and "had a true Taste for the Finest Branches of Literature, Poetry and Painting"; a relic of those tastes is to be seen in the great Florentine candelabrum of gilt wood which now hangs in the Chapel of the neighbouring Hospital. He is shown with a refined and thoughtful face, wearing his own long hair but in classical dress, standing in a pensive attitude with piles of books beside him; Scheemaker rarely executed a finer work even in Yorkshire, where he is better represented than any other famous eighteenth century sculptor. Pl. VI.

Cholmondeley Turner (d. 1757) forms a great contrast to his young son; his is a strong masculine countenance, a broad, even brawny figure, admirably suited to his Roman dress; unsigned, but authorship certain. Both these fine works are on lofty pedestals.

(For other sculptures at Kirkleatham see WESTMACOTT, Sir R.)

Lady Elizabeth Hastings (d. 1739) and her sisters Lady Anne and Lady Frances, Ledsham. This is a large and dignified work; Lady Elizabeth, a young and beautiful woman (the statue was based on an early portrait) reclines on a sarcophagus against a pyramidal background, holding a book of devotion; the others, represented as Piety and Prudence, stand on either side. It was of Lady Elizabeth that Steele wrote the famous sentence, "to love her is a liberal education," and it may well serve as her epitaph.

Charles Savile (1741), seated statue in Roman dress, his wife leaning on a pedestal, looking at him, with architectural background, Methley; an unusual and interesting scheme, repeated by the sculptor at Boughton Mouchelsea, Kent.

SHOUT, WILLIAM (1760-1836), the son of Henry Shout, a joiner of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, was apprenticed to a Minster mason and became master mason at the Minster in 1794, carving the existing figures at the W. end; the importance of his work there may be gathered from the stilted phrases of his epitaph in Huntingdon churchyard: "In a Vault beneath are interred the remains of William Shout, Mason, who for 40 years with Credit to himself and Satisfaction to his Employers conducted the repairs and restoration of York Cathedral." He was the master of Michael Taylor (90) (Knowles II, p. 335). His name raises a curious question: was he the father or uncle of the ROBERT SHOUT of Holborn, best known as the modeller of Wedgwood's bust of Nelson and from the reference in Shelley's *Letter to Maria Gisborne* to Leigh Hunt's study filled "with many a cast by Shout"? The name is excessively rare, and the dates of this Shout's works cover the first thirty years of the 19th century; they may be seen in the Temple Church and St. Sepulchre's, Holborn, all over Sussex, at Sleaford, Lincs., and at Dulverton, Somerset; and we have seen that the York mason could come South, see DRAWSWERT, W. A connection seems to me highly probable.

List of R.S.'s works by Edmund Esdaile.

K. A. Esdaile, *Temple Church Monuments*, p. 109.

(To be concluded).

Late 18th and Early 19th century Papers relating to the organisation of the Country against a possible Invasion.

By MRS. HEBDITCH.

Among the bequests of the late E. W. Crossley to the Library is a small collection of papers issued in, or about, the year 1800. These consist of exhortations to patriotic behaviour, and regulations for the organisation and protection of this island in the event of an invasion which then appeared imminent.

From 1796, when France, victorious on land and still formidable at sea, had refused British overtures for peace, the Government became increasingly concerned with the problem of protecting the country from an attack from the continent. When Parliament opened in the Autumn of that year the King's Speech referred to Napoleon's designs on this country, and Pitt's speech in Committee on October 18th had for its key note the words, "It is equally our duty and our interest, by every means in our power . . . to preclude the attempt, and at the same time to take such measures of defence as shall cause invasion, if it should be attempted, to issue in the confusion and ruin of the enemy." This resolution was accepted, and the papers in the Society's possession embody some of the measures adopted as a result of that, and later resolutions of a similar nature.

In the magnitude of the task and the ill prepared state of the country, the struggle with Napoleon more closely resembles the present conflict than do the other occasions when Britain has been faced with the might of an aggressive continental power. The parallels are easy to draw. In place of propaganda spread by radio programmes, such pamphlets as the following were issued, printed by Furby, Bridlington.

STATE OF HANOVER.

A WARNING TO GREAT BRITAIN.

"This Electorate the inheritance of our Royal Family, surrendered to the French Army without resistance, the invaders without the least provocation, have perpetrated the atrocities, of which we give a faint but dreadful outline.

The French Soldiers have indulged (with the most unbounded licence) their ruling passions of rapacity, cruelty and lust, in the City of Hanover, and even in the public Streets, Women of the highest rank have been violated by the lowest of the brutal soldiery, inflamed by drunkenness, to most indescribable outrages.

Such are the gangs of ferocious banditti, whom the murderer of Jaffa lets loose on the civilised world. Such and ten thousand times worse is the fate prepared for England, if the valour of her brave sons do not avert it, for England will naturally be more oppressed in proportion as she is more dreaded, envied and hated.

Let us reflect a moment, upon the melancholy state of those unfortunate Countries which have already fallen victims to their Arms and artifices; look at Holland, Italy and Switzerland, in those places all acts of humanity have been denied, and their rights and privileges have been taken from them, and many of the inhabitants wantonly and most barbarously murdered, and plundered of all that was both near and dear to them: their wives and daughters have been most abominably violated and massacred before their eyes . . . Should such a merciless enemy be permitted to invade us, and to advance into the country, we may expect to experience all the cruelty and violence such a Tyrant is capable of committing."

A pamphlet printed by W. Blanchard, of York expresses the ambitions of the Conqueror in familiar sounding phrases, and portrays in greater detail the sufferings of the conquered.

"My Dear Countrymen,

You are now threatened with Invasion from the French. Our enemies have often talked of making a descent on the coast of England, but now they are in earnest: and vast preparations are they making for this purpose. And indeed, there are many things to lead them to make the attempt. For in the first place, having plundered the countries they have conquered, or frightened into submission, they have nothing more to get from those quarters. Yet money, or something equivalent to money, must be had. But how are they to raise it? They have not, like us, a flourishing commerce to supply their manufacturers, and to raise a sufficient revenue to defray the expenses of the state. Plunder, therefore, must be their resource: and England, on account of the vast treasures lodged in it, would yield them an ample supply."

"But there is another reason, likewise, to be assigned for their endeavouring to invade us. Don't you see that Buonaparte wants to rule over all Europe? Don't you see that he has already got a good way towards having it all under his power? What is Switzerland? What is Holland? What are the Italian States? Are these anything more than provinces of the French Government? Yet the greedy Corsican wants more still. But there is one thing in his way, he can't get the better of England. And while this is the case, his ambitious designs cannot be completed. Against us, therefore, as the greatest hindrance of his obtaining universal dominion, he is mad with rage: and though he knows it must cost thousands and thousands of the lives of his own subjects, yet he will attempt to invade us; because, if he succeeds, he will then be master of the world, and domineer over all nations."

"There is no better way of judging what the French are likely to do here, than by forming our opinion from what they have done in the countries which they have conquered . . . It is always a rule with the conquerors of a country, when they have got possession of it to **SHIFT THE INHABITANTS** . . . If Buonaparte subdues this Island, depend upon it, he'll not forget this piece of policy. And in that case, you must take a long farewell of the country in which you were born and bred. You must go and toil in some other country. Yes, ship-loads of you will be carried away to foreign lands, like cattle carried to a distant market."

Then follow pleas for unity, warnings against possible quislings,

"But remember this, that we must be **ONE AND ALL**. And therefore keep a good lookout against those, who try to set us against each other: for there is nothing more to be guarded against in these times than a spirit of disunion . . . Let us therefore lay aside all our private opinions, and instantly combine in endeavouring to prevent the common danger."

This open letter concludes with an exhortation which may have played its part in rousing that outburst of patriotic fervour

which provided the Government in 1803 with a force of 340,000 volunteers which it could scarcely control or maintain.

"Rise up, therefore, Britons, as one man; and resist the approach of those enemies, whose lawless hands will spare neither your religion, nor your liberty, nor your property, nor your domestic comforts . . . let us be prepared for our enemies, in case they should effect a landing. Let the first sight they get of our coast, discover to their view, an excited and determined people. Should they have reason to think, that could they but make good a landing, England would be theirs, that thought alone might animate them to sustain all the dreadful fire of our ships. But of this they will not be so ready to hope, if they see our shores lined, as far as their eyes can reach, with thousands and tens of thousands of the natives, all armed, all ready to give them a warm reception, and to finish what our brave sailors, and marines, began.

Such a sight may complete their despair; and there may be nothing left for those who are stationed on land to do, but to fall on their knees, and with eyes lifted up to heaven, to give God the praise, who gave the victory."

The method of spreading the news through the Country in the event of landings by the enemy is to be found in two sheets of regulations concerning beacons, and the work of the attendants, whose function and hours of watch relates closely to the duties of the present day Royal Observer Corps.

"As it is most desirable and essential on the near approach or actual Landing of the Enemy, that the quickest intelligence of such an event should be generally diffused; it is judged expedient for this purpose to establish *Fire Beacons*, on the most conspicuous and elevated parts of the Country, which, successively taking up the Signal, beginning with the *Head-Quarters*, . . . will, in a very short space of time communicate it to the more distant part of the Country; and on which signal, every one is to assemble at his known place of Rendezvous, and there expect and receive Orders for his further proceeding from the General or other Officer under whose Command the several Volunteer Corps are placed . . .

It is proposed, that an intelligent steady Serjeant and three Men should encamp, and be stationed at each place, and the spot chosen must be the most favourable that offers in the vicinity.

A Telescope to be provided for each Post, by the Quarter Master General, and one of the Men, is, always *Day and Night* to be on the look out . . .

The Serjeant is to be perfectly convinced, that he is not misled by any accidental Fire or Smoke, before he repeats the Signal, nor is he on any occasion to hurry it . . .

A large Stack or Pile of Furze or Faggots, with some bow Wood at least Waggon Loads, and such as may be expected to produce a Fire conspicuous at ten or twelve Miles distance, is to be erected at each Station, together with three or four Tar Barrels to *add occasionally*, so as to make a Fire that will be visible for two Hours. Also a large quantity of Straw wetted, and in readiness to wet, to make a Smoke by Day.

The first Beacon in a District, is not to be fired without notice from the Signal Post at SPURN POINT, or at DIMLINGTON, or at HORNSEA, or at FLAMBOROUGH HEAD, which are under the Command and Direction of a Naval Officer, unless the Alarm comes from a neighbouring Riding or County, when the nearest Beacon will repeat as in other instances.

The Serjeant employed on this important Duty will be allowed One Shilling and Sixpence per Day, and each Man Nine-pence, and Nine-pence per Day will be allowed to provide the party with Straw and Fuel.

The General Officers from whose Divisions the parties are sent, will give such further Directions as occur, to promote vigilance and prevent premature and false Alarm."

A sheet of instructions printed at Beverley by M. Turner on Aug. 12th, 1804, is entitled, "Regulations for the Preservation of Good Order, to be adopted in case of Actual Invasion, in each County in Great Britain," foreshadows the regional civil defence organisation of the present day.

"The Magistrates of each Division of the County remaining at home, to sit daily at a place to be appointed in each Division for that purpose.

To procure the trust-worthy Housekeepers and others to enroll themselves to serve as Special Constables under their orders, where the same has not already been done, pursuant to the Secretary of State's Circular Letter of the 8th November last.

A certain portion of the Constables and Volunteers, in rotation, to go such different rounds in the night, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Magistrates of the Division, to whom they are to make their report each morning.

The Magistrates of each Division to report daily to the Lieutenant of the County, or Deputy-Lieutenants within the Division appointed to receive the same.

The Lieutenants or Deputy-Lieutenants so appointed, to report all matters of importance immediately to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and to the General or Officer left in command of the District, or to the Officer who shall be appointed by him within the County to receive the same, to whom they are to apply in case of wanting further military aid."

Further lists of regulations include those, "To be Observed in driving the STOCK of the Country."

"It would be a very useful Precaution for Proprietors to lay temporary Bridges over Ditches or Rivulets, in such Places as would facilitate and shorten the Time of Communication to the Point of Rendezvous . . . Separate roads to be allotted to Flocks and Herds, and Carriages.

Each Superintendent of Rendezvous to examine the Roads, either in Person, or by those in whom he can confide, and determine upon that which he thinks will be most proper and convenient for his Division to march by, and immediately to make a Return to the Deputy Lieutenant of his Division, which will be adopted or corrected according as it may suit the General Arrangement.

Care to be taken that the Lines of March of neighbouring Villages or Circuits, do not cross upon each other, as the greatest Delay and Confusion, and perhaps Dissension might be the Consequence.

Signals to be agreed upon, on the Sight of which, or the Ringing of Bells, etc. the whole are to begin to move agreeable to the previous Arrangements, and the proper Guides to be always in Readiness."

"Proposals For rendering the Body of the People instrumental in the General Defence, saving their Property, and distressing the Enemy, by removing the Means of Subsistence from threatened Parts of the Country; as also for insuring the necessary Supplies to His Majesty's Forces, and facilitating their Movements, in case of an Invasion, without making any expensive Preparations," show that the idea of defence in depth is nothing new, and that the words, "scorched earth" are but a modern phrase for a policy well understood nearly 150 years ago.

"If an Enemy should land upon our Shores, every possible Exertion should be made immediately to deprive him of the Means of Subsistence.

The Navy will soon cut off his Communication with the Sea; the Army will confine him on Shore in such a Way, as to make it impossible for him to draw any Supplies from the adjacent Country.

But if unforeseen and improbable Circumstances should enable him to make some progress at first, a steady Perseverance in the same System will increase his Difficulties at every Step; sooner or later he must inevitably pay the Forfeit of his Temerity.

How much the Accomplishment of the Object will be facilitated by driving away Live Stock, and consuming, or, in case of absolute Necessity, destroying all other Means of Subsistence, in those Parts of the Country which may be in imminent Danger of falling into his Possession, is too evident to need any Discussion.

As it may be impossible for the Inhabitants, in case of Alarm, immediately to remove the more bulky Articles of Property, such as Grain, Hay, and Straw . . . it should be recommended to them to appoint several discreet trusty Persons from among themselves, to remain in the Parish as long as the same shall not actually be in the Possession of the Enemy, or entirely cut off from the Army. This arrangement will not only facilitate the Means of supplying our own Army with what must otherwise be destroyed, to prevent its falling into the Hands of the Enemy, but will in many instances also diminish the Chance of Loss.

Care should be taken by the Inhabitants of such Parishes as may be in imminent Danger of falling into the Hands of the Enemy, that all Mills and Ovens be rendered useless to him, by carrying off or destroying some essential Part of the Machinery of the former, which cannot easily be replaced, and by breaking the latter. In both Cases, that Mode of Derangement is the most eligible which, while it effectually answers the Purpose, may afterwards be repaired at the smallest Expense.”¹

In the following instructions may be found an organisation approximating to the Home Guard, with similar, if more limited duties.

“The unarmed Inhabitants will have an Opportunity of rendering Services equally necessary and important by forming themselves into Companies of Pioneers, under the Direction of Leaders to be appointed by the Civil Authority of the County.

A numerous Body of Pioneers is so essential to the Movements of an Army, and to the Obstruction of the Progress of the Enemy, that it is intended, in case of their being called into actual Service, to make a competent daily Allowance to all who may offer to come forward in the Capacity of Pioneers.

In that case these Pioneers should, if possible, come provided with Tools of the following Description, viz., Six Pick-Axes, Six Spades, Six Shovels, Three Bill-hooks, and Four Felling-axes, to every Twenty-five Men.

The Duty of the Pioneers will generally consist in repairing and opening such Roads, Bridges and Communications, as may facilitate the Movements of our own Army, and in breaking up or obstructing such as it may be necessary to render impassable to the Enemy.

The Allowances proposed to be made to Pioneers from the Day on which they may be required to assemble until their Services may be no longer wanted, are as follows :

To every able-bodied Man Eighteen-pence per Day :

To every Leader of Twenty-five Men and upwards, Two-pence per Day for every Man under his Command.

Each Pioneer, Leader and Overseer, to be at Liberty to draw One Ration of Bread, consisting of One Pound and a Half, from the King’s Magazine, on paying for the same, at the Rate of Five pence for every Four Rations.”

The pamphlet contains two further proposals, the use of civilian vehicles for transport purposes, and arrangements for insuring a regular supply of bread in a time of crisis.

¹ “Breaking the upper Millstone and the Crown of the Oven, are deemed the most effectual and least expensive Modes of Derangement.”

"The Country abounds in Supplies of all Kinds to a Degree which renders the laying in of extensive Magazines unnecessary. Small Depots for a few Days Consumption are sufficient, provided Means can be found to bring forward the Resources of the Country at a short Notice . . .

The following are the Particulars of the Plan in Contemplation.

Such of the Nobility, Gentry, and Yeomanry of the County as may approve of the Measure, should be requested to subscribe a Paper in the Form annexed (each Parish, Hundred, or Precinct, of convenient Size separately), expressing opposite to their Names the Number of Waggon and Carts provided with Tilts, and the Number of Horses, Drivers, and Conductors, which they propose to furnish respectively.

The Waggon, Carts, etc., subscribed for, ought to march as soon as possible, and at latest on the next Morning after Notice received to that effect . . .

The said Waggon and Carts should be bound to travel at the Rate of Five Miles in every Two Hours; Twenty-five Miles when loaded, and Thirty Miles when empty, in every Twenty-four Hours; and in either case as much further as possible if the Urgency of the Service should require extraordinary Exertions . . .

One or more discreet and intelligent Persons, besides the Drivers, should accompany each Detachment of Ten Waggon or Carts, and upwards . . .

The Owners of such Waggon and Carts should be bound to provide for their constant Repair, for the Shoeing and Maintenance of the Horses, and for the Maintenance of the Drivers and Conductors . . .

The Commissary General is directed to pay for the Hire of each Waggon or Cart, with the Horses and Drivers belonging thereto; and for the Hire of each Conductor, while the same shall have been employed in the Publick Service . . ."

Here follow explicit and detailed instructions concerning goods transported, times of service, rates of payment and compensation, lists to be filled in by the subscribers to the scheme, and finally,

"The said Waggon and Carts shall be discharged from Time to Time at reasonable Periods, and relieved by others as often as the Nature of the Service may permit, to the End that the Burden, if such in an Case it should be considered, may be divided as equally as possible . . . The Waggon and Carts belonging to Places near the Sea Coast, and particularly to such as may be threatened with the Approach of an Enemy, shall not be called upon under this Engagement, except in Cases of absolute Necessity, but they shall be left at the Disposal of the Owners for the Removal of their Families and Effects . . . And further, such Waggon or Carts as may be at the Disposal of the King's Officers, in consequence of this Arrangement, shall be lent to the Relief and Assistance of the Inhabitants of such Parts of the Country as may be in imminent Danger."

The instructions to millers and bakers are of a comprehensive nature and cover ten pages.

"The Millers of every Town, Parish, Hundred, or Precinct, of convenient Size, separately, should be requested to subscribe a Paper in the annexed Form, declaring that they will immediately, upon receiving Notice to that Effect, deliver such Quantities of ready dressed Flour, as they may happen to have in Hand, over and above the immediate Wants of their Customers . . .

They should declare in the same Paper what Quantity of Flour, prepared by a Twelve Shilling Seamed Cloth, they will undertake to furnish every Twenty-four Hours upon similar Notice received, (Wind or Water permitting), over and above such Quantities of Flour as they usually manufacture for the ordinary Consumption of their Customers . . .

Let them also declare, whether they will provide the Wheat for making the Flour above-mentioned themselves, or whether they desire to be supplied therewith by the Commissary General . . .

The Bakers of every Town, Parish, or Precinct of convenient Size, separately, should be requested to subscribe a Paper of the annexed Form, declaring the Number of Loaves of Three Pounds, or Four Pounds and a Half, which each of them would undertake to bake immediately, upon receiving Notice to that Effect, over and above the ordinary Consumption of his Customers, distinguishing the Quantities which he would engage to furnish upon a sudden Emergency, from what he would furnish for a Constancy, by the Number of Hands usually supplied by him . . .

The said Bakers should engage at the Outset to employ their own Stock of Flour as far as it will go . . .

As there are Parts of the Country in which the Exertions of the Subscribers might possibly be checked by the Want of Fuel, they should be requested to mention the Kind of Fuel for which their Ovens are calculated . . . to the End that the Commissary General may employ proper and timely Means for supplying them therewith.

As there are Ovens in many Places entirely vacant, the Subscribers should be requested to undertake the working of them."

There follows a short treatise on the most efficacious ways of making bread with both Leaven and Yeast, and the best methods of storing and packing the loaves.

A YORKSHIRE COUNTRY PARISH, 1676-1710.

By CANON E. C. HUDSON, M.A., F.S.A.

In the Parish Register at Gilling, York, the entries during the long incumbency of the Rev. Charles Man¹ are of more than usual interest. Mr. Man was Rector of Gilling for 34 years, from 1676 to 1710, a period that included the whole or part of the reigns of Charles II, James II, William III and Mary II, and Queen Anne.

As Gilling was apparently a Recusant stronghold, whilst the Rector was a pronounced Anglican, his references to Papists and fanatics are not without interest. Moreover the Rev. Charles Man was obviously a parson of strong character with definite ecclesiastical views and wide interests. And his entries in the Register, all in Latin, are frequently illustrated by additional details that throw some light, occasionally quite vivid, on life in a country parish and on political, ecclesiastical and social events of the time.

A brief summary of the entries from year to year during Mr. Man's incumbency seem to be not only of general interest but possibly of value to students of the period.

1675 Gulielmus Peacocke Rector istius Ecclesiae de Gilling mortuus est decimo die Novembris sepultus est die duodecimo mensis eiusdem.

Anno Domini	Nomina Baptizat (orum) Conjugatorum Sepul-
1676	torum. Carolo Man Rectore.

Baptiz: Radulphus et Johannes gemelli filii.

The first entry in the Register of Carolus Man was that of the baptism of twins.

The entries for 1676 and 1677 are re-copied in a different hand. The number for 1676 is 14 but of these three are crossed out in the first version.

There is mention of William Bland "nuper de molend; Cawtonensi" showing that there was then, probably, a mill at Cawton.

In one of the entries there is the addition of "Romanae Ecclesiae cultris."

¹ At Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, 1667. Cf. Venn's "*Alumni Cantabrigienses*."

Funeral of Frances Parker of Cawton spinster. July 28
Born at Ripon in the village commonly called Kirkstrees; for many years a domestic servant to Mr. John Wildman sometime dwelling at Ripon, but now at Cawton where she died at about 80 years of age. In religion of the Roman Church.

This entry is abbreviated and expressed differently in the 2nd version.

1677. 13 entries in the 1st version and 25 in the 2nd.

Reference to "Rom: Ecclesiae cultor" in one entry in 1st version, omitted in 2nd version.

Baptism on May 20 "Dominica(?) 5 post Paschaq(?)"

Marriage of William Lord Widdrington, Baron Blankley, and Alithea daughter of Charles Lord Fairfax, Viscount Emly.

Funeral of one described as "vidua vetusta" in 2nd version.

Entry re Cornelius Rogers Equarius Castri de Gilling at magis improprio famulut nomine Gossip. papicola.

Baptism of daughter of "....." a Sheriff Hutton ad Cawton mense ultimo translati sunt in domum sibi p'tinentem et a Sybilla Cowper vid nuper habitatam."

Funeral of "Grace the wife of John Barker of Gilling, giving birth to twin daughters, each the offspring of the womb of the same mother, after a short time, passed to the womb of mother earth, of whom the one was born on Saturday November 10th and was buried the same day: the other on the next Monday at evening, and the mother laid down the burden of her womb and her own by weakness of her members and afflicted with great pain and also an apostate recently seduced (from the faith).

1678. 24 Entries.

Baptism of a child to whom the mother by an unforeseen chance had come to Grimston for her sister's Churching.

Baptism of son of Lord Widdrington, Baron Blankney on Friday 2nd August "as I was told."

Funeral of unbaptised child.

Funeral of "dispensator Castri Dom: Farfax."

1679 40 Entries, but Mr. Man states that there were 39 funerals and 6 baptisms.

Funeral "in die Ascentionis Domini et Regis Caroli 2 Nativitatis.

Funeral of "Serva Radulphi Hick Robararii custod: a Pockley profecta."

Funeral of wife of Charles Mann Rector of the Church of Gilling.

Funeral of woman "innupta Aug 24 Domin 10 post Trin: Festo Bart"

Funeral of wife of man of Richmond—He, a tinker wandering about the villages with his wife and children to get a living came to Grimston Hall where his aforesaid wife took ill and died.

Funeral of an "Adolescens bonae Spei."

Funeral of woman who died eodem die quo gemino laborans partu pariendo periit petiitq salutem Gen. 3. 16, I Timoth 2. 15 alter mas vivens et valens Baptizat ut prdicta alter vita destetur.

Funeral of woman described as "hospita vetus et nobilitas"

Baptism of son of Tristrami Green "nomen triste nimis re tristius, ecce Benoni Tristrami patris funebria tristia luget."

Wedding of Cornelius Smith who deplores the loss of a wife the preceding month, in the following month takes a new spouse & captures new joys.

Funeral of an "Idiota orphanus et mancus."

1680 21 Entries.

Baptism of twin boys, followed by funeral of one of these 5 weeks later.

Entries mention a potter, pater familias, vidua decrepita.

Funeral of one who had lately come to Cawton for the sake of seeing his sister & died there.

1681. 20 Entries.

Wedding of Cornelius Smith: "A third year is here & the third wife is married, & troubled with so great delay he has taken a spouse who is pregnant."

Entries mention Roborarii and peregrinus.

1682. 28 Entries.

Funeral of John Wildman lately of Cawton where he had lived for a long time, but his only daughter being now married to George Vavasour of Willtoft in Holderness sold his hereditary estate and all his goods and removed himself and his wife to Willtoft; nevertheless when he came there it chanced that he took ill and died.

Funeral of one described as an old man and an apostate.

Three baptisms on the same day. "Three to be brought to the font at the same time, scarcely once in the period AD 1643."

Wedding of John Wild "Of the City of York, Clericus."

Funeral of "Idiota membris et mente miseri captus."

1683. 15 Entries.

Funeral of two parishioners described as "papicola" and baptism of another described as "pa"—i.e. a papist.

Funeral of Richard Malton, born at Easingwold A.D. 1641, formerly an alumnus of Magdalene Coll. Camb.; a private chaplain to various families of the Presbyterian faction, a married man, coming here to see the children of a sister who had recently died, died himself, and his bones, by his own request, were laid by her bones.

1684. 21 Entries.

Baptism of George and Anne, their mother Anna a vagrant wandering from village to village seeking a living and staying the night at the house of Edward Dawson on the sixth of the month bore the aforesaid twin offspring. She said she was the wife of George Malberly lately of Richmond and had been deserted by him.

Baptism of third son of William Lord Widdrington, Baron de Blankney.

Funeral of a papicola.

1685. 12 Entries.

Baptism of Elizabeth wife of William Shepherd of Cawton, her parents Michael Shotton and Elizabeth his wife, fanatical professors of the sect of the Quakers: they cared very little about the baptism of their daughter but by the persuasion of certain friends she was brought to the holy laver on the aforesaid day on the feast of St. Andrew in the twenty-first year of her age.

1686. 19 Entries.

Funeral of "Servus Castl."

1687. 9 Entries.

Funeral of a "peregrinus ex Hibernia."

Baptism of a parishioner described as "innupta matrona tamen."

Baptism of twin sons.

Funeral of Anna wife of Thomas Walker of Hagg Hous who was found immersed in the little stream below the house and by the jury was found felo de se.

(There has not been a house at Gill Hagg for many years).

1688. 9 Entries.

Baptism of son of Thomas Montcliff "patris reputat sive deputat."

Baptism of Johannes Filia (*sic*).

Mention of flight of King James II "James, King of England fled to France and this by a National Convention gathered at Westminster is held by a majority of votes an abdication of the Kingdom, and the Royal throne being then vacant William of Nassau Prince of Orange is asked to take the Government upon himself, who with Mary his wife is crowned on Thursday April 11th in the following year 1689. (Note by Prof. Whiting, *It was really April 12th*).

1689. 12 Entries.

Marriage of two persons both of Kirby Moorside .

1690. 21 Entries.

Mention of Blakdal. (There has been no dwelling at Blakedale for many years. Like Gill Hagg it was covered with timber till recently).

Two weddings of people none of whom, apparently, was of Gilling.

Baptism of twin girls one of whom was buried three weeks later.

People described as "decrepit aetat," "uxorat," "vidua."

1691. 18 Entries.

Funeral of "filius Reputat Johannis Kendrey de Laystrop."

1692. 17 Entries.

Funeral of Thomasina Bell "vetuta decrepita aetat 90."

Funeral of "Gulielmus Smith de Blakdale leprosus Papic."

1693. 18 Entries.

Funeral of "Vidua Annoru 77 Eccl: Rom: and of "Senex Advena morte subita obit, Eccl: Rom:"

1694. 26 Entries.

Funeral of two persons described as "Rom Eccl"; one as "de Gilling Castle."

Marriage of man "jam ter nupt" with a woman "Cuius quondam maritus Sep" 7 years previously.

Wedding of two persons of Cawton "both passing their lives in a servile condition."

Funeral of "Infans immature nat."

Funeral of "William Raynes, of the City of York, clock-maker; returning home with two companions from Helmsley, where his brother Thomas Raynes, gentleman, lived, fell from his mare in a field about two miles from Gilling, and there at once departed this life. He was brought home and buried after an inquest by a jury."

Baptism of twin sons.

The names of Dorcas and Shadrack occur.

Death of Queen Mary of England, Scotland France etc. full of goodness, power, modesty, greatness of soul, and majesty, lovable in appearance, worthy of the praise of all men, died (ah! sad word) with mourning throughout the whole Kingdom on 28th of December and was buried with the greatest solemnity as she deserved, the bells emitting their mournful sound from village to village, throughout all England, by Command of the King.

1695. 21 Entries.

Funeral of "Vid aetatis decrep."

Baptism of "Richard, Son of Thomas Simpson of Lodge Field in the Parish of Ampleforth, being feeble, by pressing necessity (baptised) at home a month previously, was publicly received into the Church by the Minister of Gilling in the time of Divine Service."

Parishioner described as "Rom: Eccl: Cult."

Baptism of "Infans prdictus heri Introit hodie exiit."

1696. 24 Entries.

Baptism of Parishioner "Vespere Annuntiat nat."

Baptism "privat in ecclesiam adductus et publico assumptus in gregem Christian."

Baptism "domi (urgente necessitate) in ecclesiam adductus."

Baptism "immediately after birth, in the manner of the Roman Church by a woman, the father a fanatic, the mother a papist."

Baptism "die prdict Dominica et festo Anniversario."

Baptism of "daughter of a tinker travelling at Cawton with his wife who was pregnant."

Funeral of one "Eccl. Rom."

Against three entries, and others in the following years, signs which appear to be astronomical.

1697. 19 Entries.

Funeral of one described as "Eccl. Rom."

Funeral of "William Bolton Bellerby, an illegitimate boy aged six, having his first mentioned name from the Church of Rome in Confirmation when in the reign of James II Bishop ÷eudo a Roman Catholic, performed services publicly in this Castle. His second name in baptism is that of his reputed father. His third name Bellerby from his mother Maria Bellerby. (cf. Note at end).

Wedding of a couple described as "Servi cohabitantes nup Cawtoniae."

Baptism of twin girls.

Funeral of one "Caelebs vetus."

Funeral 11th December of "Thomas Raper, of Grimston, a potter; meeting the violence of the heavens all the night, the winds being adverse, overcome by the unusually severe snow and cold, was found, on Saturday morning near a part of Yearsley moor almost exhausted, and, with a little rattle in the throat, expired."

"From lightning and tempest, from plague, pestilence and famine, from robbery and sudden death, deliver us, O Lord."

Funeral, 11th December, of "Johannes eodem sepulchro et die."

Funeral of "Guilielmus Bolton natus in agro Lancastri; nuper Dispensator Carolo Dom; Fairfax Eccl. Rom: Cultor obiit die praecedente Festo S. Matthiae."

Entry relating to an infant "Eccl. Rom. Nat."

1698. 22 Entries.

Funeral of "Abigal Filia Nicolai Fairfax Armigeri obit Ebor: innupta aetatis flore diu langues: (?cens)."

Funeral of "senex annorum 70 nuper nupt: Eccl: Rom: Festo Ascensionis Domini."

Wedding on "Feria tertia Pentecost."

Baptism on "Festo Anniversario Dedicationis templi ut suppon:."

Funeral of "Vidua pauper. diurno labore vix se sustentans."

Baptism of daughter of "Thomae Milburn Plebeii et Occupatione text lint" (weaver of linen).

Entry refers to man "Eccl. Rom. Pleb: occupatione Hortulan: Natus." (In the case of Roman Catholics and Quakers the character of the entry is not specified in the margin which is left blank)

Funeral of "pauper Vicinorum Eleemosynan petens Eccl. Rom."

Funeral of "Johannes Harrison ut aiunt Nupt. Eccl. Rom. sed quando, per quem vel quā, non audio."

Two other entries mentioning "Eccl: Rom."

1699. 21 Entries.

Man described as "coriarii" (currier).

Funeral of "Vid: egena Eccl. R."

Funeral of Edward Dawson "Senex annorū 67, Clericus parochial, de Gilling."

Entry referring to girl "Quakerorum sect: nata" and to another "Eccl. Rom. Natus."

Funeral of "Johannes Heskate de Cawton Eccl: Rom: ut vulgo fertur cler."

1700. 31 Entries.

Funeral of boy on July 7th baptised "die veneris praecedente"—i.e. the preceding Friday.

Wedding of Anna Ridley "Eccl: Rom: Filia fuit Alexandri Ridley nuper defunct ille Dom: Carolo Fairfax servus domesticus."

Five other entries with addition "Eccl. Rom.," in one case "ut fertur."

Funeral of "Alicia Holgate de Grimston annorum 105 sui ipsius computatione being 6 years old when James 1st King of England first entered England, being poor she was maintained for many years out of the public charity of the neighbourhood."

1701. 25 Entries.

Wedding mentioned as taking place "post Pasc" and another "Ejusdem die Ascensionis Domini."

Baptism of daughter of man who had in the previous year come from Ness to live at Cawton.

Mention of girl privately baptised at home on June 15th "and publicly received into the Christian flock and people in the Parish Church of Gilling on Sunday July 13th."

Funeral of daughter of a man "Eccl: Rom: Nuper natus mox obit" and of a man "Eccl. Rom."

Wedding of man and woman both at one time servants to Charles Man Rector of this Church.

Wedding of couple "alienigenae ambo."

Entry relating to a man "Nuper ibid Incolae Eccl: Rom: Natus."

Burial of woman "Vetula innupta pauper Eleemos:"

1702.

William III's, funeral 12th April, mentioned. "King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, etc. died on the 8th day of the preceding month. Ah! he departed who was the Preserver of England, the Protector of the Low Countries, the Guardian of the Reformed Religion, the Champion of Flanders, Germany and of all Europe, the Chief of the Confederate Armies for resisting the tyranny of the King of France. From an arbitrary monarch from the tyranny of Gaul and from blind superstition. Good Lord deliver us."

This is followed by the heading:

"Annae Reg: I. Coronat April 23. S. Georgii Festa Dom: litt: D. An: Dom: 1702.

1702 28 Entries. Baptisms 15; Weddings 6; Funerals 6; "Nat 1."

Wedding of parties both of the sect of Quakers.

Funeral of woman "Caroli Domini Fairfax dispensatrix Domestica, Eccl. Rom."

Wedding of "Robert Yorke et an Green ut fertur."

Baptism of a child "eodem die, duabus horis vix elapsis obiit mater."

Funeral on the next day of "mater et infans simul ad ecclesiam adducti hic in gregem Christianum recept: illa in defunctorii habitaculo reposita."

Entry of birth, not baptism, of a Quaker child and of two burials in the cemetery of the Quakers at Ampleforth.

Baptism of "Anna daughter of Anna Hewison of Cawton, whose husband went away (blank) years ago, nor of his dwelling do we know where he is, or even whether he still survives. In her childbirth, as is common in the case of illegitimate children, she refused to reveal the father, but as people say, George Parkins is the reputed father."

Two baptisms "privat: eodem die."

Three entries with addition Eccl. Rom.

1703. 22 Entries; Baptisms 4; Funerals 8; Weddings 9.

Two of the usual marginal entries are given as "Nupti extr."

Baptism of "Emmet daughter whitsweek Pentec:"

Entry erased: "Thomas Wilson et Mary Hardy marryd ut aiunt by a Cobler at Osmotherley."

Wedding "Licentiā Curiae Consistorialis Ebor": the next entry being that of a wedding "Licentiā Eccl." Later entries have "Licentiā" only.

Funeral of one "Natus (Blank) Juxta Rippon nuper dispensator Carolo Dom: Fairfax."

Wedding of "Thomas Wilson of Cawton and Maria Hardy, but when, where, and by whom uncertain; but to remove all scruple they were legally married in the Parish Church of Gilling 17th April, Monday after Easter."

1704. 36 Entries. Mr. Man gives Funerals 10; Weddings 7;

Baptisms 14; "praeter dissentores Nat 4."

Funeral of Carolus Jewit commonly called Craw.

Baptism of man "Natus Bap; Sep 21 1727."

Funeral of "Thomas Scot, servant to Lord Fairfax; laughing on the waggon he died suddenly."

Baptism of girl born and baptized on the same day with her twin brother on the Feast of the Nativity of Christ.

Entry relating to a Quaker.

Obituary.

LIEUT.-COL. E. KITSON CLARK, M.A., F.S.A.

"E.K." as he was affectionately known, died peacefully at his residence, Meanwoodside, Leeds, on the 15th April, 1943, aged 77.

Born in Cambridge and a graduate of its University, he came to Leeds in 1888 to be apprenticed to Messrs. Kitson & Co., Airedale Foundry, Hunslet, through his family connection with that firm. In 1889 he became a member of the Yorkshire Archæological Society, of which he was a Vice-President at the time of his passing, and the same year (1889) saw him as one of the founder members of the Thoresby Society, of which after being a member of its Council, and Vice-President, he held the Presidency from 1939-43. Kitson Clark came of a family which had won distinction. His father, the late Dr. Edwin Charles Clark was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge. His mother was a sister of the first Lord Airedale, and on the paternal side he was also of Yorkshire descent, his father being son of Mr. Edwin Clark who resided at Ellerthorpe Hall, Boroughbridge. Educated at Sutton Valence, Shrewsbury, "E.K." became head boy there, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, he gained a first-class in the Classical Tripos.

In his engineering work, he attained considerable eminence. By 1897 he had become a partner of his firm, and when it became a limited liability company, he was appointed a director, later becoming chairman. For his paper on "The Diesel Steam Locomotive: Kitson-Still Type," he was awarded the gold medal of the Institution of Locomotive Engineers, of which technical body he was a President, as he was too in 1931 of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. He was also a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

Well equipped as he was, intellectually, he took a prominent part in a wide field of cultural activities in Leeds. Three times he was President of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, of which for 30 years he was sole or joint secretary, and of which Society he wrote a history. His connection with the Thoresby Society has already been shown. He was a contributor to its publications and a leader of its excursions. Of the Yorkshire Archæological Society he was a Vice-President, having succeeded the late E. W. Crossley to that office only a fortnight before. He had served actively for many years on various of its Committees, notably the Ancient Monuments, Roman Antiquities, and Library Committees. Though his contributions to its publications were very rare, he was the leader of a number of excursions, and an encourager of young writers. In this last respect, his figure was a familiar one at several antiquarian and kindred societies in Yorkshire, where he was especially eager to spread interest in Roman antiquities. He was a leading spirit of the Yorkshire Tykes' Club, holding the office of Archtyke in 1919, and for many years that of Turnspit. Indeed his efforts for this and similar institutions displayed his great personal charm and not a little genius. He gave devoted service to the Leeds Parish Church, of which for 25 years he was a Churchwarden, and whose history he himself wrote.

He was a Deputy Lieutenant of the West Riding and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

From his youth he took an active part in military matters. In 1891 he was gazetted 2nd Lieut. to the 3rd Bn. West Yorkshire Regt. (Leeds Rifles) and four years later was Lieut.-Col. In the last war he was in command of the 49th Divisional Depot in France for the last three years, having been rendered unfit by an accident for service in the field.

Col. Kitson Clark leaves a widow, two sons, and a daughter. Mrs. Kitson Clark received in 1928 the Honorary Degree of LL.D. of the Leeds University for her work in women's welfare. The elder son, Commander Edwin Bidder Clark is serving in the Royal Navy; the other son is a Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. The daughter, Mrs. Mary Chitty, F.S.A., is well-known for her work in Roman archæology.

JOHN BILSON, D.Litt., F.S.A.

John Bilson, D.Litt., F.S.A., for many years Vice-President of this Society, died at Hessle on December 14th, 1943, aged 88.

A full Obituary Notice will be given in our next Part.

TRANSACTIONS, Etc., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

The Bradford Antiquary, 1942, includes—Bradford Parish Church Pews, by W. Robertshaw; Addingham and Colne Turnpike Road; Keighley Chantry Lands, by H. I. Judson; Notes on the History of the Manor of Eccleshill (*continued*), by W. E. Preston; Will of William Vavasour of Stead in Burley; Notes on the family of Manningham, by W. Robertshaw.

Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1941, contains—Mills of the Ryburn Valley (Third Series), by J. H. Priestley; Border Traffic, by W. B. Crump; Samuel Haigh of Folly Farm, by J. H. Priestley; Royal Arms in Churches, by R. Bretton; Midgley Records (Second Series), by H. W. Harwood; Royds of Halifax and Buchlersbury, by T. W. Hanson.

Transactions of the Hunter Archæological Society, Vol. V, Pt. 6, contains—The Stows, by E. J. E. Tunmer; Sheffield Castle Manuscripts, by Mary Walton; Derwent Woodlands, by W. F. Northend; A. J. Mundella and the Sheffield Election of 1868, by Margaret Higginbotham; Old Millstones from Rivelin Mill, by W. F. Northend.

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Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, Pt. XLII, includes—Speech Survivals, by D. M. M. Bartlett; An Old Yorkshire Chimney Sweep, by H. J. L. Bruff. Pt. XLIII, includes—Yorkshire Hobs, by Bruce Dickens; Specimens of the Hambleton Dialect, by W. Wood.

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS.

The Antiquaries' Journal, Vol. XXIII, includes—A Note on Old Malton Priory, by J. S. Purvis (p. 52).

The Archæological Journal, Vol. XCVIII, includes—Dea Brigantia, by N. Jolliffe (p. 36).

The Journal of the British Archæological Association, includes—Late Saxon Sculpture in Northern England, by T. D. Kendrick (p. 1).

Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, Vol. XLII, New Series, includes—Lowther of Swillington from its origin until 1788, by C. M. Lowther-Bouch (p. 67).

Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society, Vol. VII, Pt. 8, includes—The Brasses of York Minster, by J. F. Williams (p. 342).

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The Legends of Huddersfield and its District, Collected and classified by Philip Ahier; Part VI; Huddersfield: The Advertiser Press Ltd., 1943.

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St. Mary's Church, Rokeby, by W. Oliver, 1943.

A Mediæval Act Book, with some Account of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction at York, by J. S. Purvis; Herald Printing Works, York. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$; pp. 76, 1943.

York Civic Records, Vol. III, Edited by A. Raine; 8×5 ; pp. vii + 200; The Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record Series, Vol. 106, 1942.

Fasti Parochiales, Vol. II, Edited by A. Hamilton Thompson and C. T. Clay; 8×5 ; pp. xxxi + 170; The Yorkshire Archæological Society, Record Series, Vol. 107, 1943.

Yorkshire Dialect Poems, 1914-1943, Edited by W. J. Halliday; 8×5 ; pp. 24; Henry Walker, Leeds, 1943.

Yorkshire Pedigrees, A-F, Transcribed and edited by J. W. Walker; $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$; pp. xi + 190; Harleian Society Publications, Vol. XCIV, 1942.

The Yorkshire Dalesman, Vol. 4, Pt. 10; Vol. 5, Pt. 9, 1943.

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THE
Dorsetshire Archaeological Journal.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

SOME DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SUNK ISLAND.

The British Records Association acts as a clearing-house for documents sent to it. These are sorted under the districts to which they refer and sent to the libraries to which they are likely to be of interest. It is in this way that the library of the University College of Hull became possessed of a small collection of documents, eighteen in number, relating to Sunk Island in Holderness, ranging in date from 1675 to 1824. Of these the most interesting are as follows :—

No. 569*. Copy of the lease from Charles II to Anthony Gilby, Governor of Hull, of "the great Sand or Sink" for 99 years at a yearly rent of £5. (1675).

No. 571. Copy of a plan of Sunk Island in the office of H.M. Surveyor General, from a survey made by William Burrows in 1755. Copy certified by J. Chambers and William Dugdale. 1756.

No. 575. A plan of Sunk Island with Cherrycob Sand by Charles Tate, dated 1760. This charming pictorial plan is unfortunately in a poor state of preservation. Besides Sunk Island itself the plan gives vignettes of the villages of Holderness from Ryal to Welwick, then all situated on the north channel of the Humber, which of course no longer exists.

Nos. 577 and 578. Plans of Sunk Island, the latter coloured, by Joseph Dickinson, both dated 1783.

No. 580. A valuation of Sunk Island made by James Littlewood and Joseph Dickinson 1790. This is a small MS. book giving the size and valuation of each field.

No. 582. A survey and valuation, with plan, drawn up by William Whitelock for the Surveyor General of H.M. Land Revenue, 1798. In addition to the information given in No. 580, there is an interesting general account of the district, with estimates for the cost of its improvement.

A. CUMING,
Librarian, University College, Hull,

January 5th, 1944.

* The numbering is continuous with a larger collection.

A STONE AXE HEAD FROM SKELTON-ON-URE.

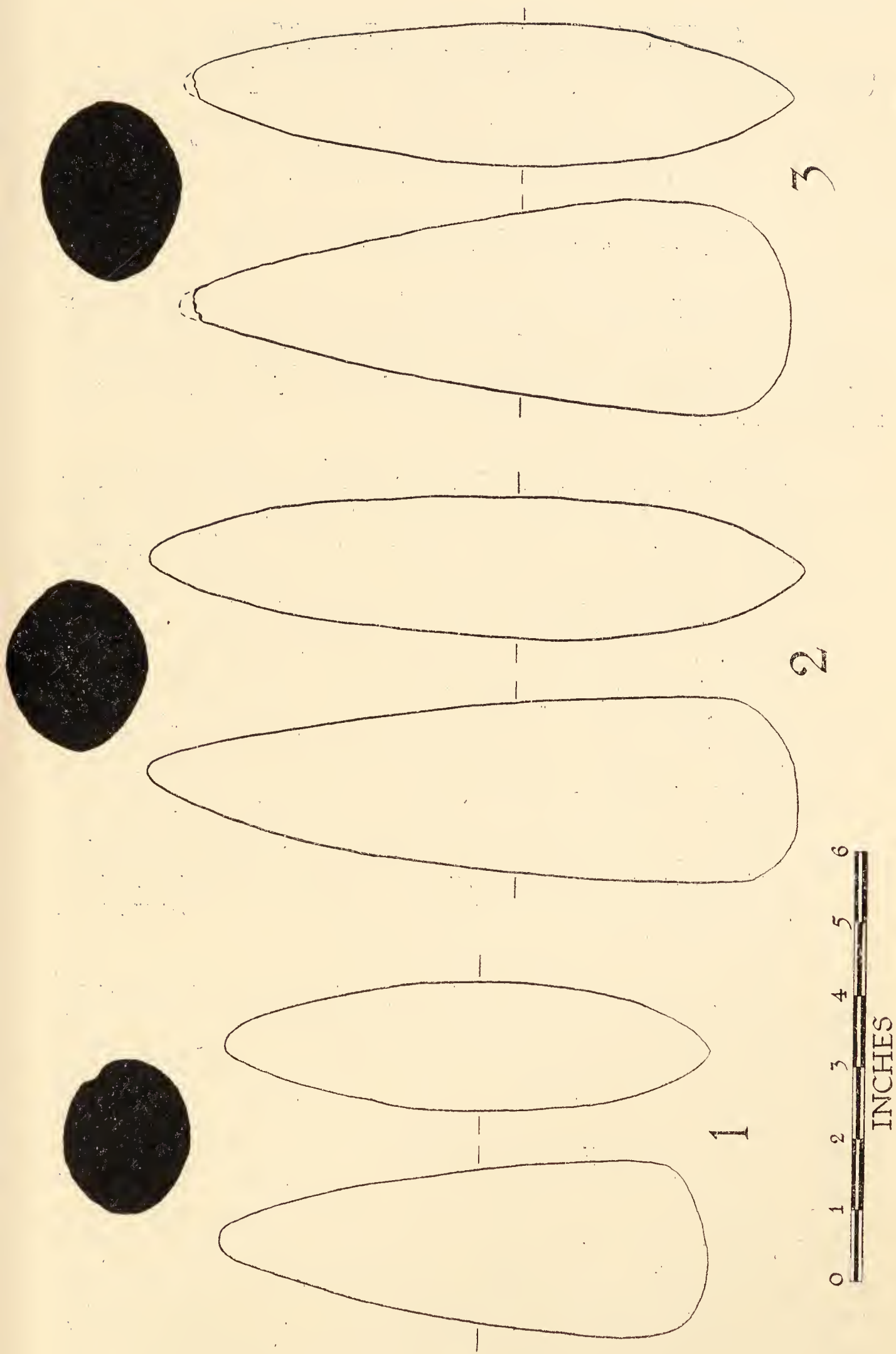
The axe head shown in fig. 1 was found about 1940 when excavations were being made for an air-raid shelter near the High Moor Road lodge of Newby Hall, Skelton-on-Ure. The material is heavily weathered and pitted greenstone, with brown ferrous stains, and the axe has been carefully ground to a characteristic shape with conical butt, oval section and curved cutting edge.

The discovery of this axe adds new significance to the two axes shown in figs. 2 and 3. The provenance of these is unknown, but they are at present in Aldborough Museum, near Borough-bridge. They closely resemble the Skelton example in shape and section, and they are made of the same heavily weathered and brown-stained greenstone. This, together with their presence in the valley of the Ure only three miles east of Skelton, suggests that they also are probably local discoveries.

It will be seen that the three axes have all the characteristics (weathered greenstone, conical butt, oval section) of the "Bridlington" type of axe, except for its distinctive splayed cutting edge, and when it is remembered that the splay on the cutting edge of some "Bridlington" type axes is so slight as to be perceptible to touch rather than to sight (e.g., the axe from Foulk Stapleford, now in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester), the close connection of the three Ure examples to this predominantly East Yorkshire group of axes appears probable.

G. G. W., R. G.-B.

RGB: 1937-1944



A WORCESTER CHARTER OF THOMAS II, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK; and its bearing on the early history of the Church of Leeds.

By C. T. CLAY, C.B., Hon.Litt.D., F.S.A.

In the appendix to his paper "The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century," contributed by Sir Ivor Atkins to *The Antiquaries Journal* in 1940, he printed a charter of Thomas II, archbishop of York, with a photographic illustration.¹ The text is as follows :

Th[omas] . dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus .
omnibus fidelibus s[ancte] Marie Wigornensis ecclesie . et
amicis suis : sal[utem]; Sciatis me dedisse Sansoni filio
Aiulfi nepoti meo . terram Vptone quam teneo de sancta
Maria Wigornensi . quam dominus meus Sanson episcopus
Wigornensis licentia et voluntate regis Henrici mihi de se
et de predicta ecclesia tenendam dedit. Volo igitur et
concedo . ut ita libere et honorabiliter eam de me teneat .
sicut liberior eam et honorabilius tenui de predicto domino
meo . Sans[one] . episcopo. Teste . Roberto . abbate
Thec'esberie . Hugone archidiacono Wigorn[ensi] . Fretherico
clerico . Ricardo archidiac[ono] . Hugone archidiac[ono]
Eborac' . Willelmo de Beverlisco . Gervasio filio Hvnfridi .
Willelmo filio Rannulfi . Ailwino presbitero . Hugone de
Karavilla . Willelmo de Verli . Roberto Paganello . Gaufrido
de Monasteriis . Adam de Cromba . Roberto de Vei' . Rogero
dispensario . Thoma Lincoliensis . Gisleberto de Campania .
Petro de Cokerello . Rannulfo Ingania.

By this charter archbishop Thomas gave to his nephew Sanson son of Aiulf the land of Upton [Hawkesbury Upton, co. Gloucester], which he was holding of the church of Worcester, and which his lord Sanson, bishop of Worcester, with the licence and will of king Henry had given to the donor to hold of him [bishop Sanson] and the said church; and granted that the donee should hold it of him as freely as he had held it of his said lord, bishop Sanson. Sir Ivor Atkins pointed out in a note that "if the charter

¹ *Antiquaries Journal*, xx, 224, and plate xxxix. The original, Worcester Charter B. 817A, was formerly in the collection of the Hon. Henry Portman, Buxted Park, Sussex, who presented it to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester. The permission of the Dean and Chapter and of the Society of Antiquaries of London to print the text and reproduce the photograph, and the loan by the latter of the block for the photograph, are gratefully acknowledged. The thanks of the present writer are due to Sir Ivor Atkins, Mr. L. C. Loyd, Professor Stenton and Professor Hamilton Thompson for help and advice on certain points.

was executed during the vacancy of the see, as seems probable, it must date between the death of Bishop Samson in May 1112 and that of Archbishop Thomas in Feb. 1114."

Samson, bishop of Worcester, was a brother of Thomas I, archbishop of York, whose parents Osbert and Muriel are commemorated in a Durham obituary.¹ Samson occurs as treasurer of the church of Bayeux and king William's chaplain in 1082²; and was consecrated bishop of Worcester on 8 June 1096.³ Thomas II, archbishop of York, 1109-14, the grantor of the present charter, in which he referred to Samson as his *dominus*, was one of his sons;⁴ and the charter shows, what is apparently otherwise unknown, that Samson had a grandson named Sanson son of Aiulf.⁵

Besides the abbot of Tewkesbury and Hugh, archdeacon of Worcester, and the fourth witness who may have been another of the Worcester archdeacons, the list of witnesses includes others having a local connexion with Worcestershire or Gloucestershire. Thus Fretheric the clerk can be identified as the chaplain of bishop Wulfstan,⁶ Samson's predecessor, and as the Fritheric who witnessed a charter of bishop Samson in 1097.⁷ Adam de Cromba took his name from Croome, co. Worcester;⁸ and Robert de Vei' may be Robert de Veim or Vein, and possibly an early member of a family which held a tenancy of the honour of Chester in Gloucestershire.⁹ On the other hand, the list contains the names of several witnesses from the north. The fifth witness was Hugh, archdeacon of York, or, as it would be safer to describe him, one of the archdeacons in the church of York.¹⁰ He was the earlier of two archdeacons named Hugh, the later one being Hugh Sotavagina,

¹ *Liber Vitae Eccl. Dunelm.* (Surtees Soc. vol. 13), pp. 139-40.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1301-07, p. 150; Davis, *Regesta*, no. 147.

³ There is an account of him in *D.N.B.* by Miss Bateson, who states that he was married before he took orders. The truth of this is indicated by the fact that his son Thomas, afterwards archbishop of York, was appointed provost of Beverley as early as 1092.

⁴ Hugh the Chantor in *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 124. Richard, bishop of Bayeux, 1108-33, was another son (*ibid.*; and cf. *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 811).

⁵ Aiulf must, therefore, have been another son of bishop Samson or else the husband of a daughter. The latter seems more likely; and he was probably an Englishman. Examples of the name, confined to the south-western counties, are collected in Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, p. 191 (a reference kindly supplied by Professor Stenton). It may be noted that an Aiulfus was the tenant of Roger de Laci, who held of the church of Worcester, in Wolverton (5 miles s.e. of Worcester), a member of the manor of Kempsey, in 1086 (*D.B.*, i, 172b). If a daughter of Samson married an Englishman as early as 1092 the fact is one of particular interest, which, however, is outside the scope of the present paper.

⁶ *Antiquaries Journal*, loc. cit., pp. 203, 207; the latter reference giving Alfwin the priest, probably the Ailwin the priest of the present charter.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁸ Earls Croome was known as Crombe Adam in the thirteenth cent. (*Place-Names of Worcestershire*, Eng. Place-Name Soc., p. 118).

⁹ Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees*, ii, 51; a reference kindly supplied by Professor Stenton.

¹⁰ The phrase *archidiaconus Eborac[ensis]* involves an ambiguity. It may have the second meaning rather than the restricted one of archdeacon of York, i.e. of the West Riding.

precentor and archdeacon, better known as Hugh the Chantor.¹ The next witness was evidently the William of Beverley, who later became archdeacon,² and was probably one of the archbishop's clerks at this period. Again, besides the northern flavour of such names as Geoffrey de Musters and Thomas of Lincoln and perhaps Robert Paynel, it is likely that William de Verli and Peter de Cokerello were the predecessors of Hugh de Verly and William Cokerel, whose names, as the holders of 4 knights' fees and a knight's fee of old feoffment respectively, occur in archbishop Roger's *carta* of 1166.³ On the whole, however, in view of the witnesses connected with Worcester and its neighbourhood, it seems more probable that the charter was issued there than in Yorkshire. The occasion may have been during a visit made by the archbishop, with a retinue including one of his archdeacons and some of his knights, at the time of his father's death on 5 May 1112 or shortly afterwards.

The principal interest of the charter for Yorkshire history is its bearing on the period and identification of the grantor of a charter issued by Th' archbishop of York, confirming to Holy Trinity priory, York, the churches of Leeds, Adel, Barton-le-Street and Hooton Pagnell, and granting that they should be held 'in proprios usus,' saving competent vicarages therein.⁴ In examining that charter, which had hitherto been unknown, the present writer pointed out the difficulty in determining whether it was issued by archbishop Thomas II or his successor archbishop Thurstan; and, in putting forward certain reasons in support of either attribution, he felt unable to sum up more definitely than to say that "although on the whole the balance of evidence seems to be in favour of Thomas II . . . the question must remain for the present undecided." The only other charter then noticed, in which the name of either archbishop occurs in the abbreviated form Th', was one addressed by Nigel d' Aubigny to Th' archbishop of York, restoring certain land to St. Peter's hospital, and witnessed by Th' the archbishop.⁵ The date of that charter lies between 1107 and 1118, as it was witnessed by Nigel's first wife and he married his second wife in the latter year; and the balance of evidence suggested that it was addressed to archbishop Thomas II;⁶ but the uncertainty of this and the fact that the charter is only known from a transcript robbed it of much of its value for comparative purposes.

¹ *Early Yorks. Charters*, vi, no. 9 note; and for the chronology of Hugh the Chantor see *ante*, xxxv, 117. The earlier Hugh was presumably H. the archdeacon who occurs in 1108 (*Hist. Ch. York*, ii, 116).

² *Early Yorks. Charters*, vi, no. 9, being a confirmation of abp Thurstan relating to the church of Leeds, c. 1121-1138.

³ *Red Bk. of Exchequer*, p. 414.

⁴ *Early Yorks. Charters*, vi, no. 11, with a collotype illustration in plate II. No. 8 in the same volume, from a 12th cent. copy, is another charter in favour of Holy Trinity priory relating to the church of Leeds, certainly issued by archbishop Thomas II; but there is no appropriation clause.

⁵ *Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 53.

⁶ This was so presumed in *Complete Peerage*, new ed., ix, 369n.

Th. dei grā Eboracensis archiep. Omnib; fidelib; s; Marię Wigornensis ecclie. & amicis suis: sal;
Cuius me dedisse Sansoni fil. Aulsi nepoti meo. frā Nptonę qm tenes de sēa Maria Wigornensi.
in his meis Sanson epō Wigornensi licentia & auctoritate Regis Henrici in de se & de p'dicta
ecclia tenendā dedit. Vbi s; & cōcedo. in p'ia libere & honorabiliter eā de me teneat. sic libert
eā & honorabili tenui de p'dicto dño meo. Sais. epō. Teste. Robto. Abbate thetchesberie. Hugone
Archiepiscopo Wigorn. Frederico clerico. Ricardo Ardiae. Hugone Ardiae Eborac. Willelmo de Bever-
usio. Gervasio fil. homifridi. Willelmo fil. Rannulfi. Auximo p'bitō. Hugonē de Karaella.
Robto. paganiello. Gaufredo de Monasteriis. Adā de Cromba. Robto de Ver. Rogo dis
pensario. Thoma lincolniensi. Gislebro de Capania. Robt de Cokerello. Rannulfo Ingania.

The present Worcester charter, undoubtedly an original issued by archbishop Thomas II, is therefore of considerable interest. Like the Holy Trinity charter the name of the grantor is written as Th' archbishop of York, the abbreviation in both taking the form of a stroke, more or less horizontal, through the second letter. Certainly the handwriting of the two charters varies in several details; but there is no reason to suppose that on this ground they were not approximately contemporary. Although it would be unwise to draw a conclusion completely definite, a comparison of the two charters, both issued by an archbishop using the abbreviated form Th', suggests that they were issued by the same grantor, and so gives an additional reason for supposing that the Holy Trinity charter was issued by Thomas II rather than by Thurstan.¹ If such a deduction is sound, it can be stated with a reasonable degree of probability that a permission to appropriate the church of Leeds and the other churches mentioned, subject to the provision of vicarages, dates back to the period 1109-14.

As a result of this no action can have been taken so far as the churches of Adel and Barton-le-Street were concerned; for they were never appropriated. Nor would it be safe to say that action was taken as regards the church of Hooton Pagnell, which, although an interest was retained by Holy Trinity priory, later passed to the chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels.² At Leeds, however, it appears likely that in accordance with the archbishop's licence the prior and convent then appointed a clerk as their vicar to provide for the cure of souls, as the necessary condition for their full enjoyment of the fruits. When archbishop Roger, in the period 1164-75, gave the vicarage of the church of Leeds to Paulinus de Ledes on the presentation of the prior and convent, he laid it down that Paulinus should hold it as freely as any of his predecessors had done, and that the gift to Paulinus should be preserved unimpaired in the archbishop's time and in that of his successors.³ Later evidence shows that the portion enjoyed by Paulinus and the clerks who succeeded him as their perpetual vicarage was a third of the church; and that it was due to disputes which arose in the allocation of the tithes that archbishop Gray made his taxation of the vicarage on 7 Dec. 1240.⁴ In that decree

¹ It may be noted that in the collection of charters, certainly issued by Thurstan, of which the texts are printed in the first three volumes of *Early Yorkshire Charters*, there are three originals (vol. i, nos. 62, 95; vol. ii, no. 936); in the first and third of these his name was written Turstinus in full, and in the second abbreviated as T.; on his seal to the third the legend is SIGILLVM TVRSTINI ; while of texts printed from transcripts, more than twenty in number, all but two have his name in either of these forms, the spelling Thurstinus (vol. i, no. 149; vol. ii, no. 877) being exceptional. In none of these charters, original or transcript, does his name occur in the abbreviated form Th'. Although this is not, of course, a complete survey of Thurstan's charters, no example of a charter, certainly issued by him, with such an abbreviation appears to be known.

² For notes on the complicated history of this church see *Fasti Parochiales*, (Yorks. Rec. Ser.), i, 142.

³ *Early Yorks. Charters*, vi, no. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 84, 85 and notes thereto.

the archbishop referred to the grants made by his predecessors Th', R[oger] and G[eoffrey] for the conversion of the church 'in proprios usus' by the prior and convent, so that the church should be served by their chaplains; the clerk recently dead having been presented by them to a portion of the church, namely to a third of the tithe of sheaves and a third of the altarage. It can scarcely be doubted that in his reference to the grant made by his predecessor Th' archbishop Gray was referring to the actual charter now under consideration; and it can therefore be deduced that the appropriation of the church and the institution of the vicarage, which had certainly been made before the period 1164-75, probably took place in the time of archbishop Thomas II.

SCULPTORS AND SCULPTURE IN YORKSHIRE.

BY MRS. K. A. ESDAILE

PART III.

SCHEEMAKER or SCHEEMAKERS, PETER (1691-1784).

Additional notes :

¹ If the date of the rebuilding of the church at Kirkleatham is correctly given as 1758, it is probably a unique example for the period of wise preservation and utilisation of older memorials; the treatment of Lady Savile's monument at Horbury (see COLT, MAXIMILIAN), reflects less discredit on Carr of York than I thought. See note at end. Not only was the monument of Sergeant Turner preserved but the large mural monument signed by Marshall and the 17th century brasses are in perfect order. Can the date 1758 a year after Cholmondeley Turner's death be—(a) a misprint for 1738 or (b) have been the date of a rebuilding after the terms of Turner's will? This last question cannot be answered in wartime, but Turner had shown his interest in the church by the building of the Mausoleum, and may have known the obscure architect of one of the finest and most original of eighteenth century churches whose name was Corney.

² Scheemaker spelt his name in Flemish fashion during his early years in England, Schaemaeckers, he then shortened it to Scheemakers as at Kirkleatham; in his later years and latest Sale Catalogues he anglicized it further to Scheemaker, the form he ultimately adopted. The explanation is necessary to account for the variants which the student will find on his works and in books of reference.

The STANTONS were, I think the first family of London masons whose art and standing were fully described (*Arch. Journal*, 1928); from their yard under the shadow of St. Andrew's, Holborn in whose churchyard three generations of them were buried there went out hundreds of admirably designed and executed monuments, to be seen from Monkwearmouth to the South Downs, from Denbighshire to Norfolk.

STANTON, THOMAS (1610-74), like his nephew and great-nephew, was a good monumental sculptor, and like them master of the Masons' Company. I have not seen his work in Yorkshire, but he must be mentioned as the master of his far greater nephew.

STANTON, WILLIAM (1639-1705) was the ablest member of this notable sculptor family. His three altar tombs at Mitton, Yorks., bearing five effigies, are probably the most remarkable of their date in England; they were ordered in 1699 at a cost of £253, for the Sherburne family of Stonyhurst, and represent the purely mediaeval tradition in its simplest and most dignified form,

the recumbent effigy upon the altar tomb; that they were erected during the reign of William III is one of the permanent miracles of English sculpture. (See Whitaker's *History of Craven*, ed. Morant, p. 24).

William's second son and successor, STANTON, EDWARD (1681-1734), till recently known only as the author of two signed monuments at Knebworth noted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1790; which in 1928, led up to the main source of our knowledge of the family, viz., John le Neve, who in 1715 was compiling his volumes of epitaphs (see BIRD, FRANCIS); his warmest thanks were reserved for Edward Stanton, who contributed many scores of his own and some of his father William's, thus, once the source was tapped, placing both among the best documented artists of their day. The lists included a large number of unsigned monuments, and enable many of similar types to be added to the Stanton canon. Among these Yorkshire can show the charming General Luke Lillingstone at N. Ferriby (1715), Pl. I, the very image of Henry Esmond, with its kneeling figures of the husband pointing to heaven, the wife (a virtual duplicate of a documented Stanton at Strensham, Worcs.) veiled and with clasped hands, beside him; it was erected after Stanton's lists (which include both signed and unsigned works) had been sent to le Neve, but its authorship is unmistakable.

Another charming work is at Mitton, where Edward Stanton's father, as we have seen, executed three important tombs for the Sherburne family; but it was apparently Edward who executed that of the little son and heir, Richard, who died in 1702 and is shown starting back from a skull at his feet. The work has not quite the force of William's, but is typical of its author in the delicacy of the child figure and the simple and dignified setting.

In the vast output of the Stanton yard, whether signed works or unsigned are in question (and the majority of those mentioned to le Neve are unsigned) great altar tombs with and without canopies, tablets, monumental statues, busts and a vast variety of angels from the chubby cherub head to the solemn whole length angel are represented; but at Belton near Grantham, William Stanton appears not only as the sculptor of two delightful monuments, records of which are in the Cust archives, but as the builder of Belton House itself; he was, that is, in the true succession of the great mediaeval masons such as Henry Yevele, who was responsible not only for part of Westminster Abbey, but for the monument of Cardinal Langham in the Abbey; Stanton was one of the last great English sculptors of whom this can be said.

STONE, NICHOLAS (d. 1647), Master Mason to the Crown, is the best known sculptor of the 17th century thanks to the preservation of his Notebook and Account Book. These were largely drawn upon by Horace Walpole in the *Anecdotes of Painting*, and have been printed in full by the Walpole Society, together with photographs of the works concerned; but the Notebook is a

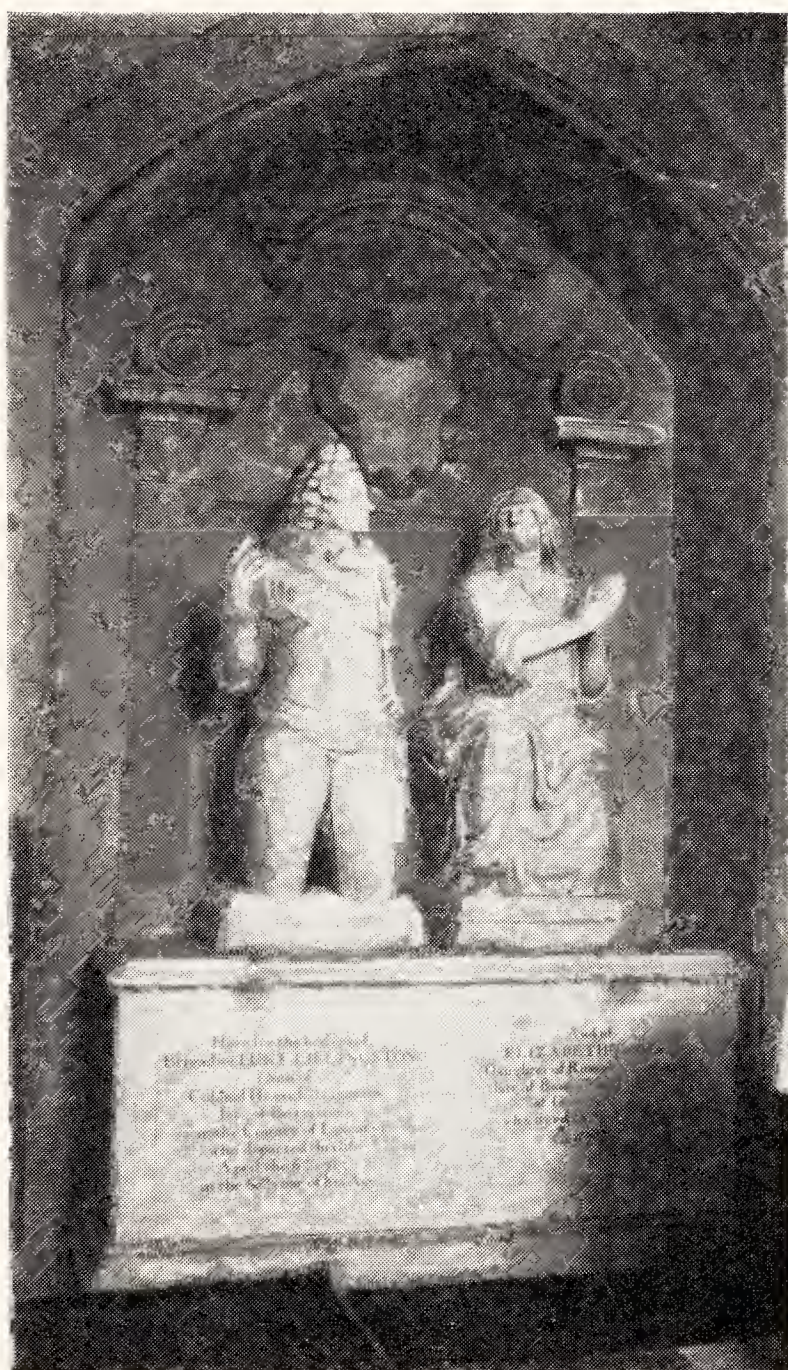


PLATE I.

N. FERRIBY.

GENERAL LUKE LILLINGSTONE AND WIFE.
by Edward Stanton.

compilation, and incomplete; another Notebook, another Account Book were seen by Vertue; so that in spite of the vast mass of documentary material available, more, as we shall see, may yet be discovered.

Stone was the son of a Devon quarryman (i.e., quarry owner) and spent a year of his apprenticeship under Isaac James, the fellow pupil of Epiphanius Evesham (p. 23), with whom he stayed on for two years as journeyman (for new light on a joint work of theirs see *Archaeologia Cantiana* xlvii) and went to Holland with Hendrik de Keyser, whose daughter he married; on his return to England he set up in St. Martin's Lane, succeeding W. Cure II (d. 1632) as Master Mason to the Crown and executing many monuments as well as carrying out repairs and alterations to the Royal palaces. He had three sculptor sons, Nicholas, Henry (better known as a painter) and John, and died in 1647; his monument was destroyed when St. Martin's-in-the-Fields was rebuilt by Gibbs, but the portrait was drawn by Vertue, fully described by Hatton in the *New View of London* (1708), and a complete sketch is in the Bodleian.

Stone's work in Yorkshire is of two kinds, decorative and monumental. As to the first, we read of a chimney-piece for Sir Henry Belasyse "to be set up in York," like the monument commissioned at the same time, i.e., February 1615-16; of another made like "a table of touch with a marbel post upon it" for Sir John Byron of Newstead in 1638; and of ten chimneypieces "to bee made for the Right Worth. Sir John Wolstenholme Knight, the Marble being his own" in 1642, obviously for Nostell; all these are unidentified. With regard to monuments we are better off.

York Minster contains two mentioned in the Notebooks:

1. Anne Bennet (1615), a charming tablet with a half-figure in a niche flanked by harpies whose wings frame the niche and are surmounted by a bust of Fame; the bracket below it consists of a shelf supported by a lovely cherub figure flanked by other harpies and standing on a skull. The Editor of the Walpole Society's volume notes that figures of harpies are "uncomplimentary;" in fact they constantly accompany the souls of the dead in early Greek sculpture, and Stone may have learnt the fact in de Keyser's library. This is perhaps the most delightful work, as it is certainly the most original, ever done by Stone.

2. Sir Henry Belasyse. Though excellently carved, this monument is of a more ordinary type than the last. He and his wife kneel under twin arches, a panel of children below, one son and six daughters; above is a heavy entablature. This work was taken to York with the aforesaid mantelpiece in 1615/16, and the two together cost £150; we meet Sir Henry's son in No. 3.

3. *Coxwold*. Monument to Thomas, Lord Fauconberg and his wife, erected 1632. Stone forgot to enter this work in his Notebook, but his Account Book (p. 89) notes that his workman Robert Pook "was to cut the masonry, polish the monument and

set it up in York sheer according to the plott dran and sibscribed by my lord Falkenbrudges." The work consists of two kneeling figures in an architectural setting, very finely carved; Fauconberg, as already said, was the son of Sir Henry Belasyse, and the fact illustrates the tendency, which becomes almost an axiom, for the same family to employ the same sculptor.

4. *Londesborough*. Here again we have a monument which Stone forgot to enter in the existing Notebook, but which is described in detail in the Account Book and was made for "my lord Clifford"; so that it was identified by Stone's Editor with the curious and clumsy monument to Lord Clifford's mother Grisold, Countess of Cumberland, at Londesborough. It consists of a slab of black marble with two inlaid panels of white marble the one an escutcheon, the other an inscription tablet, the whole set on urns of quite peculiar ugliness; it was sent to Lord Clifford in 1632.

To these documented works should, I think, be added two more not in the Note or Account Books which we have :

5. Tomb of "Lord Clifford's" (then the Earl of Cumberland's) wife (d. 1643), York Minster. This is almost identical with No. 4, except that the urns on which the slab rests are less ungraceful; it seems most improbable that this nobleman would have employed two sculptors in nine years, and though its eccentricity may indicate, as Stone's Editor thinks, that the design was supplied by Lord Clifford himself, and not by Stone, this does not necessarily follow: Stone executed a very similar inlaid ledger to Sir Julius Caesar, set upon an altar tomb (not on urns) in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, and the urns may have been an experiment of the sculptor's.

6. Monument to Sir Richard Beaumont (1631), Kirkheaton. This is a fine canopied tomb with effigy, completely in Stone's manner (engraved in Whitaker's) *Loidis and Elmet*, 1816, p. 335) and the base is adorned with swags, on inset panels, precisely like those on the documented Knyvett monument at Stanwell, Middlesex. The combination points, I think, to Stone's authorship of the Kirkheaton design, and at this time his Yorkshire connection was very prominent; another commission is therefore probable enough; but the execution is not of the finest quality.

TALMAN, WILLIAM (d. 1720) is chiefly famous as the architect of Chatsworth, but it has recently been discovered¹ that monumental drawings by him exist, and I have been able to add to the canon by the identification of one important work in Yorkshire. It was, of course, no surprise to find Talman a monumental sculptor, since J. Gwynn (*London and Westminster Improved* 1766) speaks of his having "with incredible labour and assiduity, designed a prodigious number of buildings and monuments"; but the

¹ My article on him in Thieme-Bekker's *Allgem. Künstler lexikon* was written before the publication of the Wren Society's XVIII volume, which adds certain facts to what I was able to give.

chance of identifying any seemed remote indeed till the publication of the Wren Society's eighteenth volume, from which it appears that a monogram hitherto associated with John Talman his son, the connoisseur, his original drawings and his collections, in fact appears on William Talman's tombstone, and that the letters composing it are I W T, John and William Talman.

This at once led to the question of identification. A monumental drawing in the Soane Museum, bearing the monogram was recognised by myself many years ago as the sketch for a mural monument with busts of the Withers family (1698) at Arkesden, Essex: unfortunately, the Curator was then unable to tell me what the monogram meant; Lutz's book on Monograms was not yet published; and I rashly accepted the local tradition that the monument was by Roubiliac, and published it and the drawings as his (*Life and Works of L.F.R.*, pl. 32). We know now that they are Talman's, and it is difficult to believe that the Crosse monument in St. James's Clerkenwell (1707), where very similar busts are set in the same way on identical brackets, is not his also.

A Yorkshire work by Talman for which drawings in several stages exist both in the British Museum and at Oxford I was able to identify as that of Lord Irwin (1688) at Whitkirk, Leeds, which Whitaker describes as "magnificent." In its final form—we have two previous drawings showing the parents and child differently arranged and with different backgrounds, as well as a separate study of the sarcophagus-ossuary—we find a group consisting of the veiled and seated widow, her reclining husband, and their child at his feet holding a skull, the whole on a large base with the sarcophagus-ossuary aforesaid showing panels of bones at the sides.

The execution of this work is very fine, the portraits excellent and the setting of exceptional architectural quality; till its origin was known it presented the singular problem of an important work by none of the known sculptors of the day: neither Pierce, Bushnell, Cibber nor Stanton were possible; and the discovery of Talman's authorship adds considerably to our knowledge of 17th century sculpture. It may safely be said that Yorkshire can show the finest monument by him as yet identified.

TAYLOR, JAMES was the modeller of two figures of Faith and Charity which stood in the window of Robert Ramsay, Master Carver of Sheffield, and there inspired the young Chantrey (p. 81) with the desire to be a sculptor; he subsequently copied these very figures for the facade of Sheffield Infirmary but on a much larger scale. It was James Taylor who taught Chantrey to model, and in his company and Ramsay's the young sculptor visited Wentworth Woodhouse and Renishaw, where both his seniors were employed; Taylor subsequently accompanied him on a visit to Ireland in 1803.

TAYLOR, MICHAEL (1760-1846), the son of the agent for the Selby and other Northumbrian estates, was a pupil of W.

Shout (p. 108, Part 141) whose work embraced all the activities of the mediaeval mason. Taylor restored Skelton Church in 1814; carved the stalls at Ripon, the statue of Henry VI on the York Minster organ screen and the charming Fiddler, said to be a portrait of the then organist, now in the Crypt but originally, "with the consent of the Dean," placed "on the pinnacle above the S. entry to the Minster." A playful and delightful work in the finest mediaeval tradition of direct carving, it is akin to the finest gargoyles and grotesques of the Middle Ages and forms the strongest possible contrast with his handling of marble when it comes to monuments. Here he seems to lose all originality, even all feeling, yet when carving in stone he is a genuine—on the strength of the Fiddler—one might almost say a great artist. Before the reign of George III masons such as the Stantons, Cartwright, Latham and Nost could put the same qualities into their work in both materials; by degrees marble seemed to take on a professional character, to lose sincerity: the mason has become the monumental mason.

Among the better York examples of Taylor's monuments are the Bowlby family in St. Martin-cum-Gregory, the Rev. W. Richardson in St. Michael-le-Belfrey, the Wilson family in St. Margaret Walmgate; others which need not be particularized are in All Saints' Pavement (3), St. John's, North Street; St. Helen's; St. Martin's, Coney Street; St. Saviour's; Holy Trinity, Micklegate; and outside York at Hazelwood, Otley, Selby, Howden, Beverley, Ripon, which has no fewer than six, Holmepierrepont (2), and Stockport; the best is probably that of Sir William Vavasour (1802) at Hazelwood Castle. His chief carver was one John Coupland.

There is a portrait of Michael Taylor as an old man wearing a broad-brimmed black hat in the office of the Minster Clerk of the Works with a long biographical sketch pasted on the back; this has been freely used, and my quotations are taken from it; his epitaph in St. Lawrence Walmgate runs as follows: "In Memory of Michael Taylor, a Native of the County of Northumberland and for many Years a skilful Sculptor in this City. He died the 6th day of November 1846 aged 86." His chief carver was one John Coupland (d. 1848). (Knowles II, p. 356; List of works of Michael Taylor compiled by Edmund Esdaile; biographical note on the portrait above noted).

TAYLOR, SIR ROBERT (1714-1788), architect, was also a designer and sculptor of monuments on a considerable scale, as befitted the son of a mason father of the same name who executed such fine monuments as those of William Deacon (1723) at Peterborough and the Napier family (1712) at Mintenue, Dorset. Old Taylor was both extravagant and ambitious, and having sent his promising son to Italy, died suddenly, a bankrupt. The youth returned and, by the aid of a generous friend and neighbour of his father's, started as a sculptor, secured the carving of the pediment of the Mansion House, London, in the teeth of such men as Rys-

brack, Roubiliac and Cheere because, said gossip, he was a Mason and the son of a Mason (i.e., a member of the Masons' Company); he then executed two important monuments in Westminster Abbey, those of Captain Cornewall (1743), lately shamefully dismembered and the surviving portion banished to the Cloisters, and General Guest (1751); with these his career as a sculptor is invariably stated to have closed, but some eight years ago I enquired at his great Oxford foundation the Taylorian Institute whether any drawings by him existed there; examination of the Catalogue produced small book of designs for mantelpieces and a second and much larger volume—one of two, but the other has been mislaid and has still not come to light—of monumental designs which proved of the greatest interest and afforded a clue to a large class of works, hitherto mysterious. It is pleasant to record that he spent £1500 on a memorial to his benefactor at Woodford, Essex, where his father's villa and four-horse coach had contributed to his ruin, and that the church contains three tablets of designs identified from the drawings, commissions due, perhaps, to the influence of his generous friend. In Yorkshire I have met with two monuments probably by him—

1. Mary Payler (d. 1757), Bugthorpe. Here a life-sized medallion portrait is shown under a great wreathed urn; panels with crossed palm branches appear below, and the great volutes are characteristic; not only is there a first sketch for this fine work at Oxford, but the whole is typical of an artist steeped in the baroque and working habitually in a variety of rich marbles.

2. Abstrupus Danby (d. 1750), characteristic tablet with medallion portrait and typical setting, Masham.

TYLER, WILLIAM, R.A., though a foundation member of the Royal Academy, has had hard measure, the Dictionaries of Artists clearly having no idea that he was at his best a very considerable as well as prolific artist. He was in the forefront of the movement for promoting artistic education in the 1750's, and is referred to with respect in the Farington Diary up to the time of his death in 1803, and if Yorkshire can show only one signed work, York itself, as I hope to show, contains one of his best.

1. Signed monument to Thomas Spencer (1759), Guisborough, a simple composition used by him elsewhere, of a cherub leaning on an urn; the carving is, as usual, excellent, and the peculiar roguish type of cherub (seen at its best at Spelsbury, Oxon., on another signed work) is repeated, *mutatis mutandis*, on the next monument, which I venture to ascribe to him.

2. Admiral Medley (1747) York Minster, bust against shallow niche under sways of flowers, charming cherub figures weep to left and right of the sarcophagus piled with trophies on which the bust stands. The unveiled cherub with his round head and face and close-curved locks is the Guisborough cherub in another mood (and how the cherub can vary in the hands of different

masters only experience can show). Both base and background are well proportioned; the relief of Medley's sea fight on the sarcophagus is excellent, and the symbolism of the Circle of Eternity held by one cherub and the reversed torch held by the other should not be overlooked; the bust is typical of Tyler's work. We see at Guisborough that Tyler had a Yorkshire connection; the Medley monument is undated, but probably dates from the 1750's, and is among the most satisfying in the Minster.

WESTMACOTT, HENRY. There were two Henry Westmacotts, the younger brother of Sir Richard's father, whose works—mostly tablets—abound from 1789 to 1830, the second Sir Richard's younger brother. The earlier Henry runs to delicate Hellenisms, and though the date does not make it impossible that he was the author of a signed monument at Whitkirk near Leeds, the character of the work suggests that the later Henry is responsible. It represents a young soldier, Lord William Gordon (d. 1824), in full Highland dress—certainly the earliest example of plaid and kilt in English sculpture, and if it is not a first-rate work of art, it is at least highly interesting.

WESTMACOTT, SIR RICHARD (1775-1856), mentioned in the last paragraph, was the son, nephew and father of sculptors, and his name is still familiar as that of a dominant figure in English art. His statues and monuments run into many scores, and vary very greatly in character, from allegorical reliefs on a large scale to pompous military effigies, from death-bed scenes to simple tablets. His architectural sculpture at the British Museum and elsewhere is not first-rate, his statues are usually rather dull; but some of his monuments have merit, and the Guide Books are not slow to recognise it. I have met with the following works in Yorkshire all touched with that Academic quality which is the bane of nineteenth century sculpture; public statues by Sir Richard, which abound in the South, appear to be lacking.

Sir Charles Turner (1809), Mausoleum, Kirkleatham. Stately figure of Religion leaning on a sarcophagus, an early work, executed just after Sir Richard had become an R.A., but had not been knighted. Sarah, Countess of Mexborough (1827), Methley, a neo-Hellenic tablet flanked by figures of Faith and Charity, with a relief of the Raising of Lazarus. A pleasant and typical work. Pl. II.

The Lady Margaret Millbank (1852) at Well is by his son RICHARD WESTMACOTT, R.A. (d. 1872), a sculptor in whose work the Victorian Academic tradition may be said to expire.

WILTON, JOSEPH, R.A. (1717-1803) was the son of a wealthy London plasterer, who sent him to Brabant to study under Laurent Delvaux, who had spent some years in England as partner of Peter Scheemaker (*q.v.* p. 106); young William then went to Paris to work under Pigalle, and was there arrested as a Jacobite



By courtesy of Northern Echo, Darlington.
PLATE II.

SIR CHARLES TURNER.
by Sir Richard Westmacott.

A Turner Mausoleum, Kirkleatham

in 1746; in 1749 he went to Rome, where he obtained the Pope's Silver Medal for Sculpture and met many wealthy English patrons, who gave him commissions and encouraged him to come to England. Three years after his return, he was made Director of the young Duke of Richmond's Gallery of Casts in Spring Gardens, a public-spirited attempt, in the absence of a Royal Academy, to provide young students with the means of becoming familiar with great works of art; it is significant, and entirely contrary to Reynolds' teaching a few years afterwards (p. 92), that master-pieces of the Renaissance as well as antique statues were to be seen in the Gallery.

From the first Wilton was successful; a wealthy man, he was given to openhanded hospitality both in town and at his Essex villa, at Wanstead; it was a matter of course that he became one of the four foundation sculptor members of the Royal Academy, of which he became keeper at a later date; his lovely daughter was admired by Doctor Johnson, at whose suggestion, doubtless, Wilton executed Mrs. Thrale's mother's modest monument at Streatham.¹ This lovely daughter, Lady Chambers, secured herself another niche in history by presenting the bust of Wilton holding a chisel by his friend Roubiliac, with whom he went on a brief visit to Rome in 1758, to the Royal Academy in 1803; the Academy had lost it in 1830, when Peter Cunningham tried to see it; how the present writer got it unearthed in 1924 has been told elsewhere;² and it is now regarded as one of the Academy's greatest treasures; the refined and pleasant face explains far better than the painted portraits the reasons for Wilton's social popularity. The American War hit him so hard that in 1786 he closed his studio and retired, dying in 1803 at Wanstead, where he lies under the monument which he had erected to his father nearly forty years before. "He was one of the last artists to wear a bagwig: his coat was of the old cut; and to the last he looked, and in his general deportment was, the gentleman of the days of George II;" these personal details, recorded by J. T. Smith, give us a vivid picture of the sculptor also as keeper of the Royal Academy: meeting a "riotous gang" of Academy students rushing upstairs, he reduced them to order with his quiet "What, gentlemen, do you take this School of Arts for a Bear Garden?" We should be glad of similar details to make our other sculptors come alive.

Wilton's art was many-sided; his busts are excellent, and he had learnt in Italy that secret of high polish which his contemporaries so much admired; but we must regretfully add that he is the first great English sculptor who is recorded as not always doing his own carving, but giving his men models or drawings to work from, whereas his predecessors gave at least the final touches themselves.

¹ This is one of the few Johnsonian facts unknown to Birbeck Hill, in whose edition of the *Letters* the word Wilton has no note and no Christian name (I, 327; V, 475).

² *Burlington Magazine*, 1923, p. 138.

His monumental art shows a curious mixture of influences; in his Wolfe in Westminster Abbey he is influenced by the Scheemaker-Delvaux training of his youth, with its emphasis on pyramidal form; the story of his being sent to meet the body of Wolfe at Portsmouth in order to take a cast of the face, the discovery of the bust in the Vicarage at Westerham, where Wolfe was born, and its being sent to Canada after a bronze copy had been taken for the National Portrait Gallery was told in *The Times* for November 14th, 1929; it is not surprising therefore that the commission for the national monument in the Abbey went to him in the face of strong competition from Robert Adam, Rysbrack and many others.

But the Wolfe manner is not Wilton's only one. He carried out vast compositions, designed by his friend Sir William Chambers, at Chenies, Bucks., in the Abbey and in Ireland, but his own taste is seen in two notable works showing (but not in duplicate) the Genius of Death with a torch reversed in a simple architectural setting at Hale, Hants. and Okeover, Derbyshire; again delightful children are grouped about a sarcophagus at Aston, Birmingham in 1774; but the mixture of Magna Charta, caps of Liberty and the Laws on the monuments of Bishop Hoadley at Winchester and Sir T. Street at Worcester are too Whiggish for our taste; portrait medallions at Bicester are better, and a beautiful urn to Sir Hans Sloane still stands, after the blitz, in the churchyard of Chelsea Old Church.

Wilton's monumental figures of Virtues (see below) are beautiful, his portrait statues oddly inferior; that of George III was described by Northouck in 1773 as "the most awkward, clumsy and worst designed" of those on the Royal Exchange, and Walpole did not exaggerate in calling his George II at Cambridge "a most vile statue," a verdict the more decisive that Horace admired much of his work. I know of three monuments by him in Yorkshire:

1. A monument in the form of a bas-relief over an altar, to Lady St. Quintin (d. 1762), Harpham.

2. E. and A. Byerley, Goldsborough, thus described in Hargrove's *Knaresborough*: "The Figures of Faith and Charity adorning the urn of the deceased, are finely executed, and do honour to Mr. Wilton, the Artist." The lovely figures of Religion and the cherub beside the urn are almost equally fine, and the whole is worthy of Wilton's master Pigalle. Pl. III.

3. Altar tomb of John, Lord Mexborough (d. 1776), with reclining effigy, an urn at the head, Methley. This is a fine portrait in contemporary robes, in an awkward pose, simple and somewhat dry in manner but distinctly interesting; the base is poor, suggesting the hand of Sir W. Chambers, whose taste in monumental design is often doubtful. Two mantelpieces by Wilton at Kirkleatham Hall are mentioned by Graves (*History of Cleveland*, Carlisle, 1808, p. 391).



GOLDSBOROUGH.

PLATE III.

THE BYERLEY MONUMENT.

by Joseph Wilton, R.A.

WRIGHT, WILLIAM, sculptor of Charing Cross (d. about 1652), is one of the most important sculptors of the reign of Charles I, and Yorkshire can show one of his three documented monuments; and as I believe, a second; the other two known from documents are at Great Maplestead, Essex, and Brocklesby, Lincs. That at Ecclesfield is to Sir Richard Scott, and the agreement, printed in Dr. Gatty's edition of Hunter's *Hallamshire* (ed. 1869, p. 438), was between "Mr. Richard Watts, Minister of Chesterton, near Cambridge." and "William Wright, carver in stone, of Charing Cross." Every detail is dealt with, from the material, the "purest and best white alabaster," down to the spurs on his heels and the crest (misprinted "crafte") at his feet; the polishing, the finish, "in the best matteralls aforesaid," are all specified, and the work was doubtless set up "at or before Whitsontide next in the yeare 1640 in the parish church of Ecclesfield." It was sent from Charing Cross to Billingsgate, was thence shipped to Hull and sent by land to Bawtry: the grille—an exceptionally fine one, so planned as to leave the effigy entirely visible—and the final details cost £37. 2s. 11d., the monument itself £120.

The simultaneous discovery of the Ecclesfield reference by my son and of an allusion in the Verney Memoirs to Wright's Drury monument at Maplestead by myself in July, 1932, followed by the equally accidental discovery in *Notes and Queries* for 1805 of the agreement for the Pelham Tomb at Brocklesby which added a third work to the list threw so much light on Wright's style that in 1937 it was possible to publish an account of him and of other works which were certainly his; he never signs, but his style is distinctive and he now takes high rank among English sculptors. His widow died in 1656, but I have failed to trace his will; he presumably died three or four years before her, since she had established herself in Oxfordshire, and bequeathed her property to an Oxfordshire neighbour.

Wright's most remarkable gift is his treatment of his minor figures as individuals and *en plein air*, not merely in silhouette; there are no children on the Ecclesfield monument, or on that in Essex, but no fewer than eighteen on the Pelham tomb, and as children of this type are found on the monument of Sir Robert Stapylton (1635) at Wighill, and as its effigy is stylistically very close to that of Sir Richard Scott at Ecclesfield, it is almost certain that Yorkshire can show a second example of Wright's work; the Ionic columns on the base occur at Maplestead, and again link Sir Robert with a documented work by William Wright of Charing Cross.

The following notes on some minor York sculptors, and the account of the carvers' controversy with the contractors over the woodwork for the Minster after the fire of 1829, are taken partly from Knowles, partly from personal knowledge.

— COMINGS. sculptor, was trained at York Minster under Shout, the Master Mason p. 108, and in 1813 removed the classical reredos at Beverley and “restored the ancient screen, a fine specimen of the art of sculpture” (Knowles, p. 114), his work being “richly embellished” with canopies, foliage and figures. Neither my son nor myself have met with his name on a monument.

“FLINTOFT, YORK.” This signature appears on a large pyramidal tablet to John Eades (1843) at Snaith, and suggests that Flintoft had worked for Fisher.

JACKSON, —, sculptor of York (fl. 1780) had a yard for the production of monuments at the corner of St. Martin’s Churchyard; three 19th century York sculptors, Hersey, Walter and Cole, were his pupils. I have not met with his work. (Knowles, p. 244).

SCOTT, JOHN, Carver of York (d. 1834), carved the canopies in the Lady Chapel and some of the figures at the Minster. (Knowles II, p. 334).

“SKELTON SCULPTOR YORK,” I have found this signature on two monuments at Pocklington and one at Kirkleatham on the setting only; an original poor tablet by him is at Masham.

1. Jacobean tablet (1615); here Skelton was restoring an existing work, and had no excuse for signing the setting.

2. The remarkable monument to Thomas Dolman (d. 1589) on the other hand required an entire new setting, as well as having the cornice pieced together above the original inset panel, whose technique has not been met with elsewhere and is probably the work of some local craftsman; effigy and kneeling figures are blocked out on a touch (black marble) panel in rough outline, and then incised in the manner of a brass. Skelton’s setting is dignified and has more quality than the date 1855, might lead us to expect.

3. The tablet at Kirkleatham is a similar case of a fresh stone setting, signed and dated 1852.

4. The one original work as yet noted, the tablet to Admiral Danby (1863) at Masham, is not at all bad for its date.

SNOWDEN, WILLIAM, sculptor of Micklegate (1787-1845), is noted by Knowles but without details; I have not met with his work.

STAVELEY, WILLIAM, sculptor, whose address is known from a York Directory, died in 1787 and may have been a son of the CHARLES STAVELEY three signed works by whom are in Grantham church and four (two altar tombs and two headstones) in the churchyard; the signature on the mural monument to Jane

Stevens (1751) "C. Staveley, Melton Fecit" tells us where he worked. Staveley of York had a carving and gilding business in Stonegate, and his wife was buried in St. Michael-le-Belfrey in 1798. (Knowles II; notes by Edmund Esdaile on the Grantham monuments).

WAUDBY, —, sculptor of York, signs a tablet to Nathaniel Holmes (d. 1851) at Pocklington in a style unusually pure and elegant for the period; the form is a simple *stela* framed by reversed torches; this is good enough to suggest that other and larger works must exist.

WOLSTENHOLME. This family of York sculptors is buried in the churchyard of St. Olave's. The earliest member I have traced is—

THOMAS WOLSTENHOLME (1759-1812) whose epitaph runs as follows :

"Sacred to the memory of Thomas Wolstenholme *Sculptor* who departed this life the 20th Day of August 1812.

Aged 53 years.

Beneath this Turf by this Monastick Shade

He sleeps in Death by kindred Ashes laid.

His Genius shone with graceful Taste attir'd,

His works spoke Merit and the Age admired.

Bright Honours path he freely trode through Life,

Industry banish'd Care and Friendship Strife.

Still doth His Memory live admir'd, his Fame

Whilst Genius works or Justice hold a Name."

FRANCIS W., his brother, died in 1833 aged 63.

JOHN (1786-1843) is described as Carver not on his own monument but on that of his wife Sarah (d. 1831), and of his work we do know something, since he carved the bosses of the roof of the Minster Choir and Nave after the fire of 1829, as well as the Side Screens and the tabernacles over the prebendal stalls and the organ case.

In connection with these York craftsmen it may be of interest to record the violent controversy in *The Times* of 1831 over the new carvings in the Minster necessitated by the fire of 1829. It opened on March 2nd with the following letter :

"SIR, I beg to acquaint you, for the information of the liberal and patriotic subscribers to the funds for the restoration of York Minster, that a very large proportion of the new carved ornaments for the stalls, screen, &c. have been carved by Dutch and Flemish carvers, while scores of our own countrymen (clever competent workmen) are walking the streets without employment; the reason assigned is cheapness, not want of talent, the patterns being made in England, are sent there to be multiplied.

I am, Sir, A Carver.

Q. Is the duty paid on importation ?

On March 7th the following appeared :

“Sir, We are the contractors for the carving of the stalls and some other parts of York Minster, and feeling confident of your readiness to correct every mis-statement in your valuable paper, we beg to assure you, that the assertion in a letter, signed “A Carver,” in your paper of the 2nd inst. of our having had the greater part of the carving done in Holland, is untrue. We have had some trifling parts done there, but certainly not one-hundredth part (of that which we contracted to do), as the books of the Custom-house would testify; and we should not have sent there for this small part of the work, if attempts had not been made by some workmen to induce other more reasonable men to leave in hopes of obtaining higher wages.

We are, your obedient servants

Robert Hume and Coy.

63, Berners-street, March 3, 1831.

A reply was sent from the Carvers’ Committee, the George, Wardour-street, on April 22nd, and printed next day.

The first paragraphs relate the alleged facts, disclaim all knowledge of the author of the first letter and state that close enquiry as to “the truth or falsehood of Messieurs the Contractors’ statement” has disclosed “that the first part of the Contractors’ letter is true—true even to a grater extent, we believe, than it would have been prudent for them to have avowed; for it appears not only was part of the carving had from abroad, but the wood of which the stalls and carvings are composed. With this we, as workmen, have nothing to do; it is for the subscribers to look to this, who, we believe, paid the money with the understanding that the wood was to be from His Majesty’s dockyards. Now the wood so employed is as common deal when compared with English oak, either as regards durability or colour; but then it is of much less expense.”

They go on to deny the Contractors’ statement of trouble among the workmen, since “the fundamental article of the Society of Carvers totally precludes the possibility of combination in any shape, experience showing them that it would be next to impossible, in a profession such as theirs (which necessarily combines different grades of talent and expedition) to attempt to establish a new union or unanimous price for their labour. Nor could it be from a paucity of talent in this country, seeing that they had the patterns in London, and, as the Contractors well know, these were much better than their foreign duplicates. Their motive, then, was simply the ruling motive of this day—to buy at the cheapest market, which they ought to have honestly confessed; and having to freight the wood from Holland, it naturally occurred to them, by having it carved first, it would have cost far less for freightage. Accordingly the cheapest Dutch carvers were employed, who

necessarily left the cheapest English ones far behind—excellence of execution being necessarily out of the question.”

This letter was not answered, and it seems certain therefore, that the London contractors not only employed London workmen, where they employed English craftsman at all, but that a very large proportion of the woodwork was executed abroad. Masons, it will be observed, are not concerned, Michael Taylor, John Wolstenholme and their fellow craftsmen being responsible for the stone-work, which, as might be expected from the long and honourable tradition of the craft in York, is on the whole admirable.

APPENDIX.

Notes on Remarkable Post-Mediaeval Monuments in Yorkshire whose Authorship is still uncertain, but in some cases admits of conjecture.

BRAMHAM.

1. Statue of the first Lord Bingley in his robes as Chancellor of the Exchequer, white marble on high curved pedestal, both statue and pedestal finely designed and carved.

2. Monument to his daughter and heiress the Hon. Harriet Bingley, afterwards wife of George Fox-Lane, created Lord Bingley. A graceful female figure wreaths a medallion of the heiress; another figure kneels beside her urn.

Neither work is signed; the adjective *Elegant* applies to both; and they are unmistakably English in character, though verging on the academic. They might well be by Wilton.

DALTON, SOUTH, OR DALTON HOLME.

Pearson's impressive church was built in 1861 by a member of the Hotham family who unlike many of his contemporaries, took care to provide a suitable setting for the impressive monument of his ancestor Sir James Hotham (d. 1689) though, unfortunately, the taste of the age dictated the removal of the skeleton stretched below the ledger on which the effigy reclines. The young warrior in full armour, a cravat about his neck, holding a gauntlet, rests on a huge black marble ledger borne on the shoulders of four kneeling figures of Virtues, Truth, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance, a scheme based on that of the second Earl of Salisbury at Hatfield by Maximilian Colt,¹ where the skeleton is still in place below; only, the Virtues, though identical in name, have been modified in the matter of fashion; the hair has become like that of a Lely portrait, a coil behind, loose curls in front, whereas Colt's Virtues have smooth hair turned back under a coif or kerchief.

¹ Esdaile, *English Monumental Sculpture*, pl. VII. The origin of this form of monument is the tomb of Engelbert of Nassam (1589) at Breda; in that of Sir Francis Vere (1609) in Westminster Abbey kneeling sons are substituted for Virtues, and the design is modified in other ways.

The clue to the authorship of this impressive work is to be found in the monument of George Evelyn (1689) one of two by Bushnell in the disused church of West Dean near Salisbury, which is quite certainly by John Bushnell (d. 1701); the likeness of his pedimental figures of Virtues with the kneeling Virtues of the Hotham monument is unmistakable, and it is highly satisfactory to be able to assign this noble and thoroughly English monument to one of the most interesting personalities among our sculptors who, as an apprentice, was induced by his master to marry a woman whom that master had seduced, fled abroad on discovering the cheat and, after working in Bermin's, Rome, settled in Venice and was persuaded to return to England after the Restoration on learning that his wife was dead. Royal favour, statues for Wren and the Royal Exchange, and the enthusiastic patronage of the wealthy made him a rich man; but he lost the manor of Wandsworth through a flaw in the title deeds; took to speculation and failed, and finally went mad, dying in his great unfinished house near Tyburn and being buried at Paddington as "John Bushwell, Image Maker" in 1701, leaving sons who lived on in the house as hermits, surrounded by the relics of their father's works and protesting that the world was not worthy of that father. When "after long expectation" the antiquary Vertue got into the house in 1725 and interviewed one of the sons he was clearly much moved by the story, the desolation and the devotion evident on all hands, and while he does justice to the "great and spirituous" character of Bushnell's art, he was not blind to the weaknesses of proportion displayed in parts of his work. The Hotham monument is an important addition to our knowledge of his art.

The accounts in the *D.N.B.* and Walpole's *Anecdotes* are superseded by my papers in the Walpole's Society's XV volume and the additions in Vol. XXI (p. 105), written, however, before the discovery of the West Dean monuments.

HAZELWOOD CASTLE, VAVASOUR CHAPEL.

Seven centuries of Vavasours lie in this modest chapel, and close by is the quarry from which York Minster was built; the donor of the stone, Sir Thomas Vavasour, lies here in effigy, and it will be remembered that Thomas Browne (*q.v.*) carved his Coxwold monument "himself alone of Hesslewood stone." There are many ledgers; a second mediaeval Vavasour effigy; a Sir Thomas (d. 1632) who kneels with his wife facing the spectator, their children below, and the spandrels below the cornice adorned with Emblems of the Passion, with figures of Faith and Hope beside them. Then there is Sir Walter (d. 1713), whose monument has the typical architectural background of the period with swags of flowers and lighted lamps typifying immortality, and reclining and seated effigies of husband and wife, their children about them, attended by a cherub bearing a large Cross, a daring emblem indeed when England was convulsed with fear of a Popish successor

to Queen Anne. Like all the previous works it is of stone, and in design at least has much in common with Talman's tomb at Whitkirk. A few later tablets in marble, two by Michael Taylor (*q.v.*) are of less interest, but the most remarkable feature of the Chapel has still to be described. That the great reredos is by John Etty I. I have little doubt, but the great panel of the Crucifixion may be by another hand, though the richly carved and gilt acanthus panel below among whose scrolls appear the Emblems of the Passion may be Etty's. Below this again is a large alabaster altar whose front is divided into three sections, the outer consisting of low relief alabaster panels, the centre open to enshrine the effigy of a child on a sarcophagus behind an urn grille and the inscription *Puella Chara*. Of the four panels, the outline on either side again bears the Emblems of the Passion; the inner one to the spectator's left bears St. Peter's cock, a sword and Malchus' severed ear, that to the right an exquisite carving of the hen gathering her chickens under her wing; an early 17th century Jerusalem in the background. The alabaster is as English as the mullions of the houses of Jerusalem, the date about 1620, and the author, beyond a doubt, Epiphanius Evesham (*q.v.*), the fourteenth child of a Herefordshire squire (the rediscovery of whose art in 1932, brought to light a most original and deeply religious artist);¹ he uses the Emblems of the Passion, down to the very dice, as Quarterings on a species of escutcheon, with weeping cherubs in place of supporters and the Crown of Thorns as a cap of maintenance at Stanstead Mountfitchet, Essex; shows us Wisdom casting away the World at Old Coulsdon, Surrey; carves the parable of the ears of wheat springing up through the bones of a skull at Marsworth, Bucks., cherubs guarding the body of a dead Rich on the tomb of Lord Rich at Felsted and watching over the praying sons and daughters at Lynstead, Boughton-under-Blean, Kent, and S. Carlton, Lincs., even his early tablet at Hythe bears a rosary. The child's effigy is so hidden by the heavy grille which also precludes the reading of the main inscription that it is impossible to say for certain whether it is also by Evesham, but it is only reasonable to suppose that one sculptor was responsible for the whole altar, which is a single composition, at least half a century earlier than the reredos.

KIRKHEATON, the burial place of the Beaumont family, contains several interesting works. The tomb of Sir Richard Beaumont (d. 1631) has been described under Stone; the next Richard Beaumont married a Lowther, and his bust and his wife's stand on either side of a great urn under a draped curtain, a mourning cherub below, which is certainly by the hand which carved the busts of two Lowthers at Lowther, Westmoreland and—on the same large scale—another monument of the same class at Winwick, Lancs. The Richard Beaumont who died in 1704 is represented by a bust under a rich canopy, with palm branches below

¹ Esdaile in *The Times*, Jan. 30th, Feb. 9th, 1932.

and finely carved urns on either side; this very competent work may well be by Francis Bird (*q.v.*); the odd monument to Charlotte Curry has already been noted under FRAUNCEYS (*q.v.*).

LANGTON. In this little-known church is one of the most interesting Commonwealth monuments in England, that of Alice Ingram of Temple Newsam (d. 1656). Under a cornice adorned with a pedimented escutcheon flanked by pyramids are fringed curtains drawn back to reveal an inscription tablet flanked by seated angels among clouds; below each is a shrouded babe, and on the altar tomb the figure of the young mother who died in giving birth to them. Pl. IV. A year after seeing this impressive work I met with precisely the same design on the monument of Sir Ethwyn Sandys (d. 1629) at Northbourne, Kent, minus the babes and with two effigies, not one; and further investigation linked these with three other monuments, at Hitcham, Bucks. (1624), in Canterbury Cathedral (1634) and at Echington, Wilts. (1630). The Gothic panels on the base of three of the five, the angels in the clouds, the absence of Anglo-Flemish ornament, all features common in his work, seem to point to the school of Edward Marshall (1598-1675), Master Mason to the Crown, who was trained under the very mason, John Clarke, who erected the famous late Gothic Chapel of Lincoln's Inn: Gothic detail was utterly alien to those sculptors, like Nicholas Stone and most of his contemporaries, who were brought up in the Anglo-Flemish tradition, but it is surprising to find it, and angel figures, at Langton under the Commonwealth, when Puritan hostility was at its height, and the fact gives the Ingram monument a unique interest in the history of English art. (See also SKIRPENBECK *INFRA*).

LEDHAM contains, besides the works by Cartwright and Scheemaker noted under the names of those sculptors, a curious shrouded effigy of Lady Bolles (d. 1662) on which Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmete* (1816) is very severe: "A shapeless block of marble," it would be "of the utmost value to our sculptors of to-day, when good marble is so difficult to get"—a curious sidelight on the effect of the Napoleonic wars on that branch of our commerce. The work is not first-rate, but has simplicity and a genuine dignity, and the treatment of the armorial shields, like the use of Ionic columns on the base suggests that it may be the work of Edward Marshall's pupil Thomas Burman (d. 1674), no longer as Walpole says, "known only as Bushnell's master," but the author of interesting documented works; the treatment of the draperies in particular recall those of the Countess of Shrewsbury at St. John's College, Cambridge, for which Burman was paid in 1672. Pl. V.

LOCKINGTON has a curious and interesting monument to Mary Moyses (d. 1633) daughter of Dr. Meryton, Dean of York; she is represented at length, lying on one elbow, the enormous puffed sleeve pushed forward to display it to advantage instead of

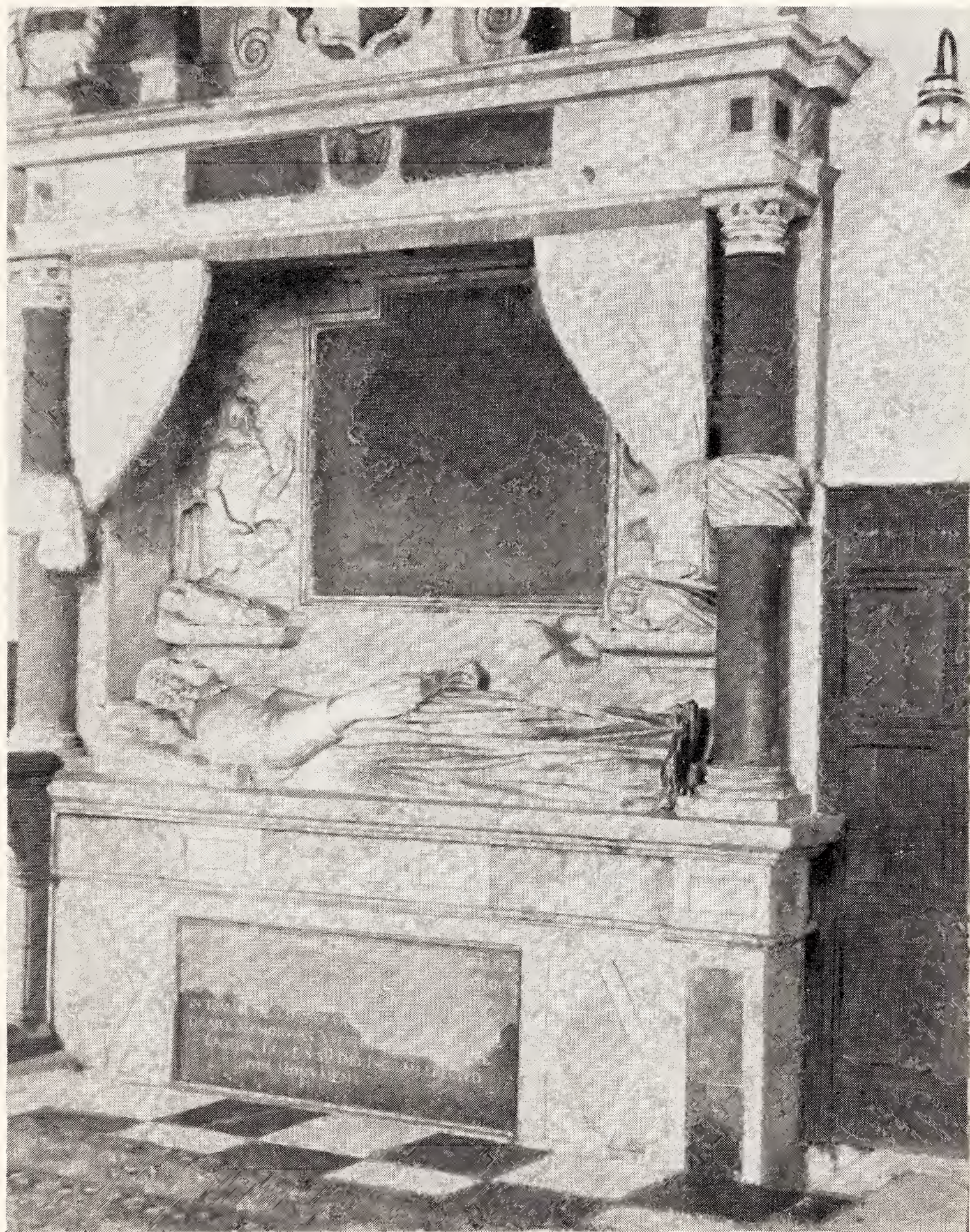


PLATE IV.

THE INGRAM MONUMENT, LANGTON.

A remarkable Commonwealth tomb; note the angel in the background.



By courtesy of Northern Echo, Darlington.

PLATE V.

MONUMENT OF LADY BOLLES (1662).

Whitaker's "Shapeless block of marble."

giving way under the pressure of her arm; gilt curls frame her sweet face, and the whole can safely be pronounced the work of some York sculptor acquainted with current London designs but unable to carry out his scheme with the ability of his model.

MASHAM, a delightful church with a singularly graceful spire, contains two good monuments, those of Sir Marmaduke Wyville (erected 1613) and Abstrupus Danby (d. 1737). The first is an elaborate alabaster, much decorated and with figures of Time and a child blowing bubbles in the spandrels (*cf.* STONE, NICHOLAS, *supra*); Sir Marmaduke is in full armour, reclining on his elbow, his wife, to whose memory he erected the tomb, recumbent at his side, a scheme common from 1600 to 1740, which showed at a glance which was the living partner, which the dead; on the base kneel their eight sons. This work has been described as "a virtual duplicate" of that of Archbishop Whitgift at Croydon (the original destroyed by fire in 1867, has been replaced by an exact duplicate), even down to the "silly mannerisms." This is quite untrue. The Archbishop is recumbent, his hands joined in prayer; he is flanked by *amorini* representing Labour and Rest (the names are given in documents of the period); there are no figures in the spandrels and no children on the base; both are London work, but in no way connected except by the fact that both abound in Anglo-Flemish detail. There is, however, a marked resemblance between the Denny tomb in Waltham Abbey (now much damaged) and Sir Marmaduke's, and as one of the partners who carved the Denny in 1599 was Isaac James, the Master of Nicholas Stone, it is quite possible that James was its author; that Stone took his imagery on the Belasyse tomb in York Minster from his master's work there can be little doubt.

The Abstrupus Danby is one of the best baroque monuments now in Yorkshire, probably in England; a tall grille prevented my examining it for a signature. The superb bust, placed above a sarcophagus against a pyramidal background, the whole in a noble architectural setting, is quite first-rate: close examination is most desirable, and might well reveal the master's name.

SKIRPENBECK. In this unpromising little church with its ugly nineteenth century brick tower and patched and undistinguished older nave, will be found an admirable alabaster monument to Richard Paget (1636). The upper part shows half-figures of the married pair holding hands, a skull between them; to right and left kneel their three children, the whole formed by curtains tied to the columns framing the composition. Below is a base consisting of a large panel against which stand two noble cherub figures; below is a winged skull. It seems to me highly probable that this is by Edward Marshall (see LANGTON, *supra*), to which it is closely linked by the curtained setting combined with the figures of angels below, which are, however, of more artistic importance than those of the Langton group, and almost foreshadow the angels of Blake's *Book of Job*.

WELL. This most attractive church with its famous font cover dated 1352 (the second oldest in England), its old white glass, clear spaces and good seating, contains a fine stone monument to Sir John Neville, Lord Latimer (d. 1577), with effigy and shields set two by two on either side of a narrow central panel, with elaborate mantling as background. But it is less the monument itself than the inscriptions cut upon it which present the real problem: why should so many contemporaries and sons of contemporaries have cut their names upon it? Not one defaces the effigy, all being cut either on the ledger or its edge; some are in black letter, some in ordinary script, some in capitals; some are dated, some undated; 1606, 1611, 1616, 1618 are among those I noted; there are initials, there are names in full, a Fairfax and a Lumley among them. The effect is reverence, not defacement: why are they there at all?

Finally we must deal with the remarkable series of monuments at Wentworth Woodhouse, largely in the hope of eliciting further information about the two last.

1. Altar tomb with effigies, said to be to members of the Gascoigne family, probably Nottingham work *c.* 1500; one of the panels built in the S. Wall.

2. Thomas Wentworth and wife (1587), effigies on altar tomb, Burton work, apparently; the crocodile and lion on his armour are curious. (Engraving in Hunter's *S. Yorkshire*, vol. II).

3. Sir Thomas Wentworth (1612), with Strafford himself represented on a larger scale as the eldest son kneeling in the centre, 7 brothers behind, 3 daughters on the right. (Engraving in Hunter's *S. Yorkshire*, vol. II).

4. Lord William Rokeby of Skerret (d. 1674), rather dull alabaster tablet over S. door, probably York work.

Nos. 5 and 6 must be dealt with after some account has been given of what we know of the history of the church, which was virtually rebuilt by the second Lord Strafford in a refined classical style at a cost of £700; the delicate stained glass in some of the windows belongs to the same period; the date is commonly given *e.g.*, by Hunter (II, p. 97) as 1684, but this would appear to be too late, as on September 8th, 1682, Thoresby writes in terms which prove that the church was ready to receive the Strafford (No. 5). "Forenoon, at Wentworth, to see and translate the monuments of that ancient family, but found none erected yet for the Earl, but two curious ones for (his) father and grandfather, and Sir William Rokeby." Evidently the news that the second Earl was erecting a monument to his great father had got abroad and Thoresby expected to find it already in place, so that the church was presumably known to be ready to receive it. On August 17th Thoresby repeated his visit: "We after walked to the church at Wentworth, the east and whereof was rebuilt by the late Earl,

and much enlarged, that there is place for two new monuments he erected for his Countess and his memorable father, the first Earl." The second Lord Strafford's plans had in fact to be tragically enlarged; his adored Countess, daughter of the Loyal Earl of Derby and that noble woman Charlotte de la Tremouille, died early in 1685, and she too had to be commemorated. The commission for the Strafford had clearly been given, since Thoresby expected to see it in 1682; that to the first Lady Strafford was not in place for another seven years, since the lovely and impassioned inscription written by her husband ends with the words: "The Lord of his infinite mercy joyne me again with her in everlasting blessedness, Amen. An. Dom. 1689."

It seems clear then that the alterations to the church were completed by September, 1682, and the Strafford probably well advanced, though not in place, and after the first shock of his wife's death, which may have held things up, Lord Strafford commissioned her monument from the same hand, certainly that of a London sculptor, himself writing both inscriptions. We may now consider these monuments in detail, beginning with the noble epitaph to—

5. "THOMAS WENTWORTH, Earl of Strafforde, Viscount Wentworth, Baron Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, Newmarch, Ouersley, and Rokeby, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord President of the North of England, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter. His birth was upon Good Friday the 13th Ap: An. 1593. His death upon the 12th of May 1641. His soule through the Mercy of God lives in eternal blisse, and his Memory will Never dye in this Kingdom."

The Earl kneels at a desk, turning his face towards the spectator, in a niche richly carved with acanthus, the outlines of which are twice repeated to give the effect of perspective; Corinthian columns to right and left support a graceful entablature with a broken pediment bearing figures of child angels with trumpets: in the centre is an escutcheon. The whole is framed by stone panels of exquisite flower sculpture; the base is of stone, and bears the inscription on twin panels framed by a stone setting of cherub heads executed in a severe and noble style, and more flower carvings.

Horace Walpole's comments written to Richard Bentley from Wentworth itself in August, 1756, are not without interest: "When I visited (Strafford's) tomb in the church (which is remarkably neat and pretty and enriched with monuments), I was provoked to find a little mural cabinet with his figure three feet high kneeling. Instead of a stern bust (and his head would furnish a nobler than Bernini's Brutus); one is peevish to see a plaything that might have been bought at Chenevix's [the fashionable London shop for pretty trifles]. There is a tender inscription to the second Lord Strafford's wife, written by himself; but his genius was fitter to coo over his wife's memory than to sacrifice to his father's."

Now Walpole knew what he was talking about, and the key to this passage seems to me to be the word Cabinet. The monument is charming, completely unconventional and delicately and minutely finished, but it does not suggest sculpture, if by sculpture we mean works in marble and stone; it is the technique of carving in wood applied to another material, from the incised panels with their suggested perspective just where the cabinets of the day aim at the same effect, to the exquisite acanthus carving on the frame. The style of the panels round it on the other hand is found both in stone and marble carving of the period. Pl. VI.

6. We must now turn to the second monument erected by the second Earl, that to his wife. The pair kneel, Jacobean fashion at a desk, their faces, like the great Earl's turned towards the spectator. Here the architectural setting is simpler: plain panels support a fringed entablature above which is a panel with a noble cherub head; above that an urn is set on a small curved pediment; below are panels bearing cherub heads of the same noble type as on No. 5, with a gadroon edge, the double inscription panel between them, and the rounded base is nobly carved with acanthus; above the figures is a simple swag of drapery, falling down the side panels and framing the group of husband and wife.

These works, of quite exceptional delicacy and individuality, are obviously by the same hand; their author was a sculptor to whom carving in wood was a primary interest and who applies the technique of wood to another material, yet they are certainly not by Grinling Gibbons, whose handling of stone and marble is totally different; but there is a monument to Sir Thomas Finch and Sir Thomas Baines (d. 1680, 82) at Christ's College, Cambridge, signed "Joseph Catterns Londinensis sculpsit," in which wood and marble are actually combined; the only other facts we know about Catterns are that though in 1678 he was working for one of Wren's most important masons, John Thompson, the builder of St. Magnus, Allhallows, Lombard Street, St. Dionis Backchurch and St. Bartholomew by the Exchange; he had been bound at Joiners' Hall and had not yet taken out his freedom (Knoop and Jones, *London Masons*, p. 69), Catterns therefore was trained as a worker in wood, before he worked for Thompson, and when, about 1684, he was commissioned to do the Cambridge monument, he combined wood and marble in its construction. It consists of a base bearing twin inscription tablets, flanked by palm branches and divided by a swag of drapery, with acanthus angles on top and three-quarter medallion portraits above bearing shields from which swags of flowers fall in rich profusion; two lovely cherub figures hold these medallions on either side, and a lofty pyramid behind supports an urn; the background of the whole is wood. Here, surely, we have a coincidence too great to be accidental. The flower-carving is exactly like that on the Strafford monument (No. 5); the thin swag of drapery and its knot is that of the second Strafford monument; the cherubs resemble those on the great Strafford's "cabinet"; the very script is similar. The presumption



(a)

(b)

By courtesy of Sheffield Telegraph & Star, Ltd.

WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE. PLATE VI.

Memorial in Wentworth Church to Thomas Wentworth,
Earl of Strafford. Died May 12th, 1641.

(a) Lord Strafford (b) his Parents; the kneeling figure in the middle below the parents is Strafford as a young man (see *Johnson, Gerard*, in Part II).

is, I think, strongly in favour of Catterns as the author of these unique monuments at Wentworth Woodhouse, but till documentary evidence is forthcoming this must remain a conjecture; the Wentworth papers already published throw no light on the matter.

I have had no opportunity of seeing the statue of Archbishop Tillotson at Sowerby illustrated in Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmet*. The plate suggests that the work is 18th century in date; it should be signed—is it by John or Richard Fisher?—and information about it is most desirable: some authorities place it at Luddenden.¹

In conclusion, I would draw special attention to the papers on *The Brasses of York Minster* by the Rev. G. F. Williams, F.S.A., now appearing in the Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society. When we read that even in Torre's time there were forty-seven figure brasses and about 170 ledgers despoiled of their effigies, we realize how rich the Minster once was in this form of memorial. The first part (vol. VII, p. viii) enumerates 174, the latest that of Charles, Earl of Carlisle, the majority of course being mediaeval; no signature is noted among those as yet published.

KATHARINE A. ESDAILE.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

BUSHNALL, JOHN (d. 1701) is almost certainly the author of the ledger stone supported on the heads of standing cherubs to Saunderson Neville (d. 1672) at Royston; the broken urn lying at the side is wholly in his manner, and the cloths on the heads of the cherubs are a purely Venetian detail. Bushnell was trained in Venice. The grille is one of the loveliest pieces of ironwork in England and may be by the sculptor whose work in metal is praised by a contemporary.

CARPENTER, SAMUEL. Mr. W. A. Atkinson points out to me that "Carpenter y^e York Painter" who worked at Scriven Hall, was the "Jacobus Carpenter, painter, fil. Samuel Carpenter, carver," who was admitted a freeman of York in 1727. Mr. Squire has sent me further notes on the *Atkinson* family, but they do not bear on their monuments. Alderman Morrell points out to me that "Sir W. Vernon Harcourt" should read "Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt" his father (Part II of these papers, p. 82).

COLT, M. Part I, p. 285 of Horbury Parish Registers gives the epitaph of Lady Savile; a note explains its fate: "The above monument in the rebuilding of the Church was taken down and being mostly of alabaster and in a state of decay was unavoidably so broken as to render it impossible to be erected in the new Church." Letter from the Editor of the Registers.

¹ This statue is by Joseph Wilton, R.A., 1796, and is in St. Peter's Church, Sowerby. (Ed.)

HARDY, JAMES, another London sculptor who, like Bird and Stanton (*q.v.*) supplied John Le Neve with information, is represented in Yorkshire, as my friend Mr. W. S. Dixon points out to me. In the Harleian Society's reprint of Peter Le Neve's *Book of Knights* (p. 311) it appears that Sir William Dalton and his wife are buried at Hauxwell, Yorks, "seen by me at Mr. Harding's (*sic*) a stone-cutter in Piccadilly 28 of August 1711"; as this was Hardy's address, the identification is certain; Peter Le Neve, as Norroy Knight at Arms, had to check the inscription. The work is a rather ugly curtain tablet flanked by cherubs, very inferior to Hardy's better work.

STANTON. The Mitton tombs are shown in the frontispiece to my *English Monumental Sculpture since the Renaissance* and in detail in the *Antiquaries Journal*, 1942, and there are many photographs in the *Archaeological Journal*, 1928.

Finally, I would draw attention to a superb monument to Sir Thomas Wentworth of Monk Bretton (d. 1672) at Silkstone, with very fine effigies; his armour and jack boots are themselves a study, and the fine asutere face of Lady Wentworth in her fur-trimmed mantle is a noble piece of portraiture. The reliefs of armour on the base are derived from Roman models.

Many of the photographs are due to the kindness of Alderman Morrell; the Rectors of Layton and N. Ferriby kindly provided others.

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ST. HELEN'S.
J. Fisher's tablet.
ST. JOHN'S, MICKLEGATE.
M. Taylor's tablet.
"Dr. Slop's" monument.

ST. LAWRENCE.
M. Taylor's epitaph.
ST. MARTIN, CONEY STREET.
M. Taylor, Tablet.
ST. MARTIN CUM GREGORY.
M. Taylor's Rev. W. Richardson.
Peckitt Widows.
Etty reredos.
ST. MARGARET, WALMGATE.
M. Taylor's tablet.
ST. MARY, BISHOPHILL SENIOR.
P. Atkinson born in parish.
J. Fisher's tablet.
ST. MARY, CASTLEGATE.
J. Fisher's W. Musket.
ST. MICHAEL-LE-BELFRY.
Nost & Carpenter's Squire.
J. Fisher's tablets.
Mitley and Raper's monument.
M. Taylor's tablets.
ST. MICHAEL, SPURRIERGATE.
Etty reredos.
J. Fisher's tablets.
ST. OLAVE'S.
Wolstenholme epitaphs.
ST. SAVIOUR'S.
M. Taylor's tablets.
Fisher tablets.

A MUNICIPAL DISSOLUTION OF CHANTRIES AT YORK, 1536.

By LIEUT. A. G. DICKENS, M.A.

When the ministers of Edward VI finally dissolved the chantries and similar foundations they were striking at a complex of institutions already in process of decay and liquidation. The chantry surveys compiled by the Edwardian commissioners indicate clearly enough that the conversion of chantry endowments to secular uses had been for some years increasingly common.¹ Founders' descendants and even incumbents themselves had taken a prominent part in this unofficial dissolution, their actions being characterised by varying degrees of legality. The transaction we are about to observe, though occurring nearly ten years before the first chantry act proper, was carried out publicly by the municipality of York and legalised by an elaborate act of parliament.

In York the decline of trade and of rental values made the earlier sixteenth century a period of acute financial stringency for the Common Chamber.² At every turn we encounter the word "decay" as applied to the wealth of the city and its common funds,³ until in 1553 the Privy Council sent a commission to York "to survey the decayes of the citie" and to consider how far the mitigation of tenths and fifteenths might be carried.⁴

That under these circumstances the Lord Mayor and his brethren should soon turn their eyes in the direction of redundant and indeed burdensome ecclesiastical foundations, will occasion no surprise to students familiar with the prosaic and utilitarian spirit of the Tudor citizen.

As early as January 1530 the city council, in putting into abeyance one chantry and an annuity, went on to bring the mayor's patronage of all chantries under the strict control of the council. This resolution alleges "dyverse cawsys and consideracons

¹ For a list of such surveys in print *cf.* *English Historical Review*, lv, 413, note 3. In addition an article in *Wilts. Archaeological Magazine*, xii, 354 yields further examples of interest.

² For hints as to the more purely economic factors *cf.* *Victoria County History, Yorkshire*, iii, 449 *seqq.*; *English Historical Review*, xii, 437 *seqq.*; H. Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries*, sect. ii, *passim*. The monastic dissolution, involving eight houses in York, doubtless provided some additional impetus.

³ 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 32; 1 Edw. VI cap. 9 and other statutes; *York Civic Records*, iii, 137; York House Books (below abbreviated as Y.H.B.), xvi, fo. 20; xxi, fo. E, fo. 1; xxii, fo. 54, etc.; *Yorks. Chantry Surveys* (*Surtees Soc.*, xci, xcii below cited as Y.C.S.), *passim*.

⁴ *Acts of the Privy Council 1552-4*, p. 287. Though the young king died before this could take effect, the corporation ordered their burgesses early in the following reign to seek its renewal (Y.H.B., xxi, fo. 15v). The text of the commission is copied in Y.H.B., xxi, fo. 1.

movyng the said presens and specially for that the chambre of this City is in great dett and also the common lands of the said city in great ruyne and decay."¹ A more radical step followed in April 1536, when the city secured the passage of an act of parliament² foreshadowing on a small scale the national chantry acts of the subsequent decade. The contents of this statute we must observe in some detail, particularly as it has met with curious neglect at the hands of local historians. It is headed in the statute book "An Acte conteyning a concord and agreement betwene the Erle of Rutlond & the Cyte of Yorke and others," a private-seeming title which may have helped to conceal its interesting contents.

The preamble points out that the city had long been unable to pay in full an annuity due to the Earl of Rutland, burdened as it was by other substantial annuities, salaries and maintenance of levies and fortifications. "And also," continues the text, "the said Maire and Commynaltie stonde charged for ever in the yerely some of xliij poundys sterlyng goyng out of the Chamber of the seid Cytye, yerely payable to and for the mayntenance of nyne Chauntreys and three Obettes." After particularising the founders of these,³ the act goes on to state that "all suche yerely and casuell profettes, wherof and wherby the seid yerely charge to and for the mayntenance of the seid chauntreys and obettes ought and shuld be levyed and borne, ben in maner consumed and utterly lost and gon, soo that the seid Maire and Comynaltie arre and have ben compelled by a long tyme to maynteyne and bere the seid yerely charges of the seid chauntreis and obettes of ther owen charges."⁴

The act then proceeds not only to reduce the annuities payable by the city,⁵ but also to discharge the latter from the maintenance of these decayed chantries and obits. Two only of the nine chantries—that in the chapel of St. William, Ousebridge, and the chantry of Nicholas Blackburn in St. Anne's Chapel, Fossbridge⁶—were to be still maintained by the corporation, which otherwise gained the right to "have hold and enyoye to them and ther successours for ever all suche londres, tenementes and heredytamentes that remayne and were gyven for the mayntenance of all the seid nyne chauntreis and three obettes."⁷ It may be

¹ *York Civic Records*, iii, 129-30. This suspended chantry was that of "Elewyse Wystowe," one of those dissolved in 1536. The annuity, of 30s. per annum, had been paid to John Birtby late chantry priest in St. Mary's, Castlegate.

² 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 32.

³ Cf. below, p. 169-172.

⁴ *Stat. Realm*, iii, 583.

⁵ The Earl of Rutland, due to £100 per annum by an agreement of the reign of Edward II, had in fact been long receiving only 20 marks. He now agreed to accept £40. The annuity due to the Dean and Canons of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster was reduced from £35. 14s. 7d. to £30. Lord Darcy's life annuity of £9. 2s. 6d. was rescinded, while the remaining annuity, one of £7. 12s. 1d. to Sir William Fairfax in the right of his wife, appears to have been continued.

⁶ Cf. on these two below, p. 171.

⁷ *Stat. Realm*, iii, 584.

noted in passing that the income from these endowments was not in fact "utterly lost and gon," since property worth 30s. 8d. per annum belonging to one of the seven dissolved chantries is recorded in 1546 as now appropriated to the Common Chamber.¹

A considerable part of the £42 paid out by the Common Chamber may well have been covered by rents surviving from endowment. Indeed one is at liberty to doubt whether the Chamber was actually sustaining a flat loss of anything like £42 per annum. We print below a list of the seven suppressed chantries and three obits which was entered in the House Book in 1546. Payments totalling £39. 13s. 4d. are entered beside the other particulars of these foundations,² but one of these, for example, relates to the chantry placed in abeyance in 1530 and was not being paid out in 1536.³ At least one other payment had been reduced to correspond with the falling rents of the endowment.⁴ The city's claim to a loss doubtless possessed substantial justification. Nevertheless it remains difficult to avoid a shrewd suspicion that the story lost nothing in parliament for the telling.

A few effects of the transaction of 1536 may be traced in the House Books covering the subsequent decade. The chantry priest in Fossbridge chapel had lost under the act two of his three chantries;⁵ accordingly in January 1545 the council ordered him to "come and help to doe divyne servyce of the Sondayes and all other halldayes . . . in an honest surples" in the chapel of Ousebridge.⁶ A few months later came the first or Henrican chantry act and the issue of the corresponding chantry commission for Yorkshire.⁷ The city council at once saw the need for safeguarding their title to the endowments of the chantries dissolved ten years earlier. On 12 April 1546 they "agreyd that one shall ryde for Mr. Recorder to come to my lorde mayor & his bredren to gyve his advyse and counsell towching the certyficat of the chauntries, gylde, broderhede and fraternyties belongyng

¹ ". . . a tenement xxvjs. viijd. (xls. *erased*) lieng in Petergate within the cite of York nowe in the tenure of Jamys Robert vyntener and also a close leing withoute Monkebarr nowe in the holding of John Wodd iijs. sometyme beyng the landes and tenementes of one Roger Marr and by the said Roger and his executors gevyn the amortised to a certen chauntre and nowe towardes the mayntenance of the common charges of this cite the said landes ar nowe apprepriat to the Common Chambre of this said cite for ever . . ." (Y.H.B., xviii, fo. 48). Cf. on this chantry below, p. 171.

² In the case of the first item, the sum is said to be actually paid "furth of the Common Chambre" and the subsequent items are evidently also meant to be taken in the same sense.

³ Wystow's chantry. Cf. above, p. 165 and note.

⁴ The payment in respect of Marr's chantry has been reduced to 31s. 8d., apparently to correspond with the decline of its rents, seen elsewhere to amount to 30s. 8d.

⁵ Those founded by Robert Holme and Alan Hamerton (cf. below, p. 171 and Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 304). He retained until the general dissolution the reprieved chantry of Nicholas Blackburn (Y.C.S., 61, 468). This priest, Edward Sandall, suffered no great hardship; he was in addition an ex-monk of Kirkstall in receipt of a pension of £6. (Y.C.S., 468).

⁶ Y.H.B., xvii, fo. 77.

⁷ Printed in Y.C.S., 1-4, and dated 14 February, 1546.

to the commonaltie of this said citie" and the next day a letter was sent requiring the Recorder's presence at latest by next Friday.¹ A copy of the act of 1536 was secured and duly shown to the chantry commissioners when they came to York,² while the above-mentioned catalogue of the dissolved foundations was entered in the House Book.³ This we print in due course below.

The Council also belately set about clarifying certain details arising from the statute of 1536. The properties of Marr's chantry on Ousebridge were formally placed in the hands of the bridge-masters for inclusion in the rental of common lands.⁴ On 24 July Anthony Florence, "the morrowmasse preiste of the chapell of Owsebrige of this citie"⁵ signed an entry in the House Book surrendering any rights he had in "a chauntre callyd Saynt Loye chantré" granted to the city by act of parliament.⁶ This St. Loy chantry may be confidently identified with this same chantry of Roger Marr on Ousebridge.⁷ Florence agreed to accept a stipend of £4. 13s. 4d. for the period ending the subsequent Whit Sunday and to continue saying the morrow mass in the chapel. At that date, however, he was "lovyngly to seas and departe frome the servyce of the said mayer and cominaltie."⁸

Also amongst the House Book entries for July 1546 are those concerning a certain chantry of St. James in Castlegate. It will be observed from the passages printed below that its incumbent, Christopher Paynter,⁹ surrenders all interest in its properties, worth only 38s., and is guaranteed an annual pension of two pounds on condition of saying a weekly mass in Ousebridge chapel. This chantry is here also alleged to have been granted to the city by act of parliament, though there are difficulties in identifying a chantry of this name and situation with any in the lists of 1536 and 1546.¹⁰

¹ Y.H.B., xviii, fos. 15v-16.

² The commissioners themselves note in their survey the previous dissolution of the two Fossbridge chantries "nowe taken away by acte of Parlyament, as appereth by thexemplifyfycacion of the sayd acte, dated xvmo die Aprilis, anno xxvijmo regni Henrici viijmo examyned by the Kynges Commyssion." (Y.C.S., 62).

³ Y.H.B., xviii, fos. 35v-36.

⁴ Y.H.B., xviii, fo. 48.

⁵ He had also a chantry a few yards distant in St. John's, Ousebridge End (Y.C.S., 79, 458).

⁶ Y.H.B., xviii, fo. 48v.

⁷ Drake (*Eboracum*, p. 280), who saw the original grants of all these Ousebridge chantries, says Marr's chantry was founded "ad altare S. Eligii" (St. Loy). The *V.E.* ascribes this chantry "ad altare Sancti Egidii" (St. Giles), and gives the clear value as only 24s. 3d. (*V.E.*, v, 28).

⁸ Y.H.B., xviii, fo. 49v.

⁹ In 1535 he held the chantry of St. Mary's in All Saints, Pavement, and in 1546, in addition, that of St. John and St. Katherine in the same church (*Valor Ecclesiasticus* (later cited as *V.E.*), v, 26; Y.C.S., 60, 61). He had previously, as Lord Mayor's chaplain, been the victim of a joke by certain citizens, who told him to take the Mayor a pike and were committed to ward for their disrespect (Y.H.B., xiii, fos. 121-121v.).

¹⁰ The writer prints the passages regarding this chantry in the hope that some student better-informed may enlighten him on this score. Three chantries appear in St. Mary's, Castlegate in the *V.E.* of 1535 and these survived until the general dissolution (Y.C.S., 466-7). There are hints that others were founded (Y.C.S., 466, note; Drake, *Eboracum*, 285). The writer has observed no enactment granting a Castlegate chantry to the city.

These House Book entries of 1546 serve to round off the story which we can now summarise in a few words. The city had at various times taken over the lands and management of certain privately endowed chantries and obits, several of the former being in the gift of the Mayor and Commonalty.¹ When the incomes of these institutions had so declined that the payment of salaries and charities involved the city in a loss it appealed to parliament. The Privy Council, well aware of the financial straits of the city, was doubtless the first to favour an act which in this and other particulars might lighten the burden. Hence the Common Chamber obtained release of any obligations in respect of those chantries and obits and the city had confirmed to it in perpetuity all their endowments. The doctrinal rejection of the chantry system as yet in 1536 played no part in such transactions, yet the lack of all scruple and superstition admirably exemplifies the new age. The interest of the York municipality in the city chantries remained strong and deep-rooted in tradition.² Thereby mayors and aldermen had for generations before Henry VIII exercised a remarkable measure of control over parish life. The chantries were, after all, the characteristic religious expression of the forefathers of these sixteenth century councillors, whose attitude was not destructive but much rather proprietary. They were in touch with public practice and opinion; even under Edward VI they clearly wished to retain certain chantries as useful to the people.³

Yet by 1530, a chantry as such, commanded little veneration, however ancient and well-attested its foundation might be. Chantries had come to be regarded as no mere memorial foundations but essentially things of use;⁴ no preserve of the priesthood but one of the instruments by which businessmen regulated parish affairs. They and their forefathers had given and had maintained; when occasion arose they would take away. A modern observer may perhaps be pardoned for preferring a local adaptation, like that of 1536 at York, to the sweeping but fruitless confiscation of chantries by the hapless ministers surrounding Edward VI. At the same time, transactions of this type explain better than any history of central government why the English Reformation became possible. Faced by the spectacle of reactionary northern England, we are often tempted to consider the process as one forced through by remote and unsympathetic politicians. Such a view cannot be upheld in respect of some of the larger northern municipalities, notably York and Hull. The charge, it is true,

¹ In 1496 they merged two chantries in Holy Trinity Goodramgate, one of them being in their own gift and the other in that of the parish (*York Civic Records*, ii, 123).

² Cf. *York Memorandum Book*, *Surtees Soc.*, cxx, introd., and *passim*; *Y.A.J.*, xxxiii, 237 *seqq.*

³ Cf. the information given to the Henrican commissioners regarding Blackburn's chantry on Foss Bridge (*Y.C.S.*, 61) and the parallel remarks in *Y.H.B.*, xvii, fo. 77v, dated January, 1545.

⁴ The writer hopes at some future date to examine the Yorkshire chantries from this new point. Such a survey will show how important they were, in the absence of modern curacies, to the normal conduct of parish life.

had its main support from political and social forces at work in south-eastern England. Yet a parallel transformation was gathering way throughout some influential sections of northern society well before the Privy Council harnessed it, by a memorable series of enactments, to the purposes of central government.

Below are printed :—(I) The list of foundations as enumerated in the Act of 1536 (II) The particulars of the dissolved chantries and obits as given in the House Book of 1546. Some of the other known facts regarding these institutes are given in the form of notes to this section.¹ (III) The House Book entries relating to the chantry of St. James, Castlegate mentioned above.² This body of material forms a not unimportant addition to our knowledge of York chantries on the eve of the Reformation, since, of course, these dissolved institutions found no place in the later Surveys.

It will be noted that two of the dissolved chantries were in the chapel of St. Anne (sometimes called St. Agnes) on Foss Bridge, and two others in the chapel of St. William, Ousebridge. Faced by the modern structures, with their ugly adjacent buildings, one realises with difficulty how picturesque and interesting they were with all their superstructures of four centuries ago. In Camden's time the Foss still had "a bridge set over it so set with buildings on both sides that a stranger would mistake it for a street."³ Its chapel stood on the north side of the bridge, being supported by wooden piles, some of which Drake saw removed in 1735.⁴ Old Ousebridge contained, of course, several public buildings, including the great council chamber of the city. Its appearance, though somewhat modified by the Elizabethan reconstruction may be well surmised from the charming plate in Drake's *Eboracum*.⁵ The chapel of St. William with its four chantries fell naturally under the especial surveillance of the Lord Mayor and his brethren.

I.

27 *Hen. VIII, Cap.* 32.⁶

"... nyne Chauntreys and three Obettes, wherof one Chauntrey & one yerely Obett was sumytyme amortysed and founded within the Cathedrall Church of Seynt Petir of Yorke by Master John Gylby and Sir Robert Semer somytyme subchaunter of the seid Cathedrall Church, Executors of the Testament and last will of Master Thomas Haxday, somtyme Treasurer of the forseid Cathedrall Church, And the Resydue of all the said Chauntries and Obettes were somytyme amortysed and foundyd

¹ The writer has not attempted an exhaustive account of their earlier history; a few obvious sources have been examined.

² Other relevant passages in the House Books have been omitted as they all doubtless appear in future volumes of the *York Civic Records*.

³ Camden, *Britannia* (edn. 1753), ii, 877.

⁴ *Eboracum*, p. 304.

⁵ Facing p. 281.

⁶ *Stat. Realm*, iii, 583.

in dyverce other places within the seid Cytie, that ys to saye¹ by Robert Hownie² somtyme of the seid Cytie Merchaunt.

Alane Hamerton somtyme of the seid Cytie merchaunt.

William Skelton late Citezen of Yorke.

John Catton late of the seid Cytie and Emote his wyf.

John Esshton late of the seid Cytie.

Helewyse de Wistow wydow somtyme wyff of Robert de Wistow late of the seid Cytie.

William Sothill John de Newton & Rauff Mar Executors of the Testament of Sir Roger de Mar, somytyme parson of the Church of Quyxley³ and somytyme Subchauntor of the seid Cathedrall Church,

Rychard Toller.⁴

John Fourbour Chapleyne

Roger de Selby son of Hewe de Selby.

Nycholas Blackburn thelder merchaunt⁵ and Adam Bauk Lytster⁶ or by any other person or persons by ther deryse and wylles . . ."

II

York House Book xviii, fos. 35v-36.

Citie of } Neyne chauntres and thre yerely obettes somtyme
York } founded within the said citie wherof vij of the said
chauntres and the saides thre obettes was dyssolved by acte of
parlyament the xvth day of Aprile in the xxvijth yere of the
Kinges Majestie moste gracyous reign that nowe is, as it apperith
now playnlie by a coppye of the same acte beyng exemplefied under
the Kinges Grace Great Seall of Englund. And byforce of the said
acte the mayor and commonaltie of the said citie and ther suc-
cessoures ar clerely dyschargyd for ever for payment of the
stypendes and wages that incumbentes of the saides vij chauntres
hadd somtyme payd furth of the common chambre of the saide
citie, and also of the yerely charges of the said thre obettes.

¹ The names of founders are here printed separately for the sake of clarity. Their several shares will appear below.

² Mistranscription of "Howme." Howom is also a common spelling of the name Holme.

³ Whixley, near Ripon.

⁴ One of the two chantries safeguarded and continued later in the Act is that "founden by the antecessors of Edmond Sandforthe Esquier within the Chappell of Seynt William of Ousebrigge." It survived until the general dissolution and is described in the Chantry Surveys as "of the foundation of Rychard Toller and Isabell, his wyffe, auncettores to Edmunde Sandeforde, esquier" (Y.C.S., 70; 458, where various other details of interest appear).

⁵ Also preserved until the general dissolution. A full account occurs in *ibid.*, 61, 468. It will be observed that the incumbents of these two chantries continued to receive their stipends from the Common Chamber until dissolved.

⁶ Dyer, "Bauk" is apparently a mistranscription of "Bank"; *cf.* below, p. 172.

Furste the chauntre and one yerely obbet somtyme amorteshed ¹ and founded within the cathedrall church of Saynt Peter of York by the executors of the testament and last will of Mr. Thomas Haxay ² sometyme Tresorer of the said church, by yere furth of the Common Chambre	xijl.
Item one chauntre within the chappell of Fossebrig of the said citie, whereof one Robert Holme ³ of the said citie merchaunt was founder, by yere	vjli. xiijs. iiijd.
Item a nother chauntre of the said brygg founded by one Allayne Hamerton, ⁴ by yere	vl. vs.
Item one chauntre within the chappell of Saynt William uppon Ousebrig aforesaid founded by Hawisse de Wystowe wyddo somtyme wyf of Robert de Wystowe ⁵ lait of the said citie, by yere	iijl. xiijs. iiijd.
(fo. 36)	
Item one other chauntre of Owsebrig afforesaid somtyme founded by William Sothill, John de Newton and Rauf Marr, executors of the testament of Sir Roger Marr preist, ⁶ by yere butt onely by reason of the decay of certeyn tenementes within the said citie that dydd somtyme belong to the said chauntre	xxxjs. viijd.

¹ Amortise: to convey property to a corporation: to alienate in mortmain.

² Treasurer of York from 1418 until his death in January 1425. His will is dated 29 February 1424. Warden of the Mint at York, prebendary of Beverley, Lincoln and Southwell, he founded also a chantry in the church of Southwell (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, iii, 161; *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, pp. 141, 271, 292, 338; *V.E.*, v, 196).

³ Drake, who saw the original grant, connects it with an Inquisition of 8 Hen. IV, num. 13 (*Eboracum*, p. 304). This does not appear to be the usual Inquisition *ad quod damnum*. The founder was presumably the Robert Holme who was Mayor of York in 1413 (*Cal. Pat.*, 1413-16, p. 125; *Surtees Soc.*, xcvi; *passim*). He is not to be confused with the founder at Holy Trinity Goodramgate in 1359-61 (*Y.C.S.*, 52, note). The *V.E.* (v, 27) agrees with the total of £6. 13s. 4d., but assigns 6s. 8d. of this as alms distributed annually on the death-day of the founder, i.e., an obit. The rest was received as salary by the then incumbent, Robert Tomlynson.

⁴ Freeman of York in 49 Edw. III and Chamberlain in 6 Hen. IV. (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 73, 108) Thomas Thackwray was incumbent in 1535, receiving a salary of £5 (*V.E.*, v, 28).

⁵ Robert de Wystow occurs several times in lists of York freemen between 27 Edw. I and 15 Edw. II (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 7-35 *passim*).

⁶ These executors, along with the vicar of Hunsingore, received permission to found this chantry in St. William's Chapel, Ousebridge in 12 Edw. II. *Y.C.S.*, 458 (note); cf. *Cal. Inquis. ad quod damnum*, p. 257). Further particulars regarding this chantry are given above, pp. 167, 169. It will be noted that the properties mentioned in note 1, p. 166 were worth only 30s. 8d.

Item one chauntre within the churche of Alhallos in Northstreete founded by Allayn Hamerton somtyme of the said citie, merchaunt, William Skelton lait citizen of Yorke, John Catton of the said citie and Emott his wyf, by yere	} iiijli.
Item one other chauntre within the said churche of Allhallos in Northstrete somtyme founded by Adam Banke ¹ lytster, by yere	} vli. vjs. viijd.
Item one yerelie obbet of John Esheton	xiijs. iiijd.
Item one other yerelye obbett founded by John Fourbor ² chapleyn, John Selby and Hewe Selby by yere	} xs.

III.

York House Book xviii fos. 48v-49.

St James Chauntrie in Castlegate	Thes be the landes and tenementes somtyme belongyng to the chauntre of Saynt Jamys in Castelgaite and nowe belongyng to the Mayer and cominaltie of this citie.
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In primis one tenement in Coppergait in the holdyng of Thomas Luge by yere	} xjs.
Item one tenement in Castelgate in the holding of John Allaby by yere	} vijs.
Item one tenement in Castelgate in the holding of John Hewbanke by yere	} vjs.
Item one tenement uppon the Staith in the holding of Allayn Bowtheman by yere	} xs.
Item one tenement in Feasegate in the holdyng of John Norton by yere	} iiijjs.

(fo. 49).

(*Margin*)—St. James Chauntrie surrendered by Sir Painter.

Willelmus Holme maior, &c. &c. ³	Assemblyd in the cownsail chamber of Owsebrig of this citie the day and yere abovesaides (24 July 1546) whan and wher Sir Christofer Paynter clerke cam personally before the said presentes and of his fre wyll haith gevyn upp releasyd and surrendryd all his right and intereyste of all suche landes and tenementes as he holdith at wyll of the Mayer and commonaltie of this citie whiche he haith
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¹ Adam del Banke, lyttester, was admitted a freemen of York in 45 Edw. III; became Chamberlain in 7 Ric. II and Mayor in 6 Hen. IV (*Surtees Soc.*, xcvi, 68, 80, 108).

² John Fourbour also founded a chantry at the same altar as that of Roger Marr in Ousebridge chapel (Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 280).

³ Those present of the Aldermen and twenty-four are enumerated here as usual.

in tymes paste clamyd to be as parcell of a chauntre whiche chauntre amonges other was grauntyd to the Mayer and cominaltie of this citie by acte of Parlyament. And in consideracion of suche good servyce as he haith done to the Mayer of this citie for the tyme beyng that he shall have payd yerely of the Common Chambre of this citie for the terme of his lyfe xls. sterlyng at Whytsonday and Martynmes by evyn porcions and he to have the same under the seall of office. And the said Sir Christofer shall ones every weeke say masse within the Chappell of Owsebrige at the comandment of my Lorde Mayer for the tyme beyng.

Item, it is agrede by the said presens that the brig maisters of Owsebrig of this citie shalbe chargyd with the saides landes and tenementes and to put the same in ther rentall, and the said brygmasters shall pay all maner of owterentes that ar dewe and oght to be payd furth of the said landes [and] tenementes.

A LAWYER'S JOURNEY BY POST-CHAISE IN 1753.

By ROBERT KETTLEWELL.

The account which is printed below was found in the attic of a Cleveland farmhouse in 1937. It was one of a large number of Lawyer's papers, mainly of the latter half of the eighteenth century. John Matthews, the Lawyer in whose handwriting the account is written, was married in the Parish Church of Stokesley in the year 1735. The entry in the Parish Register reads:—

“June y^e 3^d John Mathews of ye Parish of Yarm, Attorney at Law, & Susanna Walker of this parish, Spinst^r were Marry'd by Vertue of Banns publish^d by T. Thwaites & Certify'd by H. Bradley.”

Sometime after the marriage John Matthews must have settled in Stokesley where his children were born and baptised. The account is of a journey by Post-chaise to East Woodhay undertaken in the Summer months of 1753. East Woodhay is a small village six or seven miles south-west of Newbury and just over the Hampshire border.

The use of the French “chaise” (English “chair”) points to evolution from the “Sedan,” which was carried about, to the novel idea of a fast-moving, horse-drawn carriage on wheels. The four-wheeled Post-chaise was the quickest means of travel in its day. Whenever the journey was long it was taken by stages. This meant travelling from one Posting-house to another. At those Inns which were also Posting-houses the horses were changed, and the horses which had made their stage already were taken back to the Posting-house from which they had been hired. This was the work of the Post-boys, men who were hired with the horses and who rode postillion. A journey in this way involved also many very unpopular stoppages at the Turnpikes. Originally poles or pikes were placed across the highway and turned off so as to allow the traveller to proceed after he had paid the toll for the upkeep of the highway, and near these were built those distinctive Turnpikemen's houses which are still to be seen about our English roads. We are familiar with the Toll-gate, but sometimes a chain was drawn across the highway. At Boroughbridge, for example, the hook for such a chain was still to be seen near by the Crown Inn within living memory.

The object of John Matthews' journey, as the account will show, was the sale of an estate at East Woodhay. The Post-chaise was a costly way of travel. His outward journey took three days, 30th June, 1st and 2nd July 1753, and it covered 252 miles from Stokesley to Newbury, with nights spent at Perlethorpe in Sherwood Forest, Nottinghamshire, and at Northampton, and was

achieved in 14 stages at the total cost of £12. 2s. 11½d. Out of this the hiring for the Post-chaise cost £8. 15s. 0d. or just under 9d. a mile. After a short stay in London John Matthews returned by the Great North Road in 18 stages, taking four days for the 247 miles, at the total cost of £12. 3s. 5½d., and the hiring for the Post-chaise was at the rate of nearly 10d. a mile. The average mileage of each stage for the whole journey, there and back, was 16 miles, the longest being the 33 miles from Towcester to Oxford. The towns mentioned in the account are mostly those prominently marked to-day on any motorist road-map of England, and, no doubt, many of the Posting-houses which John Matthews used still stand and are even busier now in the service of the road than they were in the days of horse travel nearly two hundred years ago. The account is as under :—

1753

June

30th	North Allerton Chaise	14	3
	Breakfast 1s. 4d. Hostler 8d.	2	
	Horses Hay & Corn		6
	Sandhutton Turnpike 7d. Topcliffe 6½d.	1	1½
	Postboy		8
	Borroughbridge Chaise 9s. Hostler	11	0
	6d. Boy 9d. Turnpike 9d.		
	Weatherby Chaise	12	
	Dinner 3s. Hostler 6d. Aberforth	5	6
	Turnpike 9d. Ferrybridge Do. 6d.		
	postboy	13	0
	Ferrybridge Chaise 11s. 3d. Hostler		
	6d. Turnpike 6d. postboy 9d.	18	6
	Doncaster Tea 1s. Chaise 16s. 6d.		
	postboy 1s.	19	3
July 1st	palethorpe Chaise 16s. 6d. Servts		
	Is Negus Is. Id. Hostler & Boy 1s. 2d.	13	6
	Nottingham Breakfast 1s.		
	Chaise 10s. 6d. Hostler 6d. Boy 1s.	10	3
	Turnpike 6d.		
	Loughborough Chaise 8s. 3d.	16	8
	Hostler & Boy 1s. 6d. Turnpike 6d.		
	Leicester Dinners 3s. 8d. Chaise	16	3
	11s. 3d. Hostler & Boy 1s. 6d. Turnp 3d.		
	Harborough Chaise 12s. 9d. Hostler	12	3
	& Boy 1s. 6d. Tea 1s. Turnpike 1s.		
	Northampton Suppers 3s. Chaise	1	8
	6s. 9d. Maid Hostler & Boy 1s. 6d. Turnp 1s.		
July 2nd	Towcester Breakfast 1s.	1	8
	Chaise 11l 6s. Hostler & Boy 1s. 6d.		6
	Middleton Stoney Dinners		3
	Oxford Chaise 11l Hostler &	1	1
	Boy 1s. 6d. Turnpike 3d.		
	Tea Ct near Islip		2
	Newbury Suppers Ct 7s.	14	
	Chaise 6s. 0d. Hostler & Boy 1s.		
	Victuals to Woodhay		7
6	pd Robt Whiting & Robt Selfe	2	2
	for Appraising the Stock out of		
	Doors	2	6
9	pd the Cryers calling the		
	Sale in sevl parishes		
	pd Robt Selfe on Ballance	5	18
			9

	pd Wm Cottreton Do	..	..	..	..	1	10	
	pd Wm Munday Do.	..	..	..	..	1	3	11
10	pd peter White for Ld Tax & Window money	..	..	..	}	4	9	1½
	pd Gilbert Moth his Bill	..	..	..	..	0	15	4
	pd Thos Bartholomew Do.	..	..	..	..	1	14	9
	pd Matthew Bance Do.	..	..	..	..		1	8
	pd Griffin Froom Do.	..	..	..	..	3	17	
	pd Mr King Apothecary Do.	..	..	..	..	2	13	
11th	pd Richd Dod the parish Clark Do.	..	..	..	..	1	1	
	pd Do. his Taylor's Bill	..	..	..	..	1	0	11
	pd John paty Do.	..	..	..	..		8	9
	pd Revd Mr Morgan for Victuals	..	..	..	..		7	2
	pd the Cryer at Newbury for Calling the Sale	..	..	..	}		1	0
12	pd Mary Harris her Bill	..	..	..	..		13	10
	pd Thos Sadler Do.	..	..	..	..		2	3
	pd John Wacomb Do.	..	..	..	..		12	
	pd Farmer Stroud for some Fowls	..	..	..	..		3	
13	pd Edwd Wesson his Bill	..	..	..	..		17	6
	pd John ffroom (Mr Wakefield's Servt) Ballance for his & Wife's wages	..	..	..	}	7	1	2
	pd John Sandford Do.	..	..	..	..	13	5	6
	pd Mr Stephen Brown Do.	..	..	..	..	10	7	
	pd Edwd Chalice Do.	..	..	..	..		3	6
	pd Revd Mr Bailey Do.	..	..	..	..	17	8	
	pd Mr Eyre for a Canary Bird bot by Mr Wakefield	..	..	..	}		1	6
	pd Robt Winkworth his Bill	..	..	..	..		7	6
14	pd John Winter Do.	..	..	..	..	2	2	2
	Lent Wm Plat on Note	..	..	..	..	11		
	pd for Advertizing the Estate & Crying of it	..	..	..	}		3	6
	pd Mr Budd by Drat on Mr Lowth 43li 8s. by John ffroom's Note 15li 15s. by John Beach's Do. 9li Cash 2li 4s.	..	..	..	}	70	7	
	pd Mr Cock his Bill	..	..	..	..	2	18	3
	pd Mr. Rogers Do.	..	..	..	..	6	10	
	pd Mr Wimpey Do.	..	..	..	..		5	
	pd Wm King Do.	..	..	..	..		19	1
	pd for Cord for Boxes Ct	..	..	..	..		2	
	pd for Boards & putting up Mrs Byron's Box (besides Cord)	..	..	..	}		2	11
	pd Mr Thos Harding for Valuing Wood on Ballance..	..	..	..	}	2	2	
	pd Mr Nias his Bill	..	..	..	..		16	
	pd Mr Beat for Heriots Eastwoodhay Expences	..	..	..	..	21	8	6
	Newbury Chaise Ct	..	..	..	..		10	6
	Turnpikes	..	..	..	..			6
	Reading Do.	..	..	..	..		9	6
15	Maidenhead Do.	..	..	..	..		12	
	Suppers	..	..	..	..		3	9
	Windsor Exps	..	..	..	..		2	
	Hounslow Chaise Ct	..	..	..	..		10	6
21	London Chaise Ct 9s. 9d.	..	..	..	}		10	3
	Turnpikes 6d.	..	..	..	}
	Enfield Do. 9s. 2d. Wine 6d.	..	..	..	..		9	8
	Ware Do. 14 : 2 Dinrs 3 : 6d.	..	..	..	..		17	8

	Royston Do. 9 : 9	..	..	..	..	9	9
	Turnpikes	..	..	..	..	1	6
	Caxton	..	..	..	..	8	3
22	Huntingdon	..	..	..	..	9	9
	Stilton	..	..	..	..	12	
	Turnpikes	..	..	..	..	2	
23	Stamford Suppers	..	..	..	..	3	9
	Chaise Ct	..	..	..	..	11	3
	Turnpike	..	..	..	..		6
	Coltsworth Chaise Ct	..	..	..	..	6	9
	Turnpike	..	..	..	..		9
	Grantham Chaise	..	..	..	..	12	
	Turnpike	..	..	..	..	1	6
	Breakfasts	..	..	..	..	1	4
	Newark Chaise Ct	..	..	..	..	11	3
	Tuxford Dinrs	..	..	..	..	2	6
	Chaise Ct 13s. 6d. Turnpike 1s.	..	..	..	..	14	6
	Bawtry Chaise	..	..	..	..	7	6
24	Doncaster Do. 12s. 9d. Tea Ct 1s. 6d.	..	..	..	..	14	3
	Ferrybridge Chaise Ct	..	..	..	..	13	6
	Weatherby Do. 10s. 6d. Breakfst						
	Is.	..	..	..	..	11	6
	Borroughbridge Do.	..	..	..	..	15	9
	Northallerton Do. 12s. 9d.						
	Dinners 3s.	..	..	..	..	15	9
	Turnpikes	..	..	..	..	3	10½
						222	12 4½
	Mistakes ..	..			..	14	5
						223	6 9½

Recd 1753

July

9	Of John Sandford for a pig sold to Mr Lloyd	5
11	Of John Sandford on Ballance	47 18 1
	Of Mr Thos Knight for Goods sold on Ballance	63 8 7
12	Of Wm Cottrel for old Iron.. .. .	12 6
	for an old half Hogshead	3 6
13	Of Farmer Collins for 4 Cart Harness & 3 plow traces	2 10
	Of Do. for Dung Cart	5 5
	Of Mr Stephen Brown for the postchaise	17 17
	Of Mr poor for a Tod of Wool	14
14	Of Wm Munday for loose Wood for Carts Ct	2 11 6
	Of John Sandford for Wheat in Barn, pease in sack & pease Straw	10
	Of Stephen Chaise Esqe for 3 Horses	28 7
	Of Do. for 3 Sheep	1 10
	Of Wm Plat on Ballance	12
	Of Revd Archdeacon Lowth by Drat on him to Mr Budd	43 8
	Of Sundry for Tithes	100 19 10½
		<hr/> 326 2 0½

THE CHURCHWARDENS' BOOK OF SHERIFF HUTTON, A.D. 1524-1568.

BY J. S. PURVIS, M.A.

More than one of the most historically interesting of the papers in the Diocesan Registry at York is there by what appears now as almost an accident. In particular, this refers to documents put in originally as evidence in causes and never detached from the file and returned to their source. Such documents in their present position form, of course, an essential part of a distinct entity—the group of papers connected with a cause, and cannot now properly be separated from that group, however much their absence from their original place of association may be regretted. An outstanding example of such a document is the Churchwardens' Book of Sheriff Hutton for the years between A.D. 1524 and 1568, which now is a part of the file for the cause "*Guardiani de Sherriff Hutton contra Bell & alios., 1613,*" amongst the still uncalendared Cause Papers in the Diocesan Registry. The defendants in this Cause were inhabitants of Farlington, a hamlet which is a member of Sheriff Hutton parish, and the charge concerned failure to contribute to the repair of Sheriff Hutton Church. The book is a volume of 55 folios of paper, 11 inches by 8, in the original cover of thick plain vellum. The three last folios are damaged and torn away with the exception of a vertical strip equal to less than a quarter of the page, but the rest of the book is generally in fair condition, except for some discoloration and fading due to damp.

This volume deserves attention on many accounts, but most of all for the exceptionally clear and detailed picture which it gives of the administration of a country parish during a period of exceptional importance in English ecclesiastical and social history. The entries begin in the reign of King Henry VIII and end in that of Elizabeth, so covering the whole period of the English Reformation in its most vital and constructive stages. Its destructive stages also. We begin with an inventory of Church goods in the year 1524, a copious and most valuable list; then, as the yearly statements of accounts go on, there are reflections of the religious changes under Henry VIII, the sweeping destruction of vestments and ornaments under Edward VI and the provision of a Communion table and other necessities according to the Reforms of that reign. Then, under Mary, the Churchwardens find themselves required to refit their Church and to replace most of what had been removed and destroyed, finally under Elizabeth to make yet other arrangements. The Reformation may be studied in the legislation enacted by Parliament or in the controversial literature of the time, but here it may be studied in a brilliant light in its actual

impact on a typical parish. This is the main matter and interest of a fascinating book, but there is much else: the repairs done to the church, notably the remarkably frequent repairs to the bells; the occasional references to parochial activities; even the spelling, with its illustration of contemporary dialect.

Inside front cover :—The hoole taxe of Sherofhoton xxs, iid. the Baytment iiiis. vid.

f.i. Anno domini Millesimo quingentesimo xxiiiio.

Inventory off all Anowrments whiche belongethe to the Church of Sherofhoton.

In primis ii Chalesis of sylver and a Barrell for the Sacraments.

Item two pyxis for the sacrament coper and gylte one for over the awter with the sacrament and another that is brokyn.

Item a grete Awmer bedde that hyngs by the Sacraments.

Item a pax withe the crucyfix Mary and John of laton.

Item (two cross with two shafts *struck out*) and I cros with two handbells.

Item two candyllstyks For the hye awter with ii sacrynge bells.

Item a pare of sensers of laton withe a Shipe for sens and a hale-water Fatt.

(Item a cresmatory of laton *struck out*) and two olde paxis of . . .

Item one cope of bawdkin of Sir Georg Lawson gyfte

Item one grene saten vestment of Sir Georg Lawson gyfte.

Item one whit cope of Mr. John Clapam gyfte.

Item two sutes of westyments with two cops one of grene satan the toder of rede sylke.

Item a blewe vestymment of velwett. A grene of saten. a Blew of Satan, A rede of Satan. A bard of sylke one albe and amys. two blake for Requiem the . . . wyrsett the toder of chamlet. one of chamlet with . . . A blew of sylke for sondaies. A blew of worsett for . . . daye. A white vestment with albe and ames A nolde vestment with a white for Lentyn with a chesable (for) god Fryday. one grene crose clothe.

Item one bord clothe of sylke for the awter. two frontlers. two clothis paynted with the xii Apostells. A cloth of red say for the hye alter. iii cote armors two of sylke the toder paynteyd. Two ray cloy- . . . One old cover for the alter two qwyshyns ii sylke.

Item . . . -t to Stytnam by the commaundement of John Ricerdson. One caype of Sir George Lawson gyfe.

One holde westment one old vestment (? without) . . .

f.Iv Item (vii *struck out*) vi corporaxis with casys (three casys without corporaxis *struck out*) vii of all.

Item xii awtercloythis & xv towells.

Item ii surpells and a nolde surples.

Item ii olde clothes for the cros of sylk.

Item iiiii Baner cloyths for the crose days.

Item Baner clothis for the sepulkyr of sylke.

Item a canepe to beyr above the sacrament.

Item a vale for Lentyn with ii white cloythis with rede crosses for the awter.
 Item a Cloyth for the lettryn & a noyther for Sanct Elyn.
 Item a clothe for the Crucifix in Lentyn with other lytle cloyths for sancts in Lentyn.
 Item a nolde Awmery in the Revestrye with ii chists.
 Item a pyk of yron and a lantron & one stock chist in the lofte.
 Item one crosse and the shaft with a lettron bought at York the thirty yere of the reing of our soferayn lord Kyng Henry the viii.

f.2. Item a nantifonary for the Vicar.

Item a Legand.

Item a Nordynarye

Item py pryntyd. A noder olde py wrytyn.

Item a nolde antyfonary to syng versis on.

Item two manuells.

Item a Messe boke for the hy awter.

Item a nolde messe boke for the Epistyll.

Item two graylls.

Item a Sawter with the Comon.

Item vi processionars iiij prynted & ii wrytyn.

Item a ymnall notyd.

Item one ymnall of the gyfte of Nutkyn wyfe.

Wax belongyng to the sepulcre lyght.

Sir Ric. Morton Vicar two pounds wax.

Sir. Bartilmewe Stable ii ponds wax.

Sir. Tho. Parishe ii pounds wax.

Mr. John Clapham ii pounds wax.

Mr. Christopher Clapham ii pounds wax.

(And Robt. Redhed, Ric. Preston—Nich. Tood struck out—Mr. John Hedelam, Adham Stabeler, Robt. Shirwyn and Bryan Johnson, ii pounds wax each).

f.2v blank. A leaf torn out before f. 3.

f. 3. Church Wardens of Sherofhoton Anno Domini MCCCCXXXVIII
 Et anno regni regis Henrici octavi xxx.

Cristofer Fissher

Adam Daill

Richerd Jeffrayson

Thomas Richerdson of Lylling Churchwardens.

Receptus. In primis Receyvyd at thier Enteryng by the hands of
 their predecessors Robert Marshall John Peckey John
 Wryght & Richerd Bruke. iiid.

Item Rec. of John Smythe for hay iis.

Item Rec. of Christopher Clapham in part payment of Master
 John Clapham bequest to the Church which is xxs. vs.

Item Receyved of Robert Grene wyfye for the beryall of her
 husband in the Church iiis. iiid.

Item Rec. of Chris. Clapham xvs.

Item Rec. of Wm. Stable wyffe iis.

Item Rec. of Sherefhoton to the Church	xiiis. viid.
Item Rec. of Lylling to the Church	iiiis. vd.
Item Rec. of Ferlyngton to the Church	iiiis. viiid.
Item Rec. for the Rowell	iiiis. ix. ob.

Summa Receptus Liis. id. ob.

Item Rec. of John Bryggs & George Skalls the viii day of Aprell for a balk of medewe	xvid.
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f.3v blank. f.4.

Theis ar the parcells of money paid by the said Church Wardens
Anno domini MCCCCXXXVIII.

In primis paid for one bell roope precii	xd.
Item. pd. for whitledder to the bells	xd.
Item pd. to Roger Neyle for glaysyng the glasse wyndos thrughe the church	vs.
Item pd. to Thomas Plummer of Gyllyng for solder to the Church leadds	iiid.
Item pd. to Edwd. Slater for lyme and warkmanshipe spent about the steple	vid.
Item pd. to Edward Slayter for payvyng the Church	viiid.
Item. pd. at York for ii Buckskynns	iiiis. iiid.
Item in expensis to Adham Daill and Richerd Jeffrayson for the amendyng the forebell whele and for a new bushe makyng.	vid.
Item pd. for lyme to the church payvyng	iid.
Item pd. to the boke bynder in pairt of payment	xiid.
for claspis to the boks.	
Item pd. for a tre to sett tapers opon byfore the sacrament and for warkmanshipe	viiid.
Item pd. for ii calfe Skynns xiid. and for v shepekynns xd	xxiid.
Item pd. for ii Cruetts to the hye alter	viiid.
Item pd. for naylls to Robt. Richerdson	id. ob.
Item pd. for tyele to the Church halies	iid.
Item pd. for mendyng the chales and for lynclothe	xxd.
Item to Ric. Jeffrayson for expenses at York ii tymes	viid.
Summa pagine xixs. xd. ob.	

f.4v.

Item paid to Hopton of Yorke for a crosse and the shaft vis.	viiid.
Item paid for a lettron bought of the said Hopton	iiiis. iiid.
Item paid to the boke bynder for coveryng of ix boks that is to say a cowcher, a legend, oon antyphoner, ii masse boks, a salter, a proccessioner, ii boks of the Bible	vs.
Item for the amendyng of a cowcher of the gyfte of Sir Robt. Awkeland	iiid.
Item pd. to Sir Robt. Tornor for the halfe Bible	iiiis. iid.
Item pd. to Wm. Wryter of Tyrryngton for a shepe skyne	iid.
Item pd. to the clerke of my lord presedent closett for the hawloeng of one vestiment and for the chales	xiid.
Item for viii yards of tuckyng gyrdylls	iiid.
Item in expens. at Yorke for the crosse and the lettron and con- cernyng other besyness	iiid.

- Item for yron and warkmanshipe to the candylstyks which was
remevyd forthe of the Chapell and set byfore the sacrement iid.
- Item pd. to the Smythe for the amending of the Church doore
locke and key and for naylls to the same iid.
- Item pd. for one stay in the Vestre iid. to the Carpenter iiid to
iiii men in breade and aile id. ob. vid. ob.
- Item pd for ii skynns and makyng of two qwusshynns vid.
- Item pd. for solder to the plumber and his dyner iiid.
- Item pd. to the smyth for the amending of a bar of yron when
the church was brokyn iiid.
- Item in brede and Aylle to the plumber and warkemen id.
- Summa pagine xxiis. iiid. ob.

f.5.

- Item pd. at Yorke for the expens. of iiii men the space of iii days
at the syes tyme concernyng the prisoners which brack the
church and for wryteng the Indytements vis.
- Item pd. of Ashwedyn day at York for the examinacion of the
prisoners and iiii men expens. the same day to knowe thyr
confession iis. vid.
- Item for makyng iii bawdregs for the bells iiid.
- Item for wax and makyng of the Rowell per weyk iiis. iid. ob.
- Summa xis. xid. ob. Summa totalis liiis. iid. ob.

This is followed by a declaration of the Churchwardens that the above is a "Rekenyng" of all receipts, "all thyngs alowed and quit," on 8 April 1539. Then comes in another hand and ink, a note full of interesting technical terms in agriculture.

"John Grensyd A blake Fyllye and trots all with a Tayll somthing graye & stoned the fare eayre & ret in the nar eayre and under byt in the same. A blake wether a headles crose upon the nar fore shoulder a blot of tar on the tayll head & twyse under byt in the ffar eayre & ret in the nar eayre & halteth on a hynder legg.

The fyllye iii yeres olde and upwarde."

The accounts for the year 1539 follow. The receipts in this year amounted to 16s. 1d. only, and the items are not of particular interest except :—

- "Item Rec. of sertayn wyffs gadred in the Church to the makyng
of ane surplesse xxiid.
- "Item Rec. of John Cob for one Eshetre (i.e., Ash tree) gyvyn to
the Church be Mr. Steward Sir Thomas Corwen Knyght iis."

The payments are more notable :—

- "In primis pd. for vi yards clothe to the surples besydz iii yards
which remayned in the Church of the gyft of one good wyff
iiis. iiid.
- Item pd. for makyng of the same surples. xiid.
- Item pd. for the holy brede skepe id.
- Item pd. to Robt. Boog of Yorke for mendyng of one glasse
wyndow brokyn with thevys xd.

(Plumber's wages for 2 days, 5d. and his "serofer," 3d.; two bell ropes, 18d.; "weshyng the curche clothis at Cristenmas, 4d.; and the same at Pashe; two bell "bawdregyss," 2d.; a load of sand, 3d. and 6 loads of earth, 8d.;)

Item pd. to the smythe for makyng a staple to the organs and for mendyng the apiltre iid.

Item pd. for the hooll costs concernyng the Rowell vs. vid.

Item pd. for amendyng the Judas that candylls is sett opon in Passion weke iiid.

The next account is not dated, but from internal evidence is for 1540; it is in another hand, and the spelling is even wilder than before. It begins with a curious list of alterations made to the vestments :—

"for mendyng off gere.

Imprimis for mendyng two tunyces takyng forth bake and belly off theym setting new thayr yn

Item takyng asonder a quope makyng thayr off the foresayd tunyces bak and bely and makyng also off the said quope a coveryng to the hye alter.

Item takyng asonder an olde albe makyng thayr off two amis hodyis & two payre of slevis too other two albis.

Item takyng asonder ii alter clothes makyng thayr off one alter clothe & one amis hode

Item for mendyng iii albe slevis belongyng to the best sute off rede

Item for mendyng off a blake vestmentt takyng sunder an old bard clothe to lyne yt withall

Item for mendyng the albe skyrts belongyng to the old blew vestment for warkdayes the which skerts was stolne when the chyrch was robd

Item for mendyng an albe belongyng to the wars soote off rede

Item for a surpclothe mendyng

Payde for all hole to gyther xxid."

The other payments were for the usual washing, mending of the bell-whele and the "chyrche allis," nails, whytleder, and "cloke mendyng." The receipts begin with 9s. 4d. for various bequests; then, xiid. for the "crokyd ake," and amongst other things, iiis. iiid. which the parish contributed for the mending of the clock. A further list of payments includes iid. for "a litle rope for the sanctus bell," and evidently the steeple was in bad order, for there are payments of iid. to Thomson and id. each to his two servants for "seyng the Stepull" The next list, which appears to be for "the xxxiiiith yere of the rineg of oure soffarand Lord Kynge Henre the hight." There is little new; 8d. for half a hide of white leather, 4d. for a mett of lime, the church allies, the washing and the bell bawdryges have their usual notice; mending the "bel kylpis," bell wheels, and "makyng of gret brags to the mendyng off the stalis" are mentioned. Later in the year the Churchwardens turned their attention to the repair of the Church leads and the floor; the great bell wanted a string; the sanctus bell

a mended frame, and the little bell a mended wheel; the "vale" wanted a 2d. cord, and a pennyworth of sope was bought to "wysche corporaxes." The mysterious "Rowell" wanted re-making, and a penny cord was provided for it.

The next list is for the year 1545; it contains some valuable details of field names.

"in the Styddyng Resayved of George Cowpland for medawe xiiid.
the Hall Balk Item Rec. of Thomas Sharre for medewe iis. viiid.
in the Thenes balk Item Rec. of John Hixson for medewe In the
hands of Richerd Jeffrayson xxiid."

With f.12 we come to the first definite references to religious changes.

"Anno R.R. Henrici Octavi xxxviii.

Furst paid to the tayllor for makyng the fruntclothe for the hie
alter opon the two old coots vid.
Item for amending a stole id.
Item for fellyng iiii treis bought at Marton for the church e iiii.
Item paid for carieng stonns & fleykks in to the storre house iid.
Item paid for expens. at the Vesitacion ix.
Expenss costs & chargs at York concernyng Chantres & Chapells
by for the Kyngs Commyssioners iiid.
Item pd. for wrytyng to sundre persons xis.
Item pd. for iiii men expens at York the space of two dais & two
nyghtts them and thyr horses vs. iiii.
Nota Item pd. for expens of foure Church wardens & two men
at Sherefhoto when they had lawber and besyness con-
cernyng the kyngs majeste Commyssion" iiis.

The accounts for 1547 show that the changes in the reign of Edward VI involved the incumbent and the Churchwardens in much travel about the country. After the usual payments for Visitation and mending of the bells, we have :—

"Item pd. for costs & chaurgs at Allerton of vii persons when
we war commandyd to go to the kyngs majestie vesitors
their
Item pd. at Thryske for vii mens dyners iiid.
Item pd. for horse meate their xiiid.
Item pd. for super at Allerton opon Wenysday at nyght xxid.
Item pd. of Thursdye at dyner and soper for vii men iis. vid.
Item pd. for dyner at Newburghe xiiid.
Item pd. for wrytyng of our byll and when we resayved the said
bill ayane viid.
Item pd. for expens. at Esyngwold for the Vicar & two men
with hym xiid.
Item pd. for the Kyngs mate Injunccions iiid.

Two later items in this year have undoubtedly some inter-connection.

"Item pd. for the bokes of the Injunccions with other xxd.
{ Item pd. for iii locks to the almus chyst xvid.
{ Item pd. foe hespis & stapills to the said chist vid.

In the year 1548, there are items which owe their presence to the requirements of the Royal Injunctions :

Item pd. more then we resavyd for byyng off the coloke of Herassimus viiid.

Item for ii inventory wryttyn for the chorch goods & for wrytyn & expensis for the said chorch xvid.

Item for wrytyng off such thyng be belonging to the chorch of Sheryffhoton" iiiid.

The "lyttylbelbawdryg" makes its regular appearance for mending.

At this point a brief reminder of the principal events of these times may be of service.

1536. Cromwell's Injunctions ordered Bibles to be provided in Churches.

1539. Act of Six Articles.

1543. Publication of "the King's Book," a manual of doctrine based on the "Bishops' Book" of 1537.

1545. Act for the dissolution of Chantries.

1546. Publication of the Royal Injunctions and the First Book of Homilies.

New Chantries Act.

1547. The Royal Visitation.

1549. The First Prayer Book and First Act of Uniformity.

1553. The Forty-Two Articles.

1553. All Edward's religious legislation reversed.

1559. Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy, Act of Uniformity, Royal Injunctions and Visitation, and Ecclesiastical Commission.

To return to the Churchwardens' accounts. In "the therd yere off our sofferand lord Kyng Edward the Sext" we find :

"Item pd. for the bowke off newserwis iiis. iiiid.

Item payd for our costs at Yorke that day iiiid.

Item payd to Clarke for one bouke byeing at Yorke at thay syng mese on (i.e., that they sing Mass on) xvid.

Item payde for Fywe men when thay went to Marton to the commyssyon iis. iid.

Item pd. to Stewen Francys for a grepp maykyng about the chorch iiiid.

Item pd for a sauter at Yorke . . .

Item pd. for Mr. Vycar & fower kyrke wardons & for our horss when we went to Yorke with bouks iiis. iiiid.

and, of course the usual 2d. for the "lytell bell bawdryg."

The receipts included "Resvyd for candtlstyxx belonging to the Chorche ix. viiid."

In 4 Edward VI there were journeys to the Wesytation and to Commissions at Sutton (on the Forest ?) and York, and indications of the effect in the Church of the new regulations concerning altars :

"Item paid for i galland of hayle & other chargs when the alters was powlyng downe vid.

Item paid to Thomas Was for a taybyll of woode iis. viiid.

Item paid for makyng of taybyll clothe iid."

There is also the cost of writing the now yearly inventory of Church goods and for "whyetleder & makyng of abaudrygg & i iereng boubyll to the myddylbell vd."

The following year has no mention of alterations in the Church, but there are references to field names which are worth notice :

"Md. that thay (Richard Preston & Robt. Crosbye) occupied them selves sertayn Common balks in the feilds & did lette ferme other to sondre folks and Rec. money for them contrarie right agaynst the wyll of neyghtbors which was wont to be putt'n good use for upholdyng the Church by the church wardens & not restored agayne.

Richerd Preston & Robt. Crosbie the stripe Rayn & Langland balk.

Mathewe Stirthe the farside of thenes (? thenos) for that he pd. xxd. to them.

Symond Faybarne & Wm. Richerdson smyth the buskye balke.

Thomas Byers & Stirthe wyffe the sandeland balk & the halbalk.

Thomas Nevyson the balk be the cawsie side.

Thomas Wryght one balke & pd. for yt xiid. to the said Ric. and Rob.

Peter Nycholson for balks in the Riddyng.

Symond Faybarne & Myles Leylom for sertayn balks when thay war Constabills."

In 1552 the Churchwardens appear to have had considerable business concerning a bell which they took down and sold, and did much travelling about "commissions." The new Communion table and the new Prayer Book also entered into their calculations.

"paid by the Church wardens anno r.r. E. VI^{ti} VI^{to}.

Furst paid for makyng the communion table to Thomas Wasse viiid.

Item pd. for bread & drynke to them that wrought at the bell the furst day xiiid.

Item pd. for oyr sundre expens the secund day when the mettell was weyed vid.

Item pd. to the smythe for his paynes takyng iiid.

Item pd. for cariege of the bell to York Stephen Conyes iis. viiid.

Item pd. for oyr expens in the churche when thay came fro Yorke viiid.

Item pd. for expens of viii men at Yorke with the bell iiis.

...

Item pd. for the bouke of newe servyce for mynistracion of the Communion vs. iiid.

Item pd. for bread & wyne at Cristenmas to the Communion in Malvesey viid.

Item pd. to Nycholls paynter & Stephen Davy for a base to the table of Communion iid."

The expenses on Commissions were exceptionally heavy :—

12d. at Thirsk at "the Kyngs Majesties Comysson, 2s. 8d. at Gyllyng, 3s. 4d. at Styllington and another 15d. at Gyllyng, 21d. at Malton, 12d. to John Fisher "for our wrytyng to the Com-myssioners," and finally :—

"Item for the Vicar & iii churchwardens at Yorke when thay war byfore the Kyngs majesties counsaill concernyng the church goods & the bell for their expens for ii dais at iis. vid. & for makyng the obligacion for delyverey of xli. for the bell at the commandement . . .

The next list, beginning on f.19, though headed "Churche wardens Anno r.r. E. VI^{ti} VII^{to}", soon carried on into the next reign, and the Marian changes are soon reflected.

"Item paed to thre worke men for setteng up ower he allter and for al & bred the sam da iis. iiid.

Item paed for ower chargs tow men rydyng to Gyllyng and for oder tow chyrch wardons costs that sam da when the allter was set up xvid.

Item paed for the chargh of tow men rydyng to Yorke to pot a soblecacion to my lord & for the makken of the same iiis. iiid.

Item payd by Sir Edward Gower to Thomas Richardson the Sondaye before seynt Mathewes daye 1553 for byeng of bokes to the churche xs.

. . . .
Item John Blenkinsop delyvered on mas boke on owlde portes to parrys shorche for the desscharge of xs. parsell of a mor somm aweng to the chorche in hys hands

. . . .
Item pd. by me Wyllm. Readhed for boks that I bought to sarrave the schurch for to sa and syng the owld sarves a cordyng to the qwen grasce request xxs.

Item thes be the boks that wer bowght & thar names on anteffener on pessel boke on grale on mannewel on pressasener

. . . .
Item paed for on boke called a emmnall to the chorche xd."

The next list is undated, but probably is for the following year.

"Item payd to George Skalles for mayndyng of one banere clothe Item payd for the Rodde (i.e., Rood) xxs.

of the wyche xxs. Rocherd Gyffrasone and Jhon Pycytt layde done of there charges iiis.

Item payd for carreyng the rodde frome York viiid.

Item for expencyssys at Yorke whan the rode was bodhe & setyng ytt upe viiid.

. . . .
Item paid to Mr. Vicar . . . of the popes pardons viiis. iiid.

The Churchwardens "chosyn off Weddynsdaie in Ester Wek In the fyrst and secund yere of the Kings and queynes majesties raine etc" were Stevyn Conyars, John Harryson, Willm. Whitoak and Thomas Sharr.

The book now enters on long lists of assessments; 24 "hussbandmen" at 4d. each and two at 2d. There were 48 "gressmen" at 1d. each, 9 of them women. At the hamlet of Lelling Maister Clapame was assessed at 12d., 8 others at 4d. each, one at 2d., and eleven at 1d. each. The account lists which follow contain little that is new; the usual expenditure on bells, washing, bands and nails for the church door, "deghtyn the churche ylls (a more than usually phonetic way of spelling "Digthing the church aisles"); and Visitation expenses. But other items show that the Marian changes were proceeding :—

"Item paid for the Rode Clothe sewyng and shaping to George	
Skales	vd.
Item paide to panter for pantyng the saide clothe and nales for	
the same	iis. ix.
. . .	
Item paid to Thomas Wasse for a pullie for sakerment	
Item paid to Cristofare Cobe for messe bok	
Item payd for our charges goyng to Yorke to by thes thyngs	
foloyd	xd.
Item payd for one proressoner to the cherche	viid.
Item payd for one pare of sensers	vs. viid.
Item payd for mendyng off the crestemtarey	viid.
Item payd for mendyng our organnes	iiis.

The last two items, or at least that referring to the chris-matory, as well as a previous item which referred to old service books kept by John Blenkinsop, suggest that the church furniture condemned by the Edwardian reforms had not been destroyed but only concealed. This undoubtedly was done in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, as the Visitation Books and Ecclesiastical Commission Act Books amply witness.

"Item payd for lynnyng clothe to make one hamys hode	xd.
Item payd for sewyng the same & iiiii toylls	iiiiid.
Item payd for mendyng vecars surpcloth & clarke surpcloth	iiiiid.
. . .	
payd for one vayll iiis. iiiid. for one corde to the vayll	iiiiid.
payd for mendyng the sepullcre	iiiiid."

Folios 26 to 30 are occupied by assessment lists, and after this section it is difficult to be certain of the right order of the lists which follow, for while the first is almost undoubtedly that for 1558 and gives hints of the early Elizabethan reforms, folios 34 to 46 explicitly belong to 34 Henry VIII and the next three years; they contain nothing of any kind which we have not already seen.

But first, a few extracts from the accounts in 1558/9 :—

Payd to the orgayne mak(yng)	iiiiili. iiis. iiiid.
------------------------------	-----------------------

paid to Barthyll Dayll for fetcheyng of the organns home xviid.
payd for bread & drynke that day the organns came home xviid.
payd for in bread and drynk that tyme that the organs was in
settyng up xid.
payd for bread and drenke when we towke the loft downe in
the quere viiid.

spent at Yorke when we fetched the organmaker and for his
dynner that day

One item on f. 33v seems to refer to the Royal Visitation of the autumn of 1559.

“Item spent at Yorke beffore the quenes veseters & for makyn
of our byll iis. viiij.

The last ten leaves of the volume are fragmentary, much mutilated and in places where the leaf is not torn the writing is quite washed away by damp. Out of these may be rescued :—

“A Certayn Lay mayed by Syr Edward Goower knyght Mr. Westrope befor the sayse of all the hole parisheng For certayn books that is to say a byble of the greatest volume a communion booke the Injunctions and the Articles and the sayed curchemaistres to pay for the bookes the some of iiii nobles xiid. 1562 (? 1569; the last figure is blotted).

The list of the persons assessed follows, in Sheriff Hutton (divided as husbandmen and gryssmen), Lyll yng, Norings and Cornebrought. Then,
Somme of all wyche the curchmasters hayth resaved for payeng
for the books of the parychyng is xxiiis. viid. and xvs. of
Arther Gylbertsonne that is in all xxxviiiis. viid.

Miscellaneous expenses amounted to xiis., and the year's accounts end :—

“Somme totall of all that we the curchmasters have resaved both
of the parishenge & also the hole Rent of Arther Gulbertsone
howse one yere ys.

Summe totoll payed for the books fower nobles xiid. and for
expencis xiis. the books payed for and expenses payed yet
owyng to the curchmastres.

Also for wrytyng a complaynt unto the dayn at the vesetacion at Tyrryngton afor our count was mayed
Sir yf yt plese youe mastershypps thes to be the curchmastres
Rycherd Jeffrasone Richerd Pryston Christefore Cobe &
Thomas Rychardson of Lyllyng."

The volume appears to end with the accounts for 1568, but the last four folios are much too fragmentary to be at all intelligible. Yet even with this unfortunate mutilation, this little book is of great interest and of no little historical value.

WHITBY ABBEY.
 “JOHN OF BROMPTON” INSCRIPTION.
 WHITBY NATURALISTS’ CLUB’S
 IMPORTANT FIND.

By PERCY BURNETT, Hon. Secretary,
 Whitby Naturalists’ Club.

It is thought desirable to place on record the finding, by the Archæological Section of the Whitby Naturalists’ Club, of an inscribed stone, which has proved to be a part of the long-lost fragment from the “John of Brompton” pillar in the north transept of Whitby Abbey.

It was known that much of the dry field-walling of Abbeylands Farm, which is adjacent to the abbey, had been built with material taken from the fallen masonry of the extensive monastic buildings. A close examination of these walls was therefore made on July 24th, 1943, and revealed a large number of carved and ornamented stones. In addition, and built into the inner side of a wall bounding the roadway at the eastern end of Green Lane, there was discovered a stone, showing on its backward curving edge, a letter “O.” Use of a mirror revealed an adjoining letter “h.” Upon removal from the wall, the inner surface was found to be covered with mediæval lettering. Due to its having been built into the wall with the inscribed surface inwards, this lettering was exceedingly well preserved. It was at once realised that here might be part of the missing inscription, which for so long a period had been the subject of conjecture. When taken to the transept, the stone fitted exactly though it did not completely fill, the space in the pillar.

The desirability of having the authenticity of the stone established by the highest authority was appreciated, and the Club was honoured by the assistance of Professor A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A., C.B.E., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., Hon.A.R.I.B.A., whose report has now been received.

By courtesy of the proprietors of the *Whitby Gazette*, a copy of the original woodcut from Dr. Young’s *History of Whitby* is reproduced here. This woodcut shows the inscription on the pillar as it was in Young’s time, and while this lettering is, for the most part, still traceable, yet the hands of time and weather have sadly worn away the inscribed surface.

Attention is directed to a row of incomplete letters on the lower edge of the stone as shown in the photograph, also to the one part-letter from another line in the upper right-hand corner. All trace of the half-letters which must have been on the next lower pillar stone, has long since gone.

Marks of contraction appear over the part-letter at the bottom left of the stone, as also over the "O" in "Brumton" on the woodcut.

The second photograph shows the stone in situ, and reveals little trace of the lettering seen in Young's illustration.



From Dr. Young's *History of Whitby*.

HISTORICAL REFERENCES.

Whitby history shows that there has been much conjecture as to what was the long-lost inscription. It will be appropriate to give some relevant extracts.

CHARLTON.

Lionel Charlton, in his *History of Whitby* (published 1779), p. 265, writes :

"In the year 1413, died Thomas of Bolton, Abbot of Whitby, and was succeeded by a Monk called John of Skelton, who by the chapter there, was elected Abbot in his room on 6 Nov. 1413. During the time of this Abbot's reign, John of Brompton (so called from a village near Semar, where he was born) took upon him the habit of a Benedictine Monk, and lived more than twenty years in Whitby Abbey. He had an extraordinary genius for letters, and made such improvement in the arts and sciences, that he was accounted the best scholar of the age in which he lived . . . After much solicitation, he set about writing the annals of the English nation; a work that was the labour of many years.

This, Brompton intirely composed while resident in Whitby Abbey. . . And here I cannot help animadverting upon the illiberal reflections made by the translator of Rapin on this great ornament of our Monastery, who endeavours to insinuate his inability to compose such a work . . . This chronicle commences about the year 588, . . . and ends in the year 1198, which was the period it was brought down to when Brompton left Whitby, anno 1436. It is true he carried his chronicle along with him to Joreval, . . . he lived there as Abbot. . .

A Latin inscription, which is the only one that now appears in Whitby Abbey, and is yet partly legible on a pillar in the choir, shows the great veneration afterwards paid to the memory of this historian by our Convent, who cut out the same to perpetuate through future ages his having been one of their fraternity. It contained the following words, viz., "Johannes de Brumton quondam famulus Dei in hoc monasterio extructo in honorem Dei et Virginis beatæ Mariæ." That is, John of Brompton was formerly a servant of God in this monastery built in honour of God and the blessed Virgin Mary.

About the year 1740, an illiterate fellow, not understanding the meaning of this inscription, took it into his head that it contained an account of some treasure concealed in the pillar where it was; to obtain which, he went privately in the night, and knocked out the centre or middle stone thereof; but, to his great disappointment, met with no money. The inscription is now imperfect; and the above is taken from a copy thereof preserved by the Rev. Mr. Borwick, formerly minister of this place, from whom I received it more than twenty years ago."

YOUNG.

In 1817, Dr. Young's *History of Whitby* appeared, and more suggestions are given (p. 341 et seq.) :—

"On the north pillar in the north transept, facing the north-east angle, there has been an inscription on one of the small columns in the cluster. This inscription, the only one in all the building, probably related to the erection of the transept; but it is now in a very mutilated state . . . The middle part of the inscription being entirely gone, it is difficult to say what has been the subject of it; especially as those who have pretended to give a complete copy have evidently filled up the chasm according to their own fancy. Were we to suppose, with some, that the inscription related to John of Brompton, the historian, and was designed to record his erecting some part of this transept, this would bring down the date of its erection to near the middle of the 15th century; a notion which the style of the architecture will not admit of. It is more probable that this was another John of Brompton, or, rather, Brumton, the architect who built this transept, or at least some part of it, and thought proper by this inscription to perpetuate his fame. . . .

"It is clear that the inscription as preserved by the Rev. Mr. Borwick, and given to Charlton, must be erroneous; for our monastery was not built in honour of the Virgin Mary, but of St. Peter and St. Hilda.

"Burton (*Monas.* p. 82) gives a very different copy, also taken by a minister of Whitby, in A.D. 1737; at which time, notwithstanding what Charlton says, it appears to have been almost as imperfect as it is now. His copy is: '*Johnes de Brumpton quondam famulus Dei in hoc . . . hunc Thureum in perpetuum in honorem beatæ Mariæ.*'

"This, though incorrectly copied, gives a more probable reading than Charlton's (supposing 'thureum' to be put for 'thuricremium')—John of Brumpton once a servant of God in this [monastery, erected] this altar to the lasting honour of the blessed Mary.

"We can easily suppose than an altar was erected to the honour of the virgin Mary in the aisle of this transept, where there are three small arches or niches in the north wall, and a recess in the middle one. Yet this reading seems also to be conjectural, for in the Appendix to Gent's '*History of Rome*' (p. 1, Note) I find another copy totally different from both the above: '*Johannes de Brumton, quondam famulus Domino De-La-Phe, has columnas erexit in metum et honorem beatæ Mariæ*'—John of Brumton, formerly servant to Lord De-La-Phe, erected these pillars, in reverence and honour of the blessed Mary. This reading has the appearance of being more authentic than either of the former; both because the inscription is on one of the pillars, and because some part of it is very unlikely to have been a supplement: besides, though Gent's work was not printed till the year 1740, he had probably obtained the inscription long before, or had copied it from some more ancient work, for he makes no mention of its being mutilated. If his copy be correct, it is clear that the inscription has no relation to Brompton, the Abbot of Joreval, and writer of the Chronicle; but records the name of the builder, which was Brumton. It is not improbable that this part of the church might be dedicated to the virgin Mary, as it was very common for one saint to have an altar, shrine, or chantry, in a church that belonged to another saint; and the rich arcade or range of niches, extending along the west and north walls, favours the supposition. I am at a loss to know who this Lord De-La-Phe was. There was a William del Fehus, son of Robert del Fehus, of North Loftus, a near relation of the Brus family, among the benefactors to Guisborough Priory . . . I know not upon what authority Charlton states that Brompton, the historian, spent more than twenty years in Whitby Abbey."

Later, page 402, Young again expresses doubt as to the claim of our Abbey to John of Brompton, the historian. "If it had the honour of producing him, he must have changed his religious order, like St. Robert; for Joreval, of which he was Abbot, belonged also to the Cistercians."

ATKINSON.

Canon J. C. Atkinson, in addition to reviewing previous theories, had one of his own. In "Ancient Whitby and its Abbey," pp. 67-8, and in "Memorials of Old Whitby," at page 138, we read :
 "... the fairly certain hypothesis that the central bay of the north transept aisle, according to an arrangement by no means unusual in large churches where there was no special Lady Chapel, may have been appropriated to the altar specially dedicated to the Virgin's honour and service." [Young was apparently in ignorance of the arrangement just named].

"There is no question as to the fact that an altar, with its adjuncts of aumbry and piscina, has stood there; and assuming it, as we must, to have been dedicated to Our Lady, it might be possible, out of the three imperfect or unsatisfactory readings of the inscription which have been recorded, to construct one which may be reasonable. Two of these readings coincide as far as 'Johannes de Brompton quondam famulus Dei in hoc,' after which 'monasterio,' given in Charlton, may be fitly supplied, and after that the choice will lie between 'has columnas erexit,' and 'hunc thureum extruxit,' or 'hoc altarium extruxit,' 'in metum et honorem Virginis Beatæ Mariæ'; or 'in perpetuum honorem Virginis Beatæ Mariæ.' 'Thureum' is inadmissible, and 'in perpetuum honorem' is preferable to 'in metum et honorem.' So that the entire reading might be 'Johannes de Brompton, quondam famulus Dei in hoc monasterio, hoc altarium extruxit in perpetuum honorem Virginis Beatæ Mariæ.'

"If this hypothesis be conceded to be reasonable, there would be this inference to be deduced: the inscription would be of the nature of an epitaph. 'Quondam famulus Dei in hoc monasterio'—which words are really ascertained, I think—can only imply that the person named has been a member of the monkish community. 'Famulari Deo' is a recognised phrase to imply the service or manner of life of a monk. But this monk, Johannes de Brompton, was no longer a monk; he was 'quondam famulus,' and a professed monk only ceased to be a 'famulus Dei' by death. The probable, if not necessary, meaning of the inscription then is that it was through his agency or at his cost that this chapel to the Virgin in the north transept was built and dedicated. The merest glance at the adjoining pillars shows how elaborate the parclose erected in connection with the altar really must have been."

SUGGESTIONS SUMMARISED.

There are, therefore, four suggestions as to the complete reading of the inscription; they may be summarised as follows :

1. Charlton—"Johannes de Brumton quondam famulus Dei in hoc monasterio extructo in honorem Dei et Virginis beatæ Mariæ."



Photograph by J. W. O'Donnell.

THE INSCRIBED STONE.

2. Young (Burton)—“Johnes de Brumpton quondam famulus Dei in hoc . . . hunc Thureum in perpetuum in honorem beatæ Mariæ.”

3. Young (Gent)—“Johannes de Brumton, quondam famulus Domino De-La-Phe, has columnas erexit in metum et honorem beatæ Mariæ.”

4. Atkinson—“Johannes de Bromton quondam famulus Dei in hoc monasterio, hoc altarium extruxit in perpetuum honorem Virginis Beatae Mariæ.”

PROFESSOR THOMPSON'S REPORT AND INTERPRETATION.

31st October, 1943.

. . . “I have carefully considered the conjectural versions of the inscription, to which I think it is highly probable that the stone belongs and, although there are still gaps which cannot be filled up with certainty, I do not think that there can be much doubt with regard to its general meaning. I read the two perfect lines :

V M I N P P E
T V V M I N H O

i.e., UM IN PERPETUUM IN HO. I think also that your reading of the rest as NOREM BEA, is quite right, and that TE MARIE finished up the inscription on a lower line, as in Young's illustration. I do not, however, feel at all sure of what is still missing. What I think is meant is that John Brompton founded a chantry service at the neighbouring altar. That this John Brompton was the chronicler may be dismissed at once as improbable, for the lettering is of too early a date, in addition to which he was a Cistercian, which in itself would make it more than unlikely that he was ever a monk at Whitby. I also should rather doubt whether he was a monk at all, for, if he were a monk, he could command no private property from which a service of this kind could be endowed; and I am thus inclined to think that he was a lay benefactor. FAMVLVS DEI is probably right, and DOMINO DE-LA-PHE in Young's second reading is a very wild suggestion. IN HOC MONASTERIO may thus be omitted, and the readings EXTRVCTO, HAS COLVMNAS EREXIT IN METVM ET, HOC ALTARIVM EXTRVXIT HVNC THVREVM are all guesswork. Young's first reading seems as near as anything, save for HVNC THVREVM, as THVREVM and THVREICREMIVM are, so far as I know, unknown words, and, if they meant anything, would refer, not to an altar, but a censor. ALTARIVM as suggested by Atkinson, is possible, though ALTARE is much more usual. But inscriptions of this kind, where they are found, generally refer, not to building, but to the foundation of services or to the consecration of altars. I think that something nearer the truth would be

IOHANNES
DE BRVMTŌ
QVONDAM
FAMVLVS
DEI IN HOC
ALTARI FVN
DAVIT SERVICI
VM IN PPE
TVVM IN HO
NOREM BEA
TE MARIE

i.e., JOHN OF BROMPTON, SOMETIME (in his life time) A SERVANT OF GOD FOUNDED AT THIS ALTAR A SERVICE (or, the service at this altar) FOR EVER IN HONOUR OF BLESSED MARY.

This is, of course, guesswork, like the rest, but it looks to me rather nearer the real thing, and would have filled the vacant space sufficiently, allowing for possible contractions, e.g.,

ALTARI FVD
AVIT SVICI
for ALTARI FVN
DAVIT SERVICI

while, of course, AD HOC ALTARE would do as well as IN HOC ALTARI. I should say that the date of the inscription is late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the Lombardic lettering pointing to about 1300 as a central date. This is the best that I can do, and I hope that it may be of some assistance.

Yours sincerely,

A. Hamilton Thompson."

Attention is drawn to the "double P" abbreviation as revealed in the photograph, meaning "PERP"; also a double "v," meaning "vv" = uu.

The Urban District Council of Whitby are the owners of the wall wherein the stone was found, and their permission was sought to place the find temporarily in the Whitby Museum, with a request that an opportunity be given to the Club to recover any other carved or ornamented stones now in the farm walls if and when repair work was being undertaken.

In their reply, the Council congratulated the Club on its find, and readily granted permission to remove the stone, as proposed, also gave facilities for the examination and removal of any other interesting specimens which might be discovered.

A suggestion has been made that, after the war is over, the Whitby Naturalists' Club should, with the approval of H.M. Office of Works, restore the stone to the pillar in the north transept of the Abbey. It would, however, be necessary to devise some means



Photograph by J. W. O'Donnell.

THE STONE IN THE PILLAR.

of protecting that part of the pillar from the weather, otherwise the inscribed surface would rapidly deteriorate.

The inscribed stone is now on exhibition in the Whitby Museum.

LIST OF REFERENCES.

- L. Charlton, "History of Whitby" (1779), pp. 265-6.
G. Young, "History of Whitby" (1817), pp. 341-3, 353, 402-3.
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Burton, "Monasticon Eboracense," p. 82.
Gent, "History of Rome," Appendix p. 1, note.
F. K. Robinson, "History of Whitby" (1860), p. 79.
J. C. Atkinson, "History of Cleveland" (1874), p. 150.
J. C. Atkinson, "A Handbook for Ancient Whitby and its Abbey" (1882), pp. 67-8.
J. C. Atkinson, "Memorials of Old Whitby" (1894), pp. 138-9.
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H. P. Kendall, "History of the Abbey of Whitby" (1932), facing p. 64, pp. 74-5.

A NOTE ON KNARESBOROUGH CASTLE.

By W. A. ATKINSON.

The mediaeval importance of Knaresborough as a royal fortified borough and a prebend of York, along with its so-called romantic associations, the Dropping Well and others, gave it an early interest to tourists and local historians. The noteworthy features of the town and district, natural and historic, were recorded and described at a time when ideas and theories regarding them were crude and undeveloped. Some of these which were especially flattering or romantic obtained a firm hold of the public imagination, and they persist to this day as obstacles in the way of a wiser understanding. Others, however, were honest attempts to explain difficulties or peculiarities, which have given rise to much discussion, leading eventually to clearer ideas of the nature of the problems, if not to their ultimate solution.

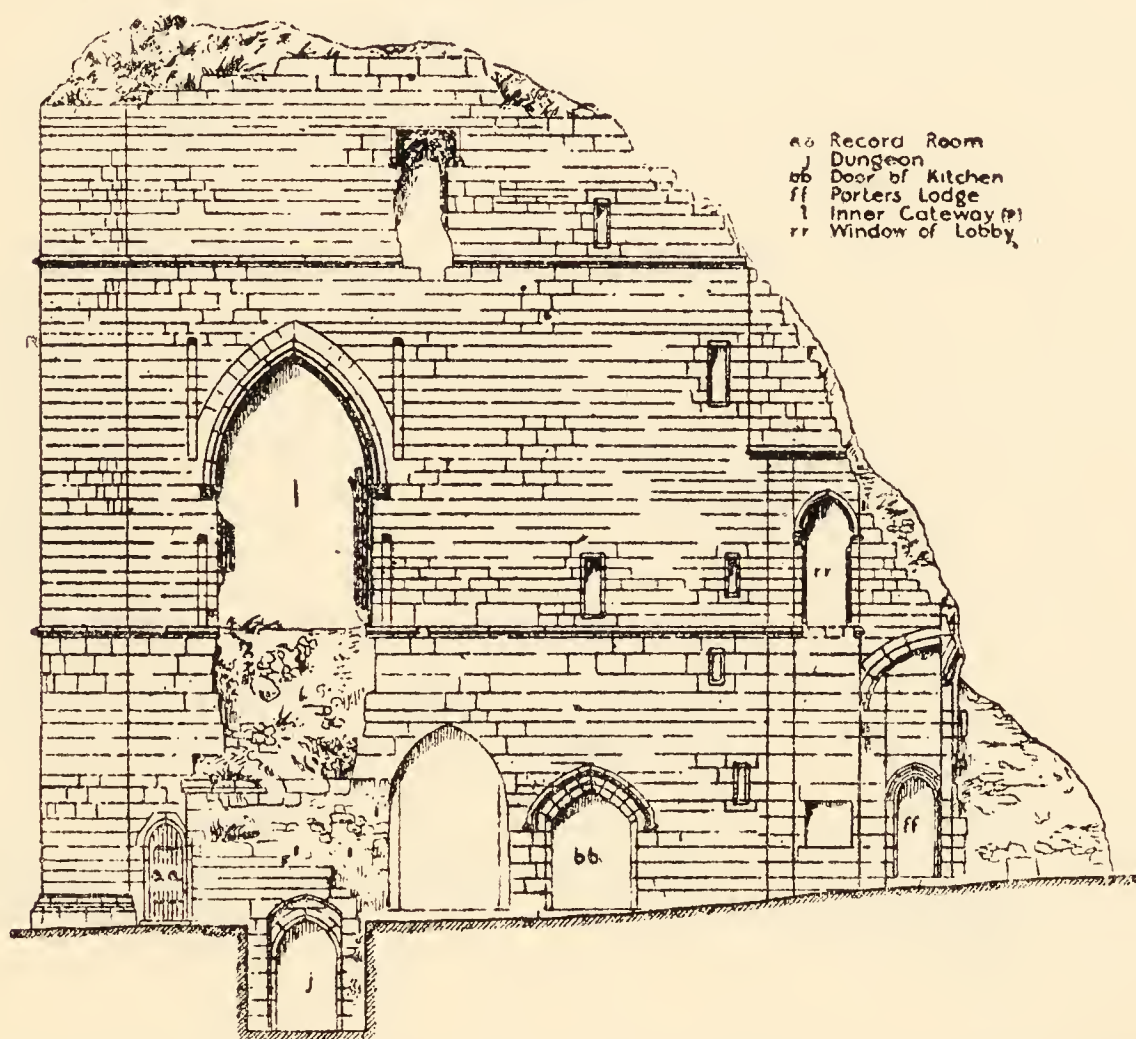
One of these problems relates to the great opening on the first floor on the south side of Knaresborough Castle overlooking the modern bowling green. Was it a doorway or a window? At first sight its position, its size, all its most obvious features proclaim it a window. But for a century and a half there has been a contention that it was a doorway.¹

The earliest statement that it was a doorway seems to have been made by Edward King in the volume of "Archæologia" for 1782 (vi. 321-326). Comparing it with the doorway of Ancaster church, in Lincolnshire, and others, he concludes that it was "the great portal at the head of the ancient stairs" (p. 324). He considered that the door on the ground floor was "just under the draw-bridge, like that at Rochester," and that the dungeon door, which is below the surface of the ground, was probably concealed beneath the steps and platform of the entrance to the first floor. He gives a sketch of this uppermost entrance which shows tracery in the crown of the arch; and this obviously militates against his theory, since it shows two sub-arches meeting in the middle with no mullion to support them at their junction where the pressure of the overlying tracery would be greatest. The introduction of a mullion would supply all the necessary stonework for a normal window of this size and pattern, but would altogether unfit the opening for use as a doorway of the size and importance implied by a main entrance, especially when a draw bridge and other additions are allowed for. Even if the tracery had been supported by a lintel, the broken ends of the lintel would have still remained in the jambs of the window, where, in fact, there is no trace of them.

¹ The architectural feature in question is labelled "1" throughout, on pp. 199, 203, 205.

King's conclusions were endorsed by Bray in the second edition of his "Tour into Derbyshire and Yorkshire," published in the following year; and this work would mould the opinions of many tourists and writers at a time when such tours were becoming very popular. "By the side of this little door" he says, referring to the door of the old record room on the ground floor, "were the steps leading to the door of the apartment on the second floor; this door is ornamented with tracery work, so as to have some appearance of a window. Under these steps is a door to the vaults below." (Op. cit. 268).

A. *Fig. b.*



Hargrove, the earliest historian of Knaresborough, regarded this opening as a window. In the third edition of his well-known "History of Knaresborough" issued in 1782, he says, "the second story (of the keep) was entirely taken up by the State-Room, commonly called the King's Chamber, lighted by one very large and beautiful gothic window" (p. 15). The statement is repeated in the fourth edition, 1789 (p. 17), when he would probably be well aware of the alternative theory advanced by King. Hargrove also refers to the tracery in the crown of the arch. It is said to have been destroyed as a result of a thunderstorm in June, 1806 (Local Guide Book, p. 20), but there remains even yet a fragment to prove that such tracery once existed.

It is probable that local opinion would have been generally accepted, and King's theory all but forgotten, had not Mr. G. T. Clark revived and extended the latter view about sixty-five years

ago. He contributed a description of Knaresborough Castle to the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* in 1880-1 (vol. VI pp. 98-112), and this was reproduced with little or no alteration in his well-known work on "Mediaeval Military Architecture in England," published in 1884. About this time Mr. Clark frequently acted as guide to archaeological and architectural societies visiting the castle. The following references are to the pages of the above journal when not otherwise stated.

Describing what is really the south side of the so-called King's Chamber on the first floor of the keep, Mr. Clark writes :

"The south-west wall . . . contains at its north end a door of the same size as that just described, saving that there is no portcullis, which, this being the inner gate, was not needed. The wall is here 11 ft. thick, giving a very deep recess 10 ft. broad, in which the doorway was placed. It is panelled and 15 ft. high to the arch crown; the recess narrows to 7 ft. 6 in. width, which was that of the doorway. The doorway is richly moulded, and the mouldings are continued down to the cill, showing that it was a door, and not, as some suppose, a window. There was, however, tracery in the head, of which a fragment remains, but not enough to show the pattern The outermost hollow of the mouldings contains a band of delicate ball-flowers. There is also a handsome drip supported by two heads or corbels" (pp. 105-106) (*cf.* Plate A, fig. b, p. 102=Fig. p. 199).

Having thus endorsed King's view that this opening was a doorway, Clark proceeds to develop the idea. At the east end of the King's Chamber, nearest the town, there are the unmistakable remains of a large doorway, of which Mr. Clark says, "the wall was 10 ft. 6 in. thick, and in its centre, half-way between the two moulded arches, is a rectangular portcullis groove. It is evident that this was a regular gateway, fortified in the usual manner, and, as what remains of the arch shows, of a large size." (p. 105). (*cf.* Plate B, fig. b, k=Fig. p. 205; and Plate C, fig. b, k=Fig. p. 203).

There was according to this view a large doorway, or gateway, at each end of the King's Chamber, though not in opposite walls, and Mr. Clark passes on to the logical conclusion :

"It appears from what has been described that the main floor of the keep was in fact a passage by which the principal entrance led from the outer to the inner ward. As the level of the first floor is 17 ft. above that of the inner ward, and something more above that of the outer, the approaches were upon arches leading up to the gateways." (p. 107).

This conclusion has been generally accepted by more recent writers on the subject, including myself in the early days when I had made few independent investigations. Here and there a later enquirer may have rejected some of Mr. Clark's developments of this idea, or tacitly passed them by; but the main conclusion does not seem to have been seriously contested at any time. There are, however, good reasons for doing so.

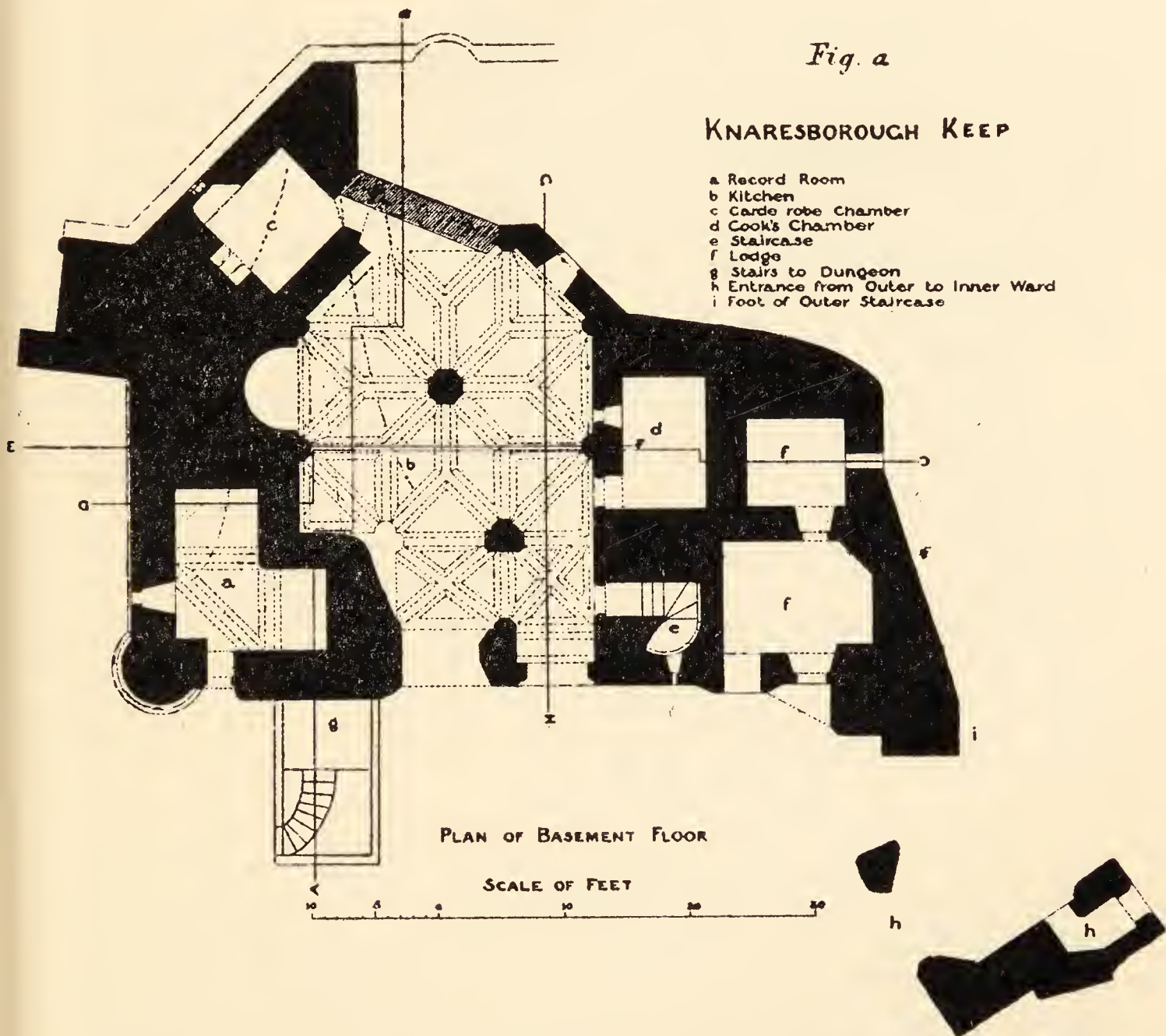
Beginning with this ruined doorway in the eastern wall of the keep, it must be admitted that there was a well protected approach to the King's Chamber on the first floor. There is no clear, incontrovertible evidence that this approach rested upon arches, though that is possible. Nearly all this side has been destroyed; but the "skewback" (p. 107) which remains is not adapted in its present position, either by shape or position, to an arch. There are the remains of a vaulted flight of stairs which led up to the gateway from a ruined "lodge" at the south-east corner of the keep, and there is still a narrow passage which must have led from the outer ward into this lodge at the ground level. "This,"

B.

Fig. a

KNARESBOROUGH KEEP

- a Record Room
- b Kitchen
- c Cardo robe Chamber
- d Cook's Chamber
- e Staircase
- f Lodge
- g Stairs to Dungeon
- h Entrance from Outer to Inner Ward
- i Foot of Outer Staircase



says Mr. Clark, "was evidently a postern for such foot-passengers as came after the great gates were closed, and who did not wish to enter the main or guard chamber of the keep" (p. 106). This statement is ambiguous, as we do not know which "gate" or which "guard chamber" is referred to. The stairs which remain lead circuitously to the gateway of the King's Chamber; but they are outside the portcullis of that gateway, and they have no other visible connection with the interior of the keep. When that portcullis was closed, neither the King's Chamber nor the inner ward could have

been reached by these stairs. There was another "guard chamber" which will be referred to later. The plain fact is that we do not know what was the arrangement of the castle at this point, and probably never shall know until excavations are made close to the east face of the keep. There are alternative interpretations; but admitting that there was direct access to the King's Chamber on the first floor at this point, that does not by any means convert the chamber into a thoroughfare. And it may be that the stairs which still remain in a ruinous condition were the only stairs leading to the gateway on this side of the castle—that they were in fact main stairs and not postern stairs.

It is when we turn to examine the disputed opening at the other end of the King's Chamber that we meet with evidence which makes the theory of a customary passage through it untenable. Before this can be discussed effectively, another of Mr. Clark's assumptions must be considered. He thought he saw here the evidence of a mediaeval draw-bridge, and as such a bridge would make a considerable difference in the structure of the gate-way to which it was attached, it is desirable to find out whether there was one or not. Here is the evidence which he adduces :

"Outside the doorway, in the wall on either hand, are two square grooves 7 in. broad and about 6 in. deep, and 11 ft. apart. They commence at the string course, which corresponds with the cill of the doorway, and are 6 ft. high. Above this, 10 ft. 6 in. from the string course, and 12 ft. apart, are two similar grooves, 7 ft. 6 in. long, and which therefore reach a little above the level of the top of the doorway arch. It is evident that these two pair of grooves were connected with the draw-bridge, the lower pair probably receiving the ends of the parapet rail, and the upper the struts supporting the beams of the bridge." (p. 106), (Pl. A. fig. b.¹=Fig. p. 199).

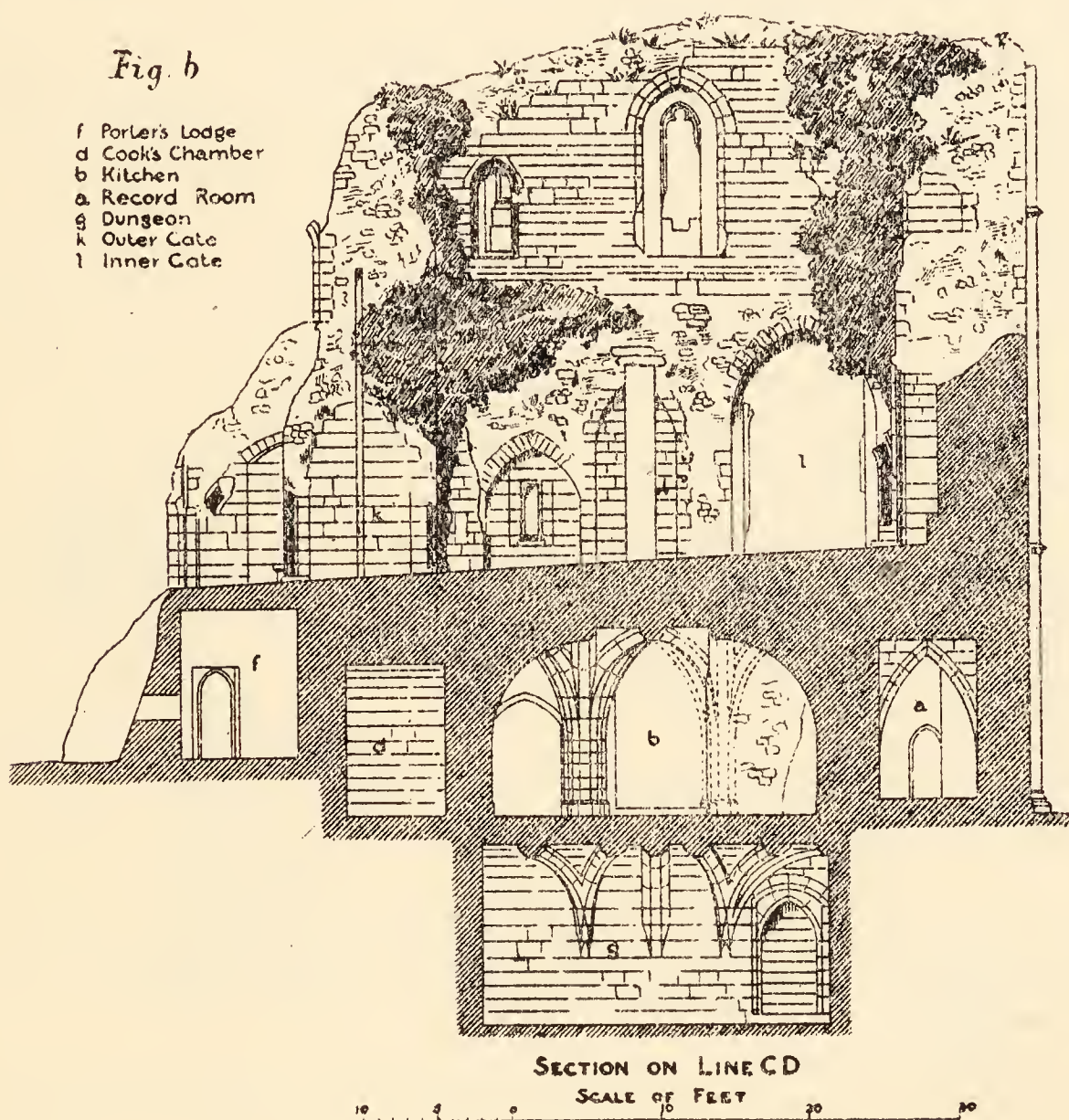
These are, however, not evidences of a draw-bridge, and of the parts absolutely necessary to the efficient use of such a bridge there are no traces—nothing in the nature of a ledge for the heel of the gate, no axle recesses, no rebate to the arch, no holes or slots piercing the wall of the keep for the chains or overhead levers by which the bridge would be raised and lowered. The upper grooves which are to be seen on the face of the wall are, it is true, somewhat like the slots for the levers of a draw-bridge. But they are mere surface grooves, and do not pierce the walls, whereas true slots are cut clean through the wall so that the inner ends of the levers, which are pivoted in the centres of the slots, may project within the fortress itself to be raised or depressed as required. True slots, too, are vertically long enough to house the whole lever when the gate is raised, and it, and its chains, and the

¹ Cf. also Speight's "Nidderdale" (1894), p. 282.

lever all hang vertically against, or within, the thickness of, the wall.¹

No traces of an outer pier or landing upon which the free end of a draw-bridge would rest have been discovered. Nor is there any apparent need for such a bridge, seeing that the space which it is supposed to have bridged is, in part at least, occupied by the ruins of an arch, the top of which can only have been a foot or two below the level of such a bridge.

C.



(p. 201)

These facts will suffice to dispose of the idea that there was ever a draw-bridge to this opening as it now exists, and the architectural features alone remain to be discussed. In the absence of a draw-bridge the gateway, if such it were, must have opened on to a landing or to steps, and either of these alternatives implies a flat or rectangular threshold. As Mr. Clark remarks, the mouldings

¹ Cf. Mackenzie: "The Mediaeval Castle in Scotland," p. 96, Plates XI and VIII. The latter, reproducing an illustration of *ca.* 1480, shows a draw-bridge raised. In this instance the head of the gateway is square, and apparently there are no slots for the levers or "gaffs," with the result that the ends of the levers, projecting between the wall and the bridge, prevent the latter closing completely. Had there been slots, these would have been above the gateway, and not at the sides of it. A comparison of the two plates shows very clearly the place and use of the slots.

of the arch are continued down to the cill, and he deduces the strange conclusion that this, the usual feature of a window, proves that the opening was a doorway. The fact which proves that the moulding comes down to the cill is a fragment of the cill itself in the return on the bottom stone of the right jamb, which unmistakably shows a sloping set-off returning at a right angle from the vertical moulding with its ball-flower ornamentation. A sloping cill to throw off rain, the usual cill of a large church window, where a doorway would require a flat threshold, is all but conclusive evidence in itself that we are dealing with a window and not a doorway.

The face of the wall below the window is almost entirely broken away, but that there was neither a flat horizontal surface nor steps in front of it can still be discovered. The dungeon door was immediately below, and the crown of the arch of this door is level with the ground. The steps leading down to the threshold of the door must have run by the side of the wall on the right of it, very much as do the present steps, which are a reconstruction. Over this dungeon door there is a broken arch springing from the wall of the keep under the window in the King's Chamber. The length of this arch filled up the space between the small record room door and the broken down window-case on the ground floor. At the end close to the record room door one or two of the uppermost stones, polished and even carved, are left, which show that the arch above the dungeon door carried a sloping off-set from the wall of the keep—a bastion-like buttress covering the whole of the arch, and reaching up to a few feet below the cill of the great window above. Such an off-set practically negatives anything but a plain perpendicular wall immediately below the cill itself. (*cf.* Pl. A, fig. b, and Speight, p. 282¹=Fig. p. 199).

There are other details pointing to the same conclusion, but these, coupled with the very significant fact that the arch once contained tracery, will probably be accepted as sufficient architectural proof.

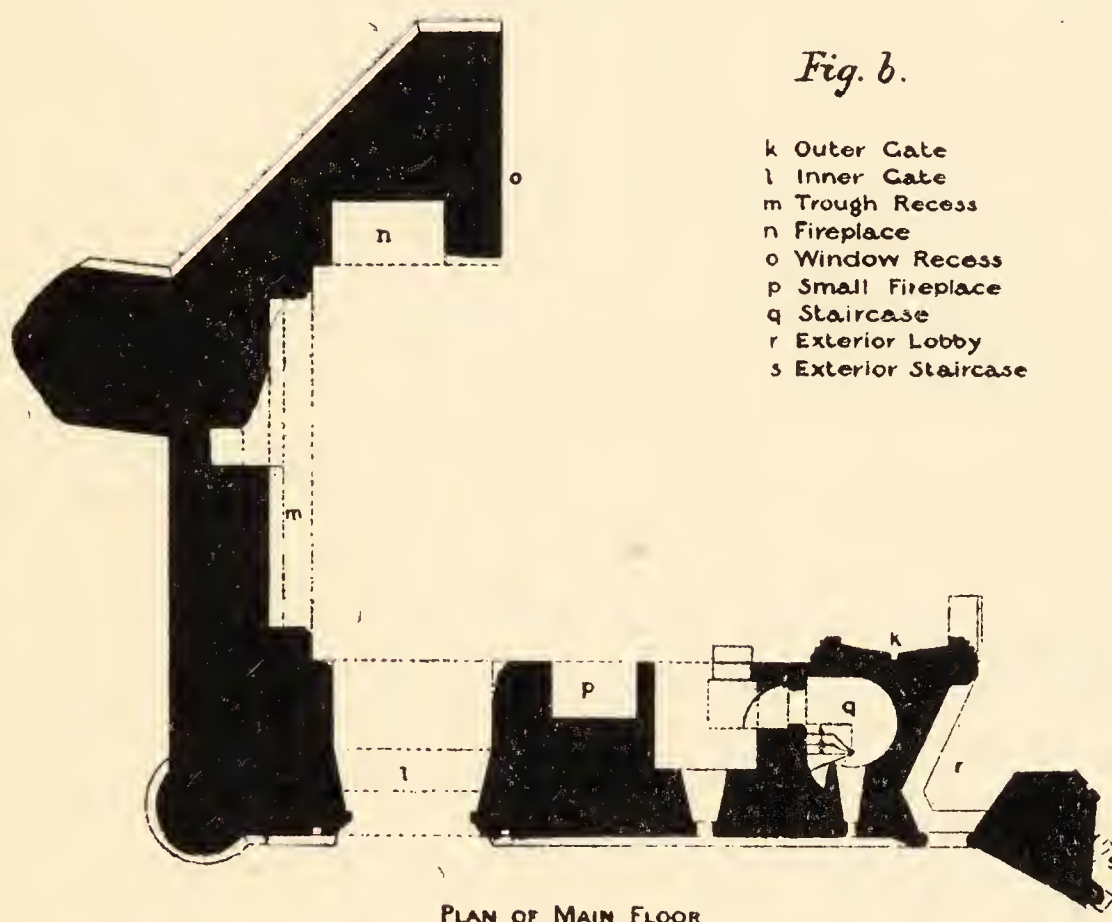
Turning to wider considerations, it is extremely unlikely that builders of such skill as is everywhere displayed in this castle—in the vaulting, for instance—and having almost unlimited scope for their lay-out, would plan such an indirect and tedious way of passing from ward to ward. Nor was there any need to do so. The ruined "lodge" close to the south-east angle of the keep still preserves its "bent passage" (p. 107) (Pl. B, fig. *a*. h=Fig. p. 201) which affords a by-pass from the outer ward to the lodge itself at the ground level. Mr. Clark admits that there was probably a door to the inner ward from the lodge, and this is confirmed by the remaining walls. There was, therefore, at least a postern passage

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Fairhurst for the following additional note: "The upper surface of the cill of the window inside is at the same level as the stone seating, remains of which can still be found at the sides of the window recess. Had this cill been a threshold, it would have been necessary to step over it and down to the floor about 16" below."

from ward to ward on the ground level. There may also have been a gateway on one side or the other of this postern lodge. Excavation close up to the lodge and the keep will probably be the only means of deciding this point.

Mr. Clark notices, as almost everyone must, the relationship of this postern passage to the broken steps of the keep leading up to the King's Chamber (pp. 107-108). Is this relationship more than a casual coincidence? And if so, what was its significance? The by-pass from ward to ward cannot have been up the steps. Seeing that there was a door from the lodge to the inner ward, the passenger had but to walk through the lodge itself. If the steps had a purpose, as they must have had, it was not to get from ward to ward, but to get to the King's Chamber or some other part of the keep.

B.



But Mr. Clark has apparently failed to notice that the ruined lodge is Early English and older than the keep, which is of the Decorated period. The bent passage is a Decorated insertion in the walls of the older lodge, as the mouldings and workmanship of its two doorways show. (*cf.* Plate *Y.A.S. Journal*, XXX, 203). This fact, taken in connection with the architecture and structure of the steps and the adjacent angle of the keep, points to considerable reconstruction after, but not long after, the present keep as a symmetrical whole was built. The details and the purpose of that reconstruction will probably find work for investigators for many years to come.

The assumption that the King's Chamber was ever structurally or functionally a passage from one ward to the other has prevented many from realizing the true excellence of Knares-

borough castle. Whatever other buildings of greater convenience there may have been within the circuit of the castle walls, the keep itself, when rightly viewed, was more of a palace—a modest one, certainly—than a fortress. Admit that the great opening was a window, and the western end of the King's Chamber takes on a dignity and comfort not hitherto noticed. Here the dais, or later the judge's seat, might be set with a noble arch, the purpose of which has never been satisfactorily explained, behind it. Removed as far as possible from the entrances to the chamber, this high place was lighted by a great south window, and warmed by a large fireplace immediately opposite the window. Close behind was an unbroken wall, containing the flue of the great kitchen fireplace below; and in front was the full view of the great hall, dignified by excellent workmanship, if not profuse in ornamentation. The main entrance to the hall, which may possibly have been straight from the outer ward, though there are alternatives, was well protected from casual assault, thereby adding security to comfort—as much comfort as a peregrinating court might expect in the north of England, and security enough from the assaults of Scottish raiders and baronial rebels, who alone were likely to threaten an inland royal castle at that time.

During the Civil War the case was different. No walls could stand up long against cannon at short range. Knaresborough castle, garrisoned by a body of townsmen, was besieged by a Parliamentary force after the battle of Marston Moor. The first shots at the castle are said to have been fired from Belmont, which is just above the Dropping Well across the river. At that spot the cannon would be right opposite the great window of the King's Chamber and placed nearly as high. A lucky shot might have crashed through the window, and buried itself in the very heart of the keep, the strongest part of a fortress already falling into ruins. Is it not likely that the besieged would hastily run up a screen or shutter in front of the window, not merely to protect it, but as a military precaution? The need was urgent, the time short, the means rude. The workmanship of the grooves, which may have held the principal supports of such a shutter, points to such circumstances. It is crude and hasty, and the grooves are not only a disfigurement in themselves, but they are cut so near to the mouldings that in places there is but an inch or two between them and the beautiful ball-flower ornaments, and it is surprising that such slight divisions have so long withstood the action of the weather and the accidents of time.

A few words devoted to the possible origin and development of Mr. Clark's theory may not be out of place. The first hint may have been derived from King's account; but that hint would be greatly strengthened by what has since been made out regarding the structure of early Norman castles, wherein the first floor contained the main hall, to which the approach was by outside stairs, while the chamber on the ground floor was completely

enclosed, and treated as a cellar to the hall above. Knaresborough is not an early castle. Mr. Clark says, "this keep is probably the latest example of a rectangular keep as well as a singular one of a keep with its main floor employed as a gate-house." (p. 108). Though re-built at a time when the "concentric" type of castle was the vogue, the keep has that about it which is distinctly reminiscent of the early rectangular tower and fore-building. Probably the restricted site and the plan of the preceeding keep have had a good deal of influence upon the layout of the present structure.

One of the chief difficulties in researches of this kind, involving the use of previous writers' descriptions of buildings and plans, is to obtain a clear and definite conception of what they say, and of its precise application; and it seems probable that Mr. Clark may have unfortunately fallen into a misapprehension of this kind. In his early descriptions of the castle, the earliest not later than King's, Hargrove writes :

"In the centre is the Guard-Room, with a vaulted roof, supported by two massy pillars, which at the height of six feet diverge and spread all over the roof; in this room is a large fire place, and several recesses; . . . Through this Guard-Room was formerly the principal entrance to the castle; the outward gate was defended by a portcullis and a draw-bridge that fell across a very deep moat, facing the present Bowling Green. Here is also a small circular stair-case that led from the Guard-Room to the State-Room . . ." (Op. cit. 3rd ed., pp. 14-15; 4th ed., p. 17).

This room with the two pillars, the vaulted roof, and the large fireplace, is the kitchen on the ground floor, still often described as a guard-room. The bowling green to which Hargrove refers is not the present one, which was made well within this twentieth century, but one which formerly existed in the space behind the Infants' School and the Schoolmaster's House, and shown upon the earliest Ordnance Plan dated 1849. (*Y.A.S. Journal* xxxiii, p. 176). When the castle was slighted, a breach was made in the wall of this guard-room fronting the old bowling green, with the northern end of the ditch intervening. This breach is now closed by modern walling, which can easily be detected (*cf.*, Pl. B., fig. a=Fig. p. 201); but apparently when Hargrove wrote it was still open, and he regarded it as a ruined or slighted gateway, opposite to the doorway still existing in the inner ward where the turnstile is now placed. Hence the idea of a passage through a guard-room. Such a passage would lead from the town right into the inner ward, and render the defences of an outer ward useless. There is not the slightest evidence that there has ever been a draw-bridge here; the only entrance to which a description of this kind would apply was the main outer gate facing Cheapside at the other end of the outer ward. To what extent Hargrove's account was a hint to Mr. Clark, and to what extent he took it as a true contemporary description, it is impossible to say; but the essential difference

between the two accounts is that Mr. Clark transfers the passage through the keep from the ground floor to the first floor, sets it at right angles to the earlier one, makes it a passage from one ward to the other, and converts what Hargrove regarded as a window into a gateway with a draw-bridge. Both interpretations were ingenious, but the hard facts of the existing ruins do not support them. The exact structures which once occupied the great gap in the eastern and northern sides of the keep are still a puzzle to us, but it does not seem that their theoretical reconstruction is aided by the assumption that the keep was some kind of a gate-house. Ample and elaborate as the stairs and the doorways on the town side seem to have been, strongly protected as they were, they were but the protected approaches to a building which could be quite habitable and convenient, and which gains in beauty, dignity, and importance when viewed as such a residence rather than as either a gate-house or a fortress.

In conclusion, I wish to acknowledge the great help which I have received from Mr. S. P. Fairhurst in these investigations. His practical acquaintance with architecture convinced him from the first that we were dealing with a window and not a door, and that the generally accepted theory of a thoroughfare through the King's Chamber was untenable.

W. A. ATKINSON.

THE DONCASTER FEE-FARM RENT.

By NORMAN SMEDLEY, M.A.

The 'antiqua firma' is mentioned in the Charter granted to the town of Doncaster by Richard I in 1194. Prior to this date, the amount had been £66. 13s. 4d., as shown in the Court Rolls of Henry II (T., p. 38, footnote *u*).¹ Richard, as was his custom on such occasions, increased the rent by '25 marks of silver,' and exacted in addition a cash payment of 50 marks. (T., pp. 17, 19, 27 and 38 (footnote).)

Stephen had granted the alienation of the rent to Henry, son of King David of Scotland, but on his death in 1152 it reverted to the Crown. (T., p. 28).

The references to the fee-farm rent in Tomlinson's work¹ are so scattered that it seems worth while to include here some of the more important items. The records of Tudor and Stuart times contain many references.

In 1569, Rychard ffenton, 'lait Mayor, . . . dyd make his accompts before Robert byrkes, nowe Maior.' These included fee-farm rents for lands and tenements in the surrounding villages, amounting to £91. 2s. 3d.

'Off the wiche he asketh allowance :—

lxxiiij^{li} xiii^s xi^d ob by hym paid to the Receyuer gen'all of our sov'agne lady in the County of Yorke, for the ffee ffarme dewe vnto the aforsaid lady the Quene of the Towne of Doncaster and the sooke for one hole yere, at the ffeast of Sanct myghell th'arcangell last past.' (T., pp. 37-8).

In 1590, payment of the rent was adduced as evidence in a dispute between Council and burgesses as to whose right it was to elect a Mayor (T., pp. 53-55), and it was again quoted in the protracted litigation between the Corporation and the lords of the Manor as to the ownership of land in Wheatley. (T., p. 70, item 6, and p. 78).

Similarly, in the law-suit between the Corporation and the Salvin family (T., pp. 86 et seq.), the former's claim was based on rights due in return for payment of the fee-farm rent. This litigation resulted in the payment to Ralph Salvin by the Corporation of £3,000, the surrender by Ralph Salvin, in 1622, of the disputed possessions to King James I, with a view to their re-grant to the Corporation, and the surrender by the Corporation of all such estates to the King, with a similar end in view. James, however, failed to carry out his promise to grant a new Charter, as did Charles I, and in 1627 the Corporation obtained from William Salven a quit-claim of any rights in the manors in question

¹ Throughout this account, 'T' refers to—Tomlinson : Doncaster from the Roman Occupation to the Present Time, 1887.

(T., pp. 96-97). The relevant documents are listed by W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., in his 'Calendar to the Records of the Borough of Doncaster,' 1899, p. 57.

In the meantime, payment of the rent continued. On April 1st, 1648, Will. Armitage, Esq., Recorder of Doncaster, received a fee of £1. 0s. 0d. 'for paying in the fee-farme' (T., p. 140). On March 8th, 1649, the following items occur in the Corporation accounts :—

'Paide Mr. Ayre for carringe the fee farme rent to London	0.	13.	0.
'Paid Will: Armitage, Esq to pay the fee farme rent	75.	11.	1½

(T., p. 141).

In the accounts for 1649-50 is an item :—

'Wm. Pell for carrying the Box with the covenant of the Fee Farm	0.	1.	0.'
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(T., p. 146).

In 1656, the sum of 12s. 4d. is paid Mr. Sheppard 'for rent due to the Commonwealth,' and 10s. 0. 'to the Sheriff's men who came to distrain for the Fee-Farm rent.' (T., p. 148).

This item of 12s. 4d. is also mentioned in the accounts for 1655 :—

'pd Mr. Sheppard for the Commonwealth land for ½ a year, and for the acquitt ^s .	12.	4.'
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(T., p. 150). Tomlinson draws the conclusion from this, and from a passage¹ in a memorial to Charles II dated June 15th, 1660, 'that a bargain or composition had been made with the Parliament respecting the fee-farm.' (T., p. 151). He also quotes a minute (T., p. 150, footnote s) authorising 'Will^m Armitage Esq., our now Record^r, . . . to contract with the Committe appointed by authority of Parliament for our ffee ffarme rente, w^{ch} was heretofore payable to the late king; and what some or somes of money the said M^r Armitage shall so agree for shalbe by the Corporacon forthwith paid.'

In a footnote (a) p. vi, of Hardy's Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Doncaster, 1899, he refers to the Charter of Charles II, and gives a resumé of the litigation with the Salvayne family. He relates how 'Charles II revives by this Charter the fee farm rent of 74l. 13s. 11½d. which the Corporation had redeemed in the time of the Commonwealth.' Hardy records the Indenture of the purchase from a Committee of Parliament of the fee-farm rent for the sum of £653. 12s. 1d. The date is Sept. 24th, 1650 (Vol. I, p. 70, No. 465). The existence of this document, which I have now examined, was evidently unknown to Tomlinson.

¹ 'They are authorized in their address to make a tender, and ffreely to offer vnto his Sacred Ma^c our Annuall ffee ffarme Rent, w^{ch} the Towne was forced to purchase themselves, lest it should have beene devolved into more impropp hands.'

Some time ago the Borough Treasurer of Doncaster, Mr. R. Howarth, handed to me a document which had been brought to light as a result of the recent Salvage Campaign, and which I transcribe as follows :—

xxiiii^{to}. September 1650

By the Trustees for Sails of ffee ffarmes etc.

Whereas the Maier and Aldermen etc of the Towne of Doncaster by William Armytage Esquire Contracted with us upon the 8th day of June 1650 ffor

The ffee ffarme in the said Towne of Doncaster in the Countie of Yorke per Annum	}	£ s d Lxxiiii ¹ : xiii : xi : ob
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and have paid unto the Threary² their whole purchase money due upon their said Contract as may appeare by two Certificates under the hands of Sr. John Wollaston Knt and John Pethicke Aldermen of the Cittie of London Threars³ appointed by the Act to receive the same dated the fift day of July and 7th day of December instant 1650

Itt is this day ordered that Sr Henry Crooke Knt Clarke of the Pipe dischargd the said premisses in the great Roll of the Pipe from payeing the said ffee ffarme rent unto the state for the tyme to Come And that hee give notice thereof unto the Sherriffs Receiver Bayliffs or Collectors of the same that they demand not nor distraine for the said rent which shall from henceforward grow due and payable.'

It has now been handed to the Town Clerk for inclusion in the archives of the Borough.

The position now becomes clear. James I received the surrender of the estates so long in dispute, specifically in order that the Corporation might be granted a new Charter making clear their title to the lands in question. Neither he nor Charles I implemented the agreement, although the accounts show that the fee-farm rent was regularly collected.

In 1650 an agreement was reached with the Commonwealth for the purchase of the rent, although in 1656 there was evidently an attempt to distrain for it on the part of the 'Sheriff's men.'

After the Restoration, the Corporation took stock of their position. They had purchased the discharge of the rent from the Commonwealth, but they had no Charter to show their title to the estates. They therefore sent a deputation to offer the rent to Charles, as shown by the memorial previously quoted, and which continues :—

¹ £74. 13. 11½.

² Threasury.

³ Threasurers.

‘They are likewise desired to inquire if any thinge be done, and what, by other Corporacons in relacon to renewing of Charters, but not to meddle at all with our owne vntill they receive further Instructions.’

. . . a subtle approach to a delicate matter !

Four years later they received their Charter, the amount of the fee-farm rent remaining at the figure of £74. 13s. 11½d.

Richard I had increased the fee-farm rents, and in the case of Doncaster at least exacted payment for the grant of a Charter, in order to finance the Crusades. Charles II also had his hobbies, and there is perhaps a touch of sardonic humour in a document, dated 5th August, 1672, which records the fact that all fee-farm rents were, on the 11th of November, in the 22nd year of his reign, vested in trustees who were empowered to sell the reversionary interest, subject to a life interest to be at the disposal of his consort, Queen Catherine. The Doncaster rent and others were purchased by Charles, Lord St. John and Ralph Bucknall.

The Corporation holds other documents relating to the rent. In 1818 it was in the hands of Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher, who settled it, with other property, on her relatives, the Reverend William Morgan Kinsey, of Trinity College, Oxford, and Jonas Gregory, of Clements Inn, Gentleman. The amount is here given as £74. 14s. 0d. A receipt, dated 21st March, 1822, shows that £250 was paid to General William Kinsey by Thomas Hughes and James Hughes for the purchase of the reversionary interest in one-sixth part of the Doncaster fee-farm rent. This was passed down to their successors, and the remaining five-sixths to those of General Kinsey, a fact briefly noted by Tomlinson (T., p. 33, footnote).

From 1872 to 1896 the Corporation accounts show an annual payment of £74. 13s. 10d. Possibly the reduction below the amount agreed in the earlier Charters, £74. 13s. 1½d., was intended to correct an over-charge indicated in Elizabeth Fisher’s will, where the amount is given as £74. 14s. 0d.

Finally the Corporation succeeded, once and for all, in securing to themselves all rights in the fee-farm rent. A receipt from the Bank of England for £622. 18s. 4d., dated 24th March, 1895, seems to refer to a deposit of a proportion of the purchase money, and a deed registered on the 20th May, 1896 gives the purchase price as £2,300. The Corporation accounts for the year ended 31st March, 1897, include the following items :—

Fee Farm Rent (proportion)	£38. 6. 9.
Redemption of Fee Farm Rent	£1677 1. 8.
(Amount previously paid £622. 18. 4.)	

I am indebted to the Town Clerk, Mr. H. S. Essenhigh, for allowing me facilities for the examination of all documents in his keeping relating to the fee-farm rent, and to the Borough Treasurer,

Mr. R. Howarth, not only for supplying details of payments from the Corporation accounts, but for calling my attention in the first place to the document relating to the discharge of the fee-farm rent in the time of the Commonwealth, which induced me to make a study of the question.

My thanks are also due to Professor C. E. Whiting, D.D., F.S.A., for assistance in the elucidation of some of the contractions, and for reading the MS.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. MARY AND THE HOLY ANGELS, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS ST. SEPULCHRE'S CHAPEL, AT YORK.

By A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, C.B.E., D.LITT., LL.D., F.B.A.

PART II

In the following list of canons, the names are recorded chronologically without an attempt to distinguish between individual prebends. This would have been impossible, as the records of collations make no regular distinction between prebends which were unnumbered and unnamed, even omitting to define them as priest prebends, etc. Further, the records are broken by gaps which increase the want of continuity that otherwise might have been overcome. The names of sacrists are distinguished by capital letters.

- | | |
|-----------------|--|
| c. 1179 | HAMO, sacrist. Also treasurer of York. It has already been shown that he may have held the sacristy until his promotion to the deanery between 1215 and 1217. |
| | Wido (Guy) the chaplain. |
| 1213, 7 June | Grant of the preb. which was of Wido the chaplain, to John de Walkingham. Mandate for induction addressed to H[amo], treasurer of York (<i>Rot. Litt. Pat.</i> I, 100). |
| 1215, 28 July | Grant of the preb. vacant by res. of John de Walkingham to Walter de Well, chaplain. Mandate for induction addressed as in last. (<i>ibid.</i> , I, 151). |
| | Walter of the Revestry (<i>de Revestiario</i>). |
| | Geoffrey Brito. |
| | John Norfolch. |
| | These three canons are witnesses to a deed ap. Reg. Magnum Album III, fo. 111d, the date of which is approximately c. 1220-1230, quoted in <i>Reg. Romeyn</i> I, viii note. |
| | MAG. GILBERT DE TYWE, sacrist in 1236 and at the time of Archbishop Sewal's ordinance in 1258. (<i>Reg. Gray</i> , 74; <i>Hist. Ch. York</i> III, 175-181). |
| | John Bonet, king's clerk. |
| 1255, 1 Oct. | Grant of the preb. late of John Bonet, to John Langetoft (made in the vacancy of the see after the death of Archbishop Gray) ,with mandate for induction addressed to master Gilbert de Tywe (<i>C.P.R.</i> , 1232-1247, p. 427). |
| | William Lovel. |
| 1265-6, 18 Feb. | PETER DE EREHUN, sacrist, pres. by the Crown on the death of Gilbert de Tywe. Mandate for induction addressed to the dean and chapter of York (<i>C.P.R.</i> 1258-1266. p. 557). |

- 1266, 3 Oct. Grant of the preb. of William Lovel to Robert de Anne, king's chaplain (in vacancy of the see after the death of Archbishop Ludham), with mandate for induction addressed to the dean and chapter of York (*C.P.R.* 1258-1266, p. 643).
- c. 1267 PERCIVAL OF LAVAGNA, prebendary in York and Ripon, brother of the cardinal deacon of St. Adrian's, sacrist. The letter notifying the collation of the sacristy to him is undated, but seems to fall about 1267 (*Reg. Giffard*, 148, and see *Mem. Ripon* II, 5). The sacristy was put out by him to farm (see *Reg. Giffard*, 210). He died before 17 Aug., 1290, when his vacant preb. of Wistow in York was filled (*Reg. Romeyn* I, 389). Died 1290.
- Elias, priest (i.e. chaplain) of Silvester, bishop of Carlisle.
- 1269, 22 Nov. Philip, clerk, bailiff of the archbishop at Ripon, to the preb. late of Elias (*Reg. Giffard*, 60).
Mag. William de Bothum.
- 1270, 30 Dec. Edmund le Botiller, to the preb. late of master William de Bothum. Mandate for induction addressed to Elyas de Fenton (*Reg. Giffard*, 32).
Robert Brinerton. Admission not recorded.
- 1282, 13 Dec. Mag. William of York, on res. of Robert Brinerton
- c. 1285. Elyas Fenton, priest preb. See 1288.
Henry Mileford, priest preb. See 1302-3.
William Evesham, priest preb. See 1287.
William Brumton, priest preb. Died 1326-7.
William Scirrloc, deacon preb. See 1289.
John de Luco or Luca, deacon preb. See 1307.
Ralph Cnoyville (Knovill), deacon preb. See 1295.
Milo (Lillingeston), subd. preb. See 1295.
Simon le Crocer or Oxford (*de Oxonia*), subd. preb. See 1289-90.
John Alne, subd. preb. See 1287.
- In 1286 (24 July) William Clere (*de Clera*), chaplain of the bishop of Bath and Wells and rector of Brafferton (*Reg. Romeyn* I, 355). Died 1321-2. This preb. was the fourth deacon preb., apparently vacant when the list of canons c. 1285 was made.
- c. 1286 Richard Lovel. Not in the list c. 1285, but probably succeeded to the fourth subdeacon preb., then apparently vacant, shortly afterwards.
- 1287, 8 Sept. Robert Thixendale (*de sexdecim Vallibus*) on death of Richard Lovel. (*Reg. Romeyn* I, 366). See 1308-9.
- 1287, 21 Sept. Thomas le Seneschal, clerk, to the preb. of William le Seneschal. See 1295. William appears to be identical with William Evesham, holder of this preb. in the list c. 1285 (*Reg. Romeyn* I, 368.)¹ Thomas was rector of a moiety of Hutton Bushell in 1295 (*ibid.* I, 183).

¹ This probability is strengthened by the appearance of Thomas le Seneschal as Thomas de Evesham in *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Comm.), 298.

- 1287, Sept. or Oct. A list of canons occurs, in which Clere and Thixendale are added to the list *c.* 1285, and Thomas le Seneschal takes the place of William Evesham. The name of Hugh Methelay, however, takes the place of Elyas Fenton, showing that this list was actually compiled at a later date and on insufficient information. (*Reg. Romeyn*, I, 175).
- 1287, 29 Oct. Mag. Ralph Pontehou or Pontop, to the (subd.) preb. of John Alne (*ibid.* I, 370). See 1298.
- 1288, 7 May Hugh Methelay, priest, to the preb. of Elyas Fenton. Mandate for induction addressed to Ralph Ponthop (*ibid.* I, 372). See 1296.
- 1289, 15 Dec. Mag. John Ripon, priest, to the (deacon) preb. of William Skirloc. (*Reg. Romeyn* I, 381). See 1295-6.
- 1289-90, 19 Jan. Mag. William Somerdeby, clerk, to the (subd.) preb. of Simon le Crocer. (*ibid.* I, 381). See 1294.
- 1290, 16 June MAG. THOMAS COREBRIG, canon of York, sacrist, on death of Percival of Lavagna (*ibid.* I, 385). He was at this date prebendary of Stillington and chancellor of York. Archbishop of York 1299-1300 to 1304.
- 1294, 8 May William Tange, priest, provided to the (subd.) preb. of William Somerdeby (*ibid.* I, 387). Died 1327.
- 1295, 1 May Nicholas Widmarpol, clerk, to the (deacon) preb. of Ralph Knoville (*ibid.* II, 23). See 1302-3.
- 1295, 8 June Richard Taunton, clerk, to the (priest) preb. of Thomas le Seneschal (*ibid.* II, 25). See 1305.
- 1295, 11 Aug. John Fraunceys of Little Paxton, acolyte, to the (subd.) preb. of Miles Lillingston (*ibid.* II, 27). See 1306-7.
- 1295-6, 4 Jan. Mag. Nicholas Ellerker, clerk, to the (deacon) preb. of John Rypon (*ibid.* II, 28). See 1307.
- 1296, 6 Sept. Robert Bardelby, king's clerk, pres. by the Crown, *sede vacante*, to the (priest) preb. vacant by death of Hugh Methelaye. Mandate for induction addressed to master Thomas Corebrigge, sacrist, but in amended form to the keeper of the spiritualities of the see (*C.P.R.* 1292-1301, pp. 197, 198, 200). Resigned 1311. This well-known chancery clerk, among other preferments, obtained the preb. of Dunnington in York by Crown presentation, 16 Oct. 1305 (*ibid.* 1301-1307, p. 381), which he exchanged in July 1321 for a canonry of Chichester (*Reg. Melton*, fo. 77). In 1310 he held the rectories of Sandhurst, Kent, Doddington, Cambs., and Moor Monkton, Yorks., by dispensation with his preb. in York, in addition to which he had his preb. in the chapel and the rectories of Burghwallis, Yorks., and Bridford, Devon (*C.P.L.* II, 76). See note in *Fasti Parochiales* (Yorks. Record Ser.) I, 51.
- 1298, 20 Nov. Robert, son of Sir John Lisle (*de Insula*), to the (subd.) preb. of Ralph Ponthou (*Reg. Newark ap. Reg. Romeyn* II, 211). See 1307.
- 1300, 30 April MAG. JOHN BOUHS or BUSSHE, of London, pres. by the Crown, *sede vacante*, to the sacristy, with concurrent presentation to Stillington preb. in the Minster (*C.P.R.* 1292-1301, p. 512). He was not admitted, however, by Archbishop Corbridge, *sede plena*.

- 1300, 9 July FRANCIS, son of Peter GAYTANI, count of Caserta, sacrist, admitted by the archbishop (*Reg. Corbridge* II, 3). Nephew of Pope Boniface VIII. He similarly was admitted to the preb. of Stillington. Treasurer of York 21 July 1303 (*Reg. Corbridge* II, 26, 27).
- 1302-3, 22 Jan. Mag. Adam Spiriden, acolyte, to the (deacon) preb. of Nicholas Wydmerpol (*ibid.* II, 20). Died 1344-5. As a poor clerk, the church of Kirk Ella was reserved to him about this time by papal provision, but he does not seem to have obtained it (*ibid.* I, 186). He was rector of Scruton in 1320 (*Reg. Melton*, fo. 74*d*).
- 1302-3, 6 March Richard Clifton, archbishop's clerk, to a (priest) preb. on res. of Henry Mileford. (*Reg. Corbridge* II, 21). See 1313. Rector of a moiety of Hutton Bushell in 1310 (*Reg. Greenfield* I, 39).
- 1303, 2 Aug. MAG. GILBERT SEGRAVE, S.P.P., sacrist, on res. of Francis Gaytani, appointed treasurer of York (*Reg. Corbridge* II, 27). Segrave became archdeacon of Oxford 10 Dec. in the same year (*Lincoln Reg.* II, fo. 282*d*). In 1306, having for some time resigned the sacristy, he held the preb. of Milton Manor in Lincoln and the church of Harlaxton, Linc., with his archdeaconry (*C.P.L.* II, 4).
- 1304, 28 Nov. MAG. JOHN BUSSHE, priest, sacrist. Admitted by the dean and chapter of York, *sede vacante*, in pursuance of a renewed mandate from the Crown, addressed to Archbishop Corbridge, 5 May (*Reg. Sed. Vac.*, fo. 645; *C.P.R.* 1301-1307, p. 227).
- 1305, 12 Sept. Mag. John Hedon, king's clerk, pres. by the Crown to the (priest) preb. vacant by death of Richard Taunton (*C.P.R.* 1301-1307, p. 377). Mandate for induction addressed to master John Bush, sacrist.
- 1306-7, 20 Feb. Mag. Robert Bolum, to the (subd.) preb., late of John Paxton (i.e., John Fraunceys). The date is that of a commission to admit (*Reg. Greenfield* I, 12).
- 1307, 18 Sept. Nicholas Moleyns (*de Molendinis*), archbishop's clerk, to the (deacon) preb. late of mag. Nicholas Ellerker (*ibid.* I, 22). See 1317.
- 1307, (Oct.) John Somerhouse, clerk to the (subd.) preb. of Robert Lisle (*ibid.* I, 23). Exchanged 1318-19.
- 1307, 31 Oct. Robert Riston, priest, to the (deacon) preb. on res. of mag. John de Luco (*ibid.* I, 23). Res. 1314. Rector of Little Warley (*Warlee septem molarum*), Essex, and Bracewell, Yorks., which by 1311 (30 Sept.), he had resigned in succession for the churches of Adel, Yorks., and All Saints, Rushton, Northt. (*C.P.L.* II, 90).
- 1308-9, 25 Jan. Thomas Barneby, priest, to a (subd.) preb., on death of Robert Thixendale (*Reg. Greenfield* I, 29). See 1327.
- 1311, 10 April William Jafford, priest, to the (priest) preb. (on res.) of Robert Bardelby (*ibid.* I, 56). See 1312.
- 1312, 26 April Hugh Driffield, priest, to the (priest) preb. of William Jafford (*ibid.* I, 65). Res. 1314.
- 1313, 17 Nov. John Sutton, priest, to the (priest) preb. of Richard Clifton (*ibid.* I, 95). He had an indult to choose a confessor, 13 Nov. 1350 (*C.P.L.* III, 371). See 1368.
- 1314, 12 April Roger Thornton (archbishop's receiver and rector of Folkton), priest, to a (priest) preb., on res. of Hugh Driffield (*Reg. Greenfield* I, 97). See 1314.

- 1314, 27 April Geoffrey Pykering, priest, to a (deacon) preb., on res. of John (*sic*) Riston (*ibid.* I, 98).
- 1317, 15 April William Knaresburgh, chaplain, pres. 4 April by the Crown to a (priest) preb. late of Roger Folkerton (*sic*) i.e. Thornton. (*C.P.R.* 1313-1317, p. 675; Reg. Sed. Vac., fo. 133). Died 1327.
- 1317, 19 May Robert de la Myre, pres. by the Crown to the (deacon) preb., late of Nicholas Molyns (*ibid.*, p. 652; Reg. Sed. Vac., fo. 132d).
- 1318-19, 14 Feb. Ralph Fenton, priest, to a (subd.) preb., on exchange of the vicarage of Wighill with John Somerhouse (Reg. Melton, fo. 69). Died 1322.
- 1321-2, 3 March William de la Mare, to a (deacon) preb., on death of William Clere (*ibid.* fo. 78).¹ Res. 1327.
- 1322, 7 July John Founteneye, king's chaplain, to a (subd.) preb., on death of Ralph Fenton (*ibid.* fo. 79). Died 1322.
- 1322, 5 Sept. Richard Otringham, priest, to a (subd.) preb., on death of John Founteneye (*ibid.* fo. 79).²
- 1326-7, 19 Jan. Richard Melton, rector of Brandesburton, to a (priest) preb. on death of mag. William Brumpton (*ibid.* fo. 575d). Died 1341.
- 1327, 5 May John Tourresby (i.e., Thoresby), provided to a canonry in Southwell with expectation of a preb., rector of Honington, Warw., and subd. preb. in the chapel (*C.P.L.* II, 257). Res. 1335. This was probably the preb. to which Thomas Barneby had been instituted in 1308-9. The date of Thoresby's admission is unknown. He appears to have held the preb. of Norwell Overhall in Southwell in 1329, and later that of South Muskham in the same church (Le Neve III, 431, 437). Bishop of St. Davids 1347, of Worcester 1349, archbishop of York 1353-1373.
- 1327, 3 June John Broune, rector of St. Sampson's, York, to a (subd.) preb., on death of William Tang (Reg. Melton, fo. 86).
- 1327, 10 June Mag. Gilbert Alburwyk, clerk, to a (deacon) preb., on res. of mag. William de la Mare (*ibid.* fo. 86). Res. 1329.
- 1327, 30 Aug. Robert Hoton, to a (priest) preb. on the death of William Knaresburgh (*ibid.* fo. 87).
- Mag. Alan Shirbourn held a preb. 17 Nov. 1327 (*ibid.* fo. 87). ? Exchanged 1340-1; see also 1341.
- 1329, 27 Oct. Mag. John Pokelyngton, priest, on res. of mag. Gilbert Alberwyk, to a (deacon) preb. (*ibid.* fo. 96). Died 1348.

¹ William de la Mare, kinsman of Archbishop Melton, treasurer of York by exchange of the church of North Ferriby, 24 Dec. 1328; provost of Beverley, 24 June 1338; prebendary of Ulleskelf in York, 1 Nov. 1338 (Reg. Melton, ff. 93, 118, 119d). He exchanged the provostry, 4 Oct. 1350, for the church of Waltham, Lincs., with Richard Ravenser (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 46d), and appears to have res. Ulleskelf preb. about the same time. See *Beverley Chapter Act-Book* II, intr. pp. lxii-lxvi.

² Richard Otringham held the preb. of St. Stephen's altar in Beverley in 1330, having been admitted 15 March 1328-9 (*Bev. Chapter Act-Book* II, 91, 92). His estate in it was ratified 13 July 1356, having been disturbed in the meantime (*C.P.R.* 1354-1358, p. 416).

- 1333, 21 June THOMAS DE LA MARE, clerk, sacrist, on death of John Bussh (*ibid.*, ff. 107, 110).¹ The sacristy had been claimed by the proctor of John, cardinal of St. Theodore's (Giovanni Gaetano Orsini), but the archbishop gave it to Thomas, his kinsman. Reservation of a dignity or office in the church of York was given to the cardinal, 9 Jan. 1334-5, pending a suit between him and Thomas (*C.P.L.* II, 516).
- John Rishton. Admission not recorded.
- 1333-4, 21 March William Wyrkesworth, chaplain, to a subd. preb. on death of John Rishton (Reg. Melton, fo. 111).
- Geoffrey Bilton. Admission not recorded.
- 1334-5, 7 Jan. Mag. Roland Stanesfeld, clerk, to a preb., on death of Geoffrey Bilton (*ibid.* fo. 111d).
- 1335, 20 Aug. Mag. Ralph Holbech, clerk, to a (subd.) preb., on res. of mag. John Thoresby (*ibid.* fo. 113d).
- William Gerlethorpe. Admission not recorded. See also 1341, 1350.
- 1340, 1 June William Hardeshull, king's clerk, pres. by the Crown to the preb. of William Gerlethorpe, by exchange of the sacristy of Bosham, Sussex (*C.P.R.* 1338-1340, p. 544). This does not appear to have taken effect, as Hardeshull (*rectius* Hardreshull) did not resign the sacristy of Bosham till 1345 (*Exeter Reg. Grandisson*, ed. Randolph, III, 1338.) See 1341, 1350.
- 1340-1, 8 Feb. Thomas Lokyngton, pres. by the Crown, *sede vacante*, to the preb. of mag. Alan Shirebourne, by exchange of a parsonage (i.e. a vicariate choral) in the church of York (*C.P.R.* 1340-1343, p. 127). It seems doubtful whether this or the presentation immediately preceding took effect, as no admissions are recorded.
- 1341, 27 April John Wynwyk, king's clerk, pres. by the Crown, *sede vacante*, to the (priest) preb. of Richard Melton, deceased. Admitted 5 July, as John Wynwyk, chaplain (*ibid.*, p. 192; Reg. Sed. Vac. fo. 57, where the date of presentation is given as 1 June). Prebendary of North Newbald in York 1343 (*C.P.R.* 1343-1345, pp. 52, 120). of South Muskham in Southwell, in which his estate was ratified in 1351 and 1352 (*ibid.* 1350-1354, pp. 179, 324). He had papal reservation of this last, 19 June 1347, when it was about to be vacated by the consecration of John Thoresby as bishop of St. David's; he was

¹ Brother of William de la Mare (see above) and vicar of Welwick in the provostry of Beverley (*Beverley Chapter Act-Book* II, intr. p. lxvi). He obtained the church of Stanford-on-Avon, Northants., in the gift of the abbot and convent of Selby, before 1338, when he exchanged it for the preb. of Weighton in York, 23 Oct. (Reg. Melton, fo. 119). He died in 1358. His will, dated 26 Sept., was proved 20 Oct. (*Test. Ebor.* I, 68). It directs his burial in the Minster before the door of the Chapel or near the tomb of Archbishop Melton, and; according to Torre, a stone in the nave bore the date 6 Oct. 1358; but he is said to have died at Clarbrough, Notts., of the church of which, as sacrist, he was rector, and to have been buried there (Raine). He bequeathed to the Chapel 100s. and a red velvet set of vestments. The will also includes bequests to the church of Market Weighton for mending books and vestments, to the church of Welwick for the renewal of the east windows, and to the church of Brotherton for the chancel roof. He probably farmed the rectory of the last church, a peculiar of the dean and chapter of York.

then rector of Stanford, dio. Lincoln, with his preb. in York and a 'modest preb.' in the Chapel (*C.P.L.* III, 241). At the end of 1353 he held Dunham preb. in Southwell, in which his estate was ratified 4 April 1354 (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 13d; *C.P.R.* 1354-1358, p. 26). Meanwhile, 8 Nov. 1347, he had been pres. by the Crown to Worimestre preb. in Wells (*C.P.R.* 1345-1348, p. 428), and obtained All Saints Hungate preb. in Lincoln by exchange of some benefice on 21 Dec. in the same year (Le Neve II, 99). Thus holding prebs. in York, Lincoln, Wells, Southwell and the Chapel, he had provision, 17 Oct. 1349, of the canonry and preb. in Salisbury, viz. Yetminster Secunda, which had been reserved in the lifetime of John Giffard (*C.P.L.* III, 342). His estate in this and in his other prebs., including that of Fittleworth in Chichester and a preb. in Lichfield, was ratified 20 Nov. 1351 (*C.P.R.* 1350-1354, p. 179). He exchanged his preb. in Lincoln for the mastership of St. Thomas' hospital at Marlborough at a date not stated (Le Neve, u.s.)¹, and his preb. in Salisbury, 26 March 1359 for the preb. of Monkton in Ripon (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 42). He seems to have quitted his preb. in Lincoln before 20 Nov. 1351, when his estate was ratified in Brampton preb., followed by further ratifications in 1352 and 1354 from which his preb. in Lichfield is seen to have been Eccleshall (*C.P.R.* 1350-1354, pp. 179, 324; 1354-1358, p. 26). In 1349 at the time of his provision to his Salisbury preb. he already had a grant from the Crown of the treasurership of York, 26 July, which was repeated 1 Aug. 1351 (*ibid.* 1348-1350, p. 355; 1350-1354, p. 134). On 22 Sept. 1350, he exchanged North Newbald preb. for the hospital of St. Giles at Maldon, Essex (Reg. Zouche, fo. 235), as he had the preb. of Wilton annexed to the treasurership. He died before 29 June, 1360, when his successor received collation of his dignity (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 45d). See also *Mem. Ripon* II, 227-228; Bridgeman, *Hist. of Ch. and Manor of Wigan* (Chetnam Soc.) 1, 47-56. He was pres. by the Crown to the church of Wigan, 23 Feb. 1349-50, and again, on recovery of presentation 26 April, 1350 (*C.P.R.* 1348-1350, pp. 473, 496). He vacated this before 10 July 1359.

- 1341, 20 Aug. Thomas Neuagh, king's clerk, pres. by the Crown to a preb., by exchange of a preb. in St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, with William Gerlethorpe (*C.P.R.* 1340-1343, p. 273). This, like Gerlethorpe's previous exchange in 1340, seems to have had no result. See 1350.
- 1341, 1 Dec. Thomas Renham, king's clerk, pres. by the Crown to a preb. by exchange of the church of Brook, Kent, with master Alan Shirburn (*ibid.*, p. 350). Died 1349. A similar doubt to that expressed above is raised by this exchange, which, however, is not mentioned in a second grant to Renham, 14 Feb. 1341-2 (*ibid.*, pp. 350, 365).
- Henry Raghton, chaplain. Admission not recorded.
- 1344, 9 Aug. Mag. John Pikering, chaplain, to the preb. of Henry Raghton, by exchange of the church of All Saints, Pavement, York (Reg. Zouche, fo. 220). Died 1349.

¹ There may be some confusion here with Richard Wynewyk, who held the Lincoln preb. in 1366 (Lambeth Reg. Langham, fo. 27) and in Dec. 1371 (Lincoln Reg. x, fo. 46d).

- 1344-5, 23 March Mag. Ralph Turvill, provided to a (deacon) preb., vacant by the death of mag. Adam Spiriden (*ibid.* fo. 221).
Mag. Richard Snoweshull. Admission not recorded. Died 1349.
- 1348, 20 April Mag. Nicholas Whiteby, clerk, to a (deacon) preb. vacant by death of John Pokelyngton (*ibid.*, fo. 240). See 1361.
- 1349, 3 Sept. John Acome, clerk, to a preb. vacant by death of Thomas Reynham (*ibid.*, fo. 231d). Formerly bailiff of York before receiving minor orders, in which office he had ordered executions, for which he sought and received, 13 Nov. 1352, a rehabilitation for irregularity. (*C.P.L.* III, 471; *C.P.P.* I, 237).
- 1349, 11 Sept. William Burgh, clerk, to a preb. vacant by death of mag. Richard Snoweshull (Reg. Zouche, fo. 231). Will de Bourgh, canon, rector of Medbury (Medbourne, Leic.), had provision of a canonry and preb. of Southwell, 25 June 1361 (*C.P.P.* I, 372).
- 1349, 11 Sept. Roger Danet, clerk, to a preb. vacant by death of mag. John Pikeryng (Reg. Zouche, fo. 232d).
Mag. John Berneby. Admission not recorded.
- 1349, 29 Sept. Henry Hay of Aughton, chaplain, to a preb. vacant by death of John Berneby (*ibid.*, fo. 231).
Roger Stierendeby. Admission not recorded. His is the fourth death which occurred among the canons at the height of the Black Death in Yorkshire. A provision to him of the preb. of Nunwick in Ripon, mentioning him as rector of Nunburnholme and canon of the chapel, bears date 12 Oct. 1350, a year later than his death (*C.P.L.* III, 343).
- 1349, 26 Sept. Mag. John Shipedham, clerk, to a preb. vacant by death of Roger Stierendeby (Reg. Zouche, fo. 231d). Exchanged 1355-6.
John 'Hugonis' of Hamerton, called Aldefeld, had a dispensation for illegitimacy extended, so as to hold three benefices, 11 Oct. 1349 (*C.P.L.* III, 352; *C.P.P.* I, 179). Admission not recorded. See 1352-3.
- 1350, 27 July William Sandeford, chaplain, to the preb. late of William Gerlethorp (Reg. Zouche, fo. 236). From this it would appear that neither of Gerlethorpe's exchanges previously recorded had taken effect.
- 1352-3, 16 Jan. John Thorpe, king's clerk, pres. by the Crown to the preb. of mag. John Aldefeld (*C.P.R.* 1350-1354, p. 382). Exchanged 1368-9. As clerk of the mint and keeper of the king's jewels in the Tower, canon of St. Paul's and of the Chapel, and rector of Watton at Stone, Herts., he had provision, 22 April 1363, of an expectative canonry of Salisbury, for which he was prepared to resign his preb. in the Chapel (*C.P.P.* I, 415).
John Alvin had provision, 1 May, 1353, of a benefice without cure of souls in the church of Ripon (*C.P.P.* I, 245). Admission not recorded, but possibly the name is an error for John Acum or Acome (see 1354).
- 1354, 25 March Mag. Robert Beverley (*de Beverlaco*), pres. by the Crown to the preb. vacant by the death of Thomas Reyner (*sic*). Mandate for induction addressed to the archbishop (*C.P.R.* 1354-1358, p. 24). This probably is the

preb. to which John Acum had succeeded in 1349. See next. No record of admission remains, and it is probable that the grant of the preb. to Beverley was made in error.

1354, 31 May William Swafeld. Estate ratified in the preb. late of John Acum (*ibid.*, p. 55). Admission not recorded.

1355-6, 19 March John Bellerby, to the preb. of mag. John Shipedham, by exchange of the chantry at the altar of St. John Baptist in St. Paul's Cathedral (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 35). This exchange included the church of Weston by Beccles, Suffolk, to which Bellerby was pres. by the Crown, 8 March (*C.P.R.* 1354-1358, p. 347).

Mag. William Carleton held a preb. 20 Dec. 1357 (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 41d). Admission not recorded.

c. 1358

JOHN WALTHAM, sacrist, in succession to Thomas de la Mare. Admission not recorded, but De la Mare was succeeded in his preb. of Weighton in York in Oct. 1358, according to Le Neve III, 224. Waltham had obtained the wardenship or sacristy by 25 June, 1359, when he had papal confirmation of the collation to him of the church of Courteenhall, Northt., and a canonry and prebend of Abergwili (*C.P.L.* III, 608). This confirmation was in consequence of a doubt whether the sacristy, which had been collated to him by the archbishop, was not reserved to the pope. On 24 Dec. 1360 the sacristy was confirmed to him by Innocent VI, he having entered upon it as vacant by death of Thomas de la Mare, and a doubt having arisen with regard to regularity. This confirmation was not expedited owing to the death of the pope, 12 Sept. 1362 (which incidentally illustrates the dilatoriness of business at Avignon), and received ratification from Urban V, 8 Nov. 1362, when he is called canon and prebendary of Southwell, with mention of the other benefices previously named (*ibid.*, IV, 33). He died bishop of Salisbury in 1395, as already noted. A full note on him, with an account of his many benefices, will be found in *Y.A.J.* xxv, 257-260. There is, however, great difficulty in disentangling his career from that of another clerk of the same name, who seems to have been some years older. He retained the sacristy until his promotion to a bishopric in 1388. On 7 Oct. 1370 he had ratification of his estate as rector of Stretton-in-the-Clay (Sturton-le-Steeple), Notts., prebendary of South Newbald in York, and sacrist, and again in 1387 as archdeacon of Richmond, prebendary of South Cave in York, canon and prebendary in the nunneries of Wilton and Shaftesbury, and sacrist of the Chapel (*C.P.R.* 1367-1370, p. 463; 1385-1389, p. 348).

John Grantham, chaplain. Admission not recorded.

1360, 7 Nov. Elyas Thoresby, chaplain, to the preb. late of John Grantham, by exchange of the hospital of Bawtry, Notts. Repeated 7 Nov. 1361 (Reg. Thoresby, ff. 49, 53). See 1371.

1361, 16 Nov. Thomas Middleton, chaplain, to the (deacon) preb. vacant by death of mag. Nicholas Whiteby. Repeated 23 Aug., 1362 and 28 March 1363 (*ibid.*, ff. 51, 54d, 57). As priest of dio. Lincoln and rector of 'Arkeby in Clifland,' dio. York, he had papal confirmation of these collations, 25 April, 9 May and 9 July 1363 (*C.P.P.* I, 417, 420, 442).

Edmund Rosel of Cotgrave, clerk, petitioning for a benefice in the gift of the archbishop, had provision of a canonry with expectation of a preb., 16 Aug. 1363 (*C.P.P.* I, 449). There is no indication that he obtained a preb.

Adam of York (*de Eboraco*), B.C.L., who had lectured voluntarily at Oxford in civil law, had a canonry and preb. in the Chapel, mentioned in the petition of the archbishop and chapter of York for his confirmation as precentor, which was granted 24 Feb., 1365-6 (*C.P.P.* I, 518). Admission not recorded, but he had been admitted to the precentorship of York 3 July 1365 (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 59).

1368, 13 May John Giffon, priest, to the (priest) preb. of John Sutton, by exchange of the church of Skirpenbeck (Reg. Thoresby fo. 65d). See 1387-8 and three entries in 1388. Presumably Sutton is the canon admitted in 1313, in which case he was much the oldest member of the establishment.

1368-9, 20 Feb. Thomas Oldyngton, to the preb. of John Thorp, by exchange of the church of Cottenham, Cambs. (*ibid.*, fo. 67). This exchange included Thorp's church of Nailstone, Leic., and preb. of Wigginton in Tamworth, to the second of which Oldyngton was pres. by the Crown, 18 Jan. (*C.P.R.* 1367-1379, p. 188). Oldyngton was inst. to Nailstone 6 Feb. (Lincoln Reg. X, ff. 242d-244). The full details of the exchange are mentioned in this last and in the preceding reference, where the preb. in Tamworth is wrongly described as 'Wyggeston.' Oldyngton had been preferred to the preb. of Warthill in York as long before as 4 Feb. 1352-3 (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 3), which he retained with his preb. in the Chapel until 1378 (see below). Exchanged 1378.

Mag. John Pykering. Admission not recorded. Another canon of this name had died in 1349 (see above).

1369, 13 Sept. Nicholas Cave, priest, to a preb., by exchange of a moiety of St. Mary's, Castlegate, York, with mag. John Pykering (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 74d). Res. 1400. Precentor of York 16 March 1364-5 (*ibid.* fo. 57d), but his appointment seems to have been superseded by that of Adam of York (see above).

Thomas Cotyngham. Admission not recorded.

1370, 20 May Mag. Henry Graynesby, priest, to a preb. vacant by res. of Thomas Cotyngham (*ibid.*, fo. 67d). See 1397-8.

Thomas Rasyn. Admission not recorded.

1371, 2 Aug. Elias Thoresby, priest, to a preb., vacant by death of Thomas Rasyn (*ibid.*, fo. 74). When or how Elias quitted his former preb. in the Chapel is not recorded. On 26 May 1362 he had exchanged with John Grantham, with whom he had previously exchanged that preb. for the hospital of Bawtry, the church of North Coates, Linc., for that of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York. This he again exchanged, 9 Feb. 1362-3, for the church of St. Denis, Walmgate, York; and this, 10 July 1367, for the church of Gamston, Notts., which, on 10 Nov. in the same year, he exchanged for that of Weston-in-the-Clay, Notts. (Raine). Further information seems to be wanting.

John Cotingham. Admission not recorded.

- 1373, 17 April Robert Neuton, to a preb. vacant by res. of John Cottingham (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 77d). See 1397.
John Clone. Admission not recorded. See also 1380.
- 1377, 28 Sept. Mag. Humphrey Charlton, to the preb. of John Clone, by exchange of the preb. portion of Netherhall in the church of Ledbury, Heref. (*Heref. Reg. Gilbert* [Cant. & York Soc.], p. 122). Exchanged 1380. For Charlton, archdeacon of Richmond and prebendary of Riccall in York, see *Y.A.J.* xxv, 235-238.
- 1378, 11 Aug. Mag. Hugh Wymondeswold, to the preb. of Thomas Oldyngton, by exchange of the preb. of Ramsbury in Salisbury for this preb., Warthill preb. in York and the sacristy of Beverley (Reg. Alex. Neville I, fo. 7). Wymondeswold had been admitted to the precentorship of York in 1352 (Reg. Zouche, fo. 239d), but appears to have vacated it in 1364-5, while still asserting his right to it. A judgement in his favour at the papal court restored the precentorship to him, to which he was admitted 12 Aug., 1371 (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 73d). He died before 3 Nov. 1379, when the precentorship was collated to his successor (Reg. Alex. Neville I, fo. 9).
- 1379, 5 Nov. Mag. John Scardeburgh, to the preb. late of Hugh Wymondeswold. A second admission 26 Aug. 1380 (*ibid.*, ff. 7d, 12d). This was on a presentation by the Crown, not recorded in the Patent Rolls. He was admitted to Stillington preb. in York, 26 Feb. 1378-9. according to Le Neve III, 213; but, if so, he did not hold it for long. Among persons of his name, he may be securely identified with John Scardeburgh, instituted rector of Foxholes in 1378, who exchanged Foxholes for the church of Welton, 29 Feb. 1383-4 (Raine).
John Burton. Admission not recorded.
- 1379, 24 Dec. John Sandall, to the preb. of John Burton, by exchange of the church of Ordsall, Notts., for this preb. and for the church of Wispington, Linc. (Reg. Alex. Neville I, fo. 9d). The exchange was expedited by the bishop of Lincoln, 10 Dec. in pursuance of commission 2 Nov. (Lincoln Reg. X, fo. 100).
- 1380, 30 April John Clone, to the preb. of mag. Humphrey Charlton, by exchange of the free chapel of Faxfleet, to which Clone had presentation from the Crown, 24 April (Reg. Alex. Neville I, fo. 9d; *C.P.R.* 1377-1381, p. 482). For Clone see *Y.A.J.* xxv, 238, 239.
Mag. William Cawode. Admission not recorded. See *Surtees Soc.* cxxvii, 292, 293.
- 1380-1, 11 Jan. Thomas Brunflet (Brounfeld) to the (subdeacon) preb. of mag. William Cawode, by exchange of the church of Beelsby, Linc. (Reg. Alex. Neville I, fo. 10). Exchange expedited by the bishop of Lincoln, 31 Dec. 1380, by commission 26 Dec. (Lincoln Reg. X, fo. 110). Cawode had a Crown presentation to Beelsby, 12 Feb. 1380-1 (*C.P.R.* 1377-1381, p. 582).
Mag. Roger Pykering. Admission not recorded.
John Gretham. Admission not recorded, but apparently succeeded John Giffon.

- 1387, 21 June John Bridale of Causton, to a preb. by exchange of the church of St. Mary, Rotherhithe, Surrey, with John Gretham (*Winton Reg. Wykeham* [Hants. Rec. Soc.] I, 151). Estate ratified in the (priest) preb., late of John Gyffon, chaplain, deceased, 14 March 1387-8 (*C.P.R.* 1385-1389, p. 429). See 1388.
- 1388, 27 March John York, chaplain. Estate ratified in the (priest) preb. of John Gyffon, chaplain, deceased (*ibid.*, p. 426). See below.
- 1388, 17 April John Suthwell, king's clerk. Estate ratified in the (priest) preb. late of John Giffon (*ibid.*, p. 440). The conflicting entries with regard to this preb. may reflect the disturbed state of public affairs in this year, the year of the fall and flight of Archbishop Neville and of his condemnation by the Merciless parliament. The archiepiscopal registers are very defective for this period.
- Mag. Adam Thorpe. Admission not recorded.
- 1388, 23 May Thomas Stanley, king's clerk. Estate ratified in the preb. late of mag. Adam Thorpe (*ibid.*, p. 444). See below.
- 1388, 1 July John York, chaplain, pres. by the Crown to the priest preb. late of John Gyffon (*ibid.*, p. 476). See above and 1388.
- 1388, 30 July John Akum, pres. by the Crown to the preb. late of mag. Adam Thorpe, by exchange of the preb. in Norton, co. Durham, late of Richard Elvet, with Thomas Stanley. Mandate for induction addressed to the keeper of the spiritualities of the see of York and to the sacrist (*ibid.*, p. 498).
- 1388, 12 Sept. John Deen, chaplain, pres. by the Crown to the preb. vacant by the res. of John Bridale (*ibid.*, p. 505). See 1400.
- 1388, 13 Sept. ROGER WESTON, sacrist, pres. by the Crown. Mandate for induction addressed to the archbishop (*ibid.*, p. 503). The sacristy was vacant by the promotion of John Waltham to the see of Salisbury, though his consecration did not take place till 20 Sept. It seems, however, that Weston's admission was delayed for the time being, and it was not until after Arundel's translation to Canterbury in 1396 that, after a second presentation by the Crown, 25 Feb. 1396-7 (*C.P.R.* 1396-1399, p. 83), he was put in possession of the sacristy on 5 March 1396-7, when the Crown presentation is mentioned (Reg. Sede Vac., fo. 227). This may have been a second admission, but there is no evidence of one earlier. Meanwhile Weston, as sacrist, had a papal indult for a portable altar, 26 Nov. 1393 (*C.P.L.* IV, 491). Weston's estate was ratified in the preb. of St. Katherine's altar in Beverley 16 and 18 Oct. 1397 (*C.P.R.* 1396-1399, pp. 203, 225). He vacated this preb. by death before 25 Jan. 1416-17 (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 60), and it is more than probable that his tenure of the sacristy came to an end at the same time.
- Simon Romain. Admission not recorded.
- 1395, 5 Oct. William Bedeman. Estate ratified in the preb. late of Simon Romain (*C.P.R.* 1391-1396, p. 622). Admission not recorded.

- 1397, 6 Oct. John Bateman. Estate ratified in a preb. Admission not recorded (*C.P.R.* 1396-1399, p. 202). Res. 1406.
- 1397, 11 Oct. Simon Marcheford. Estate ratified in a preb. (*ibid.* p. 200). See 1413. Marcheford exchanged the church of Rampton, Cambs., for that of Kippax, to which he was pres. by the Crown, 9 Sept. 1392 (*C.P.R.* 1391-1396, p. 152). He had ratification of his estate in the church of Harrow, Middlesex, 28 July 1400 (*ibid.* 1399-1401, p. 101), which he held till 1433. Canon of Windsor, 26 May 1407 (*C.P.R.* 1405-1408, p. 328). He had a grant of the preb. of Alton Australis in Salisbury, 3 June 1407 (*ibid.* p. 329: cf. Jones, *Fasti Eccl. Sar.* p. 351). Preb. of Stow-in-Lindsey in Lincoln, 14 Nov. 1411 (Reg. D. & C. Linc. VII, fo. 26d). See below (1413) for his exchange of this preb. in the Chapel for Bathwick preb. in Wherwell (cf. *Wells Reg. Bubwyth*, p. 166). This he exchanged, 30 Nov. 1419, for the free chapel of Erle Whitknyghtes, dio. Salisbury (*ibid.* p. 377), an exchange which seems to have included, or to have been quickly followed by, the exchange of his preb. in Salisbury (Jones u.s.). He had already res. his Lincoln preb. in 1414-15. Jones assumes that he died in 1420, but actually he died 4 Feb. 1441-2 (Le Neve II, 211; III, 384), having res. his preb. in Windsor before 20 Feb. 1440-1 (*C.P.R.* 1436-1441, p. 513).
- 1397, 11 Oct. Thomas Bernardcastell. Estate ratified in a preb. late of Robert Neuton (*C.P.R.* 1396-1399, p. 200). Admission not recorded. Exchanged 1416-17.
- 1397, 17 Oct. John Blakwell. Estate ratified in a preb. (*ibid.* p. 218). Admission not recorded. Res. 1428.
- Thomas Scot. Admission not recorded.
- 1397, 4 Nov. John Barnardcastle (*de Castro Bernardi*). Estate ratified in the preb. late of Thomas Scot (*ibid.* p. 203). Died 1418.
- William Neuton. Admission not recorded.
- 1397, 13 Dec. Thomas Popilton, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of William Neuton (Reg. Waldby, fo. 13). Res. 1398.
- 1397-8, 3 Feb. John Canoun. Estate ratified in the preb. late of mag. Henry Graynesby (*C.P.R.* 1396-1399, p. 260). Admission not recorded.
- 1398, 13 May John Popilton (of York), chaplain, pres. by the Crown (6 May), to a preb. vacant by res. of Thomas Popilton (Reg. Sede Vac. fo. 249d; *C.P.R.* 1396-1399, p. 384).
- 1398, 15 Dec. John Popilton, rector of Patrick Brompton, to the preb. vacant by res. of John Popilton (Reg. Scrope, fo. 2). As the mention of the rectory is not made in connexion with an exchange, it seems clear that the two persons of this name are really one and the same man, re-instituted on his acceptance of a church with cure of souls. See 1406.
- 1400, 17 Aug. Nicholas Tydde, household clerk of the archbishop, to the preb. vacant by res. of Nicholas Cave (*ibid.* fo. 3). Res. 1400.
- 1400, 5 Oct. Mag. Thomas Burstall, priest, to the preb. vacant by the death of John Deen (*ibid.* fo. 3d). Res. 1401.
- William Gysburn. Admission not recorded.

- 1400, 20 Oct. Nicholas Tydde, household clerk u.s., to the preb. vacant by death of William Gysburn (*ibid.* fo. 3d). Exchanged 1405. See also 1409.
- 1400, 20 Oct. John Newark, household clerk u.s., to the preb. vacant by res. of Nicholas Tydde (*ibid.* fo. 3d). Apparently this was the preb. to which Tydde had been admitted in August. See also 1405.
- 1401, 26 May Walter Patteswyk, priest, household clerk, to the preb. vacant by res. of Mag. Thomas Burstall (*ibid.* fo. 4d). See 1405 and 1418.
- Thomas Parker. Admission not recorded. See below.
- 1405, 31 March Thomas Hilton, to the preb. of Thomas Parker, by exchange of the preb. of Carlton-cum-Thurlby in Lincoln (*ibid.* fo. 10d). Res. 1405. Hilton had been admitted to his preb. in Lincoln, 29 Oct. 1396, by commission issued 26 Aug. (mandate to install dated 1 Nov.; Lincoln Reg. XI, fo. 442), having exchanged a moiety of the church of Malpas, Cheshire, with mag. Richard Conyngeston (see below). Apparently he was one of the clerks who had been in Scrope's service when bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (1386-1398). He held the preb. of Curborough in Lichfield on Scrope's collation, 18 Sept. 1390, quitting it for Stotfold preb. 21 Dec. in the same year (Le Neve I, 593, 624). This he apparently left in 1395 or 1396. He may be the Thomas Hilton who, 13 March 1396-7, exchanged the church of Foulmire, Cambs., for the preb. of Coppenhall in Penkridge, Staffs. (Ely Reg. Fordham, quoted in Baker MSS. xxxi, 217). He had collation of the preb. of Barnby in York, 13 May 1400, in which his estate was ratified 26 June following (not 1401, as in Le Neve III, 171; Reg. Scrope, fo. 2d; C.P.R. 1399-1401, p. 278). This he quitted for the preb. of Weighton, 10 March 1404-5, succeeding in this, as in Barnby preb., Richard Conyngeston (see below). He was readmitted to Weighton preb. 28 July 1405 (Reg. Scrope, fo. 11d; Reg. Sede Vac., fo. 264d), which he res. by 22 Jan. 1422-3 (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 75). He may have been identical with Thomas Hilton, instituted rector of Normanton 21 Nov. 1405, on exchange of the church of Barrowby, Linc., who res. Normanton upon its appropriation to the prior of St. John of Jerusalem (Raine).
- 1405, 2 May Mag. Richard Conyngeston, LL.D., to the preb. of Nicholas Tydde, by exchange of the preb. late of John Hall in St. John's, Chester (Reg. Scrope, fo. 11d). Like Hilton, Conyngeston, whose earliest preferment of importance was in the diocese of York, seems to have served Scrope in that of Coventry and Lichfield. He held in succession the prebs. of Wolvey, 20 May 1393, and Hansacre, 15 March 1395-6, in Lichfield (Le Neve I, 611, 640). Before this, however, he had obtained Carlton-cum-Thurlby preb. in Lincoln, 21 Nov., 1388 (Reg. D. & C. Lincoln VI, fo. 17d), which he exchanged in 1395 with Thomas Hilton, as previously noted, for the upper moiety of the church of Malpas, Cheshire (Lincoln Reg. XI, fo. 442; Ormerod, *Cheshire*, ed. Helsby, II, 606). On 16 May 1398 he was admitted to the preb. in St. John's, Chester, vacant by the death of John Halle, to which he was pres by the Crown (Ormerod, *op. cit.* III, 309). At York he held Barnby

preb. by a Crown pres. 10 March 1386-7: his estate in it was ratified 11 July 1388 (*C.P.R.* 1385-1389, pp. 298, 477). Archbishop Scrope appointed him his chancellor and gave him the preb. of Bole in York, 13 May 1400, and that of Norwell Palishall in Southwell, 23 Sept. in the same year (Reg. Scrope, ff. 2, 3). He was readmitted to the Southwell preb. 9 July 1402, following a Crown presentation of 3 May (*ibid.*, fo. 3; *C.P.R.* 1401-1405, p. 91). He res. Bole preb. in 1403, when he received the preb. of Weighton, 26 April (Reg. Scrope, fo. 3). On 24 June 1404 he exchanged his moiety of Malpas for the church of Brandesburton in the provostry of Beverley (Ormerod, *op. cit.* II, 607). On 17 Jan. 1404-5 he was admitted to the preb. of St. Peter's altar in Beverley, and on 24 Feb. to Laughton preb. in York. (Reg. Scrope, fo. 11). His estate in both these prebends was apparently compromised after Scrope's execution, 8 June 1405. On 9 Aug. following he was pres. by the Crown to the Beverley preb. and readmitted 12 Aug., while his estate in Laughton preb. was ratified 19 Oct., and he was re-admitted 29 Oct. 1406 (*C.P.R.* 1405-1408, pp. 42, 262; Reg. Sede Vac., ff. 266, 296d). Under Archbishop Bowet he occupied posts of trust in the diocese of York, was appointed official of the court of York, 4 April 1408, and on more than one occasion acted as the archbishop's deputy in Convocation. He kept his prebs. in York, Beverley and Southwell till his death. He appears to have res. the church of Brandesburton; but he was instituted to the church of Hickling, Notts., 4 Nov. 1411, and also obtained the church of Penistone during his later years, holding both at the time of his death. His will was proved 13 Jan. 1313-14, in which he desired to be buried in the church of Southwell.

- 1405, 7 May Walter Patteswyk, clerk, to a preb. vacant by res. of Thomas Hilton (Reg. Scrope, fo. 11).
- 1405, 9 Dec. John Newerk, pres. by the Crown to the preb. late of Nicholas Tyd (*C.P.R.* 1405-1408, p. 106). Died 1425-6. The movements of Nicholas Tydde from preb. to preb., and the absence of any record to show when Conyngeston quitted the preb. for which he had exchanged with Tydde, make the identity of this preb. uncertain; but it is most probably the same preb. to which Newerk had been admitted in 1400, and the presentation was made by way of ratifying his estate in it.
- 1406, 18 June John Cristemassee, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by res. of John Bateman (Reg. Sede Vac., fo. 285). This was on pres. by the Crown, 11 May, repeated 25 May (*C.P.R.* 1405-1408, pp. 178-186). Died 1408.
- 1406, 31 Aug. Thomas Pannall, clerk of the university of Oxford, to the (subd.) preb. vacant by res. of John Popilton (Reg. Sede Vac., fo. 294d). Died 1422. By Crown presentation, 26 Aug., which speaks of the subd. preb. which John Popylton had while he lived (*C.P.R.* 1405-1408, p. 217).
- 1408, 4 April John Storthwayt, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of John Cristemassee (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 19). Exchanged 1424. 1 July 1411, John Storthwayt, rector of Curry Mallet, Somerset, had rehabilitation of a dispensation for illegitimacy, authorising him to proceed to orders and hold a benefice with cure. He had obtained his preb. in the Chapel in ignorance of law and was required

to resign it, but received papal collation of it on 20 Oct. following, with a dispensation to hold two other compatible benefices (*C.P.L.* VI, 298). He was rector of Curry Mallet in 1408, and apparently still held it in 1409, when he was instituted to the church of North Stoke, 3 June. This he exchanged for the church of Chipstable, also in Somerset, 28 Sept. in the same year, which he held for only a few months. He had ceased to be rector of Curry Mallet by 12 Feb. 1426-7 (Weaver, *Somerset Incumbents*, pp. 287, 334, 349). This was no doubt on account of his accession to the precentorship of Wells, of which he had collation 10 Feb. (*Wells Reg. Stafford* I, 44). He had already, 9 July 1417, obtained the preb. of Combe the ninth in Wells, which, 7 July 1420, he quitted for that of Easton-in-Gordano (*Wells Reg. Bubwyth*, pp. 281, 392). This again he quitted for the preb. of Litton, 15 May 1435, which he retained until his death (*Wells Reg. Stafford*, II, 183). With it he held, from 31 Dec. 1436, the church of Lymphsham, from 11 Sept. 1437, the preb. of Bathwick in the conventual church of Wherwell, and, from 20 March 1439-40, the chancellorship of Wells, for which he res. the precentorship (*ibid.* II, 201, 209, 247). His appearance as a canon of the Chapel was probably due to his acquaintance with Archbishop Bowet, recently translated to York from Bath and Wells; but he obtained no further recognition in the diocese of York. See below for his preb. in Chichester, for which he exchanged this preb. in 1424.

Nicholas Tydd, clerk. Admission not recorded. This was his third appearance among the canons, but, owing to lack of dates, it is impossible to say whether the preb. which he obtained in 1400 and is said to have res. on the same day, was not actually retained by him.

1409, 28 June

Thomas Parker, priest, to the preb. of Nicholas Tydd, by exchange of the hospital of St. Giles, Hexham (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 42d). Res. 1409. Parker had already made a temporary appearance in 1405. He, like others already mentioned, seems to have been in the service of Archbishop Scrope at Lichfield, where he received the preb. of Dernford, 25 Jan. 1397-8. This he exchanged with the archbishop's nephew Stephen Scrope, afterwards archdeacon of Richmond, for the preb. of Colwich, 15 June 1400 (Le Neve I, 592, 596). On 28 May 1401 he was instituted to the church of Huggate, apparently his first preferment in the diocese of York, and, as already noted, in 1405 he exchanged a preb. in the Chapel for the preb. of Carlton-cum-Thurlby in Lincoln. He had collation of the preb. of Ampleforth in York 17 Sept. 1410, and, 18 June 1411, exchanged Huggate and his preb. in Lincoln for the church of Bolton Percy (Reg. Bowet I, ff. 45d, 99). He had collation, 11 Oct. 1416, of the preb. of St. Mary's altar in Beverley, which he res. by 6 Oct. 1423 (*ibid.* ff. 59, 76). If this resignation took place, it was probably on his death-bed, for his will, dated 4 Oct., was proved 7 Oct. in that year. He retained his prebs. in York and Lichfield and the church of Bolton Percy to the last. In his will he desired to be buried either in the Minster, behind that part of the pier westward at the head of his lord Archbishop Scrope, viz. in St. Stephen's chapel, or before the altar of St. Mary in Beverley Minster, or

in the choir of Bolton Percy church, in the place appointed by him. He is usually credited with the rebuilding of the chancel of Bolton Percy, where his name was to be seen in one of the windows: to judge by the occurrence of the arms of Archbishop Kempe below one of the figures of archbishops in the east window, the chancel was not completed till a little after his death. One of the windows in the north aisle of the choir in York Minster was his gift, and the east window of Beverley Minster, above the altar which gave its title to his preb., was glazed in 1419, during his tenure of that preb. He must certainly have possessed a keen interest in the art of his day. His bequests include twenty marks to the fabric fund for the reredos of the high altar at York, a suit of cloth of gold vestments to the prebendal church of Colwich, Staff., and to Bolton Percy church a suit of black satin vestments embroidered with silver tree-roots.

- 1409, 22 Sept. Thomas Wyot, priest, household clerk of the archbishop, to the preb. vacant by res. of Thomas Parker (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 42d). Res. and re-exchanged 1413. See Surtees Soc. CXXVII, 301-2. In 1423 Wyot succeeded Parker in the preb. of St. Mary's altar, Beverley, which he held at his death in 1441-2 (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 76; Reg. Kempe, fo. 48).
- Mag. John Colston. Admission not recorded.
- 1412, 17 April Mag. Richard Arnall, to the preb. vacant by the death of John Colston (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 47d). Res. 1418. See Surtees Soc. CXXVII, 291. To the account of his benefices there it may be added that he appears to have acquired the vicarage of Gainford, co. Durham, which he held in 1416, in 1412, and to have res. it in 1427. In 1440, at a visitation of York Minster, he was reported to be unfit to bear the work of the office of auditor of the chapter. He died not long after and his will was proved 9 May 1441.
- 1413, 11 Dec. Stephen Percy, to the (priest) preb. of Simon Marcheford by exchange of the preb. of Bathwick in the conventual church of Wherwell, Hants. (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 49). Exchanged 1425.
- 1415, 20 Aug. Mag. Thomas Grenewod, LL.B., to the preb. vacant by res. of Thomas Wyot (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 53d). Exchanged 1415. See Surtees Soc. CXXVII, 295. To the note there may be added that Grenewod was instituted to the church of St. Michael at Ousebridge End, York, 5 Feb. 1409-10, which he res. by 13 Dec. 1413, on obtaining the vicarage of Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland.
- 1415, 23 Aug. Mag. John Wodham, to the preb. of mag. Thomas Grenewod, by exchange of the preb. of Bishop's Norton in Lincoln (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 54). Wodham was admitted master of St. John's hospital, Ripon 26 March 1414, which he exchanged on the same day for Bishop's Norton preb. (*ibid.*, fo. 51d). On 21 Aug. 1415 he had received collation of the archdeaconry of Nottingham. As Archbishop Bowet's official, with the degree of Dec. lic., he had collation of the preb. of St. Katherine's altar in Beverley, 25 Jan. 1416-17 (*ibid.* I, fo. 66). He quitted the archdeaconry of Nottingham for that of East Riding, 25 Sept. 1418, and on 22 Dec. in that

year was transferred from the preb. of St. Katherine's altar to that of St. Andrew's altar in Beverley. This and the archdeaconry of East Riding he retained for the rest of his life, holding with them two prebs. of York in succession, viz. Fenton, 8 March 1418-19, and Stillington, 28 May 1428 (*ibid.*, ff. 53d, 60, 66, 67; Reg. Kempe, fo. 7). The statement in Le Neve III, 143, that he res. the archdeaconry of East Riding in 1432 is groundless. His will was proved at the end of March 1436 (Reg. Kempe, fo. 384).

- 1415, 30 Aug. Thomas Wyot, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of John Wodham (Reg. Bowet I, 54). Res. 1423. Wyot thus returned to the preb. which he had res. ten days before. The reason of this series of changes is not obvious.
- 1416-17, 22 March John Akum, to the (deacon) preb. of Thomas Barnardcastle, by exchange of Grenecroft preb. in Lanchester, co. Durham (*ibid.* I, 60). Exchanged 1426. It is doubtful whether Akum can be identified with John Acome or Akum, whose estate was ratified in Laughton preb. in York, 12 Jan. 1387-8, and in Warthill preb. 1 Aug. 1389, of which he had a grant 4 Oct. in the same year (*C.P.R.* 1385-1389, p. 379; 1388-1392, pp. 98, 113). This clerk was active in the diocese of Durham during the episcopate of Thomas Langley; but he was rector of St. Margaret Walmgate at York, which he exchanged, 12 Sept. 1412, for the church of Kirk Smeaton. On 13 Oct. 1411 Langley collated the archdeaconry of Northumberland to him, but he res. it immediately, and on 8 Nov. had collation of Grenecroft preb. in Lanchester. He was also dean of Chester-le-Street, exchanging this office for the church of Stanhope by commission issued 28 Oct. 1417. He held Stanhope until 1424. See also below.
- 1418, 18 July Walter Patteswyk, priest, to the preb. vacant by the death of John Bernardcastell (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 61d). This is the third mention of Patteswyk, one of Archbishop Scrope's household clerks: it seems probable that he had been preferred to a subd. and to a deacon preb. in succession, and that this was a priest preb.
- 1418, 24 July Mag. John Wyles, priest, Dec. Bac., to the preb. vacant by the res. of Walter Patteswyk (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 61d). This was the preb. to which Patteswyk had been admitted in 1405. Res. 1420-1.
- 1418, 25 Dec. Thomas Bryan, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of Richard Arnall (*ibid.* I, fo. 66d). Res. 1418-19.
- 1418-19, 2 March Stephen Rudstan, clerk, to the preb. vacant by the res. of Thomas Brian (*ibid.* I, ff. 66d, 67), who obtained the sacristy in 1422 (see below). Res. 1423.
- 1419, 6 April Mag. Richard Colhom, priest, to the (deacon) preb. vacated by mag. John York (*ibid.* I, fo. 67). Exchanged 1421. As the preb. obtained by John York in 1388 seems to have been a priest preb., this must have been another person of that name. Colhom or Colhame (Cowlam) had obtained St. John's hospital, Ripon, 30 July 1413, and the preb. of Thockrington in York, 13 Oct. 1414. He quitted Thockrington for Ulleskelf preb. 27 Feb. 1415-16, and exchanged his hospital at Ripon for the church of Wonston, Hants., in 1416. See below for his exchange of this preb. and Wonston for Campsall. At

his death he held Ulleskelf preb. and the church of Campsall. In his will, made 8 June 1425 and proved 1 July, he made a bequest of lead to the church of Kirkby Wharfe, of which, a peculiar of the dean and chapter of York, he appears to have been rector. An inscription over his grave in that church gives the date of his death as 29 June 1425 (*Fasti Paroch.* I, 61).

1420-1, 24 Jan. John Bolton, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. John Wyles (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 71d). Exchanged 1424.

1421, 2 June Mag. John Corynham, to the preb. of Richard Colhom, by exchange of the church of Campsall for this preb. and the church of Wonston, Hants. (*ibid.* I, fo. 139d). Exchanged 1431-2. Corynham, clerk of the king's closet, had a grant, 17 Feb. 1399-1400, of the master-ship of St. Mary's hospital, Droitwich (*C.P.R.* 1399-1401, p. 203), and, 29 Oct. 1401 and again 11 June 1405, of the free chapel of St. Mary, Jesmond (*C.P.R.* 1401-1405, p. 7; 1405-1408, p. 19). On 19 Nov. 1405 he was instituted to the church of Campsall (*Fasti Paroch.* I, 61). He exchanged the sacristy of Wimborne Minster, of which his kinsman and predecessor at Campsall, Roger Corynham, was dean, for the free chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury on Bedford bridge, of which he had a grant from the Crown, 30 June 1411 (*C.P.R.* 1408-1413, p. 304.) He had a grant of a preb. in St. George's Windsor, for which he exchanged the chapel of Jesmond, 11 June 1415 (*C.P.R.* 1416-1422, p. 30). He resigned the chapel at Bedford by 19 Oct. 1432 (*C.P.R.* 1429-1436, p. 226). He retained his preb. at Windsor till his death in 1444, when he was succeeded in it by Henry Haunshard (see below). For further details see *Fasti Paroch.* u.s.

1422, 16 July Master Robert Bowet, LL.B., to the preb. vacant by death of mag. Thomas Paynell (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 73d). Res. 1423. Nephew of Archbishop Bowet. His uncle gave him the archdeaconry of Nottingham, 26 May 1419, and the preb. of Ampleforth in York in which he succeeded Thomas Parker (see above) 6 Oct. 1423 (*ibid.*, ff. 68, 76). On 5 Jan. 1413-14 he had collation of the preb. of St. Peter's altar in Beverley, which he exchanged, 10 June 1416, for the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Ripon, but re-exchanged the two benefices three days later (*ibid.* ff. 48d, 53). He died before 20 Feb. 1429-30, when his prebs. in York and Beverley were filled up. His successor in his archdeaconry was not appointed until 2 July following (Reg. Kempe, ff. 8d, 9).

HENRY BOWET, sacrist. Admission not recorded, but there can be little doubt that he followed Roger Weston as sacrist in 1416. See Surtees Soc. CXXVII, 292, for a note on his benefices. At his death he was archdeacon of Richmond, prebendary of Masham in York, of St. Martin's altar in Beverley, of Thorpe in Ripon and of Norwell Palishall in Southwell, an uncommon instance of one man holding prebs. in the four great churches of the diocese of York at one and the same time.

1422, 27 Dec. THOMAS BRYAN, priest, sacrist, on res. of Henry Bowet (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 74d). In Nov. 1423 he had collation of the preb. of St. Katherine's altar in Beverley (*ibid.*, fo. 76), which he exchanged for Monk-

ton preb. in Ripon, 16 March 1423-4 (Reg. Sede Vac., fo. 342). See *Mem. Ripon* II, 230, 231. He held this preb. until his death before 25 Nov. 1449, and, as the sacristy was filled up on the same day (Reg. Kempe, fo. 68), there can be no doubt that he continued to hold it as well.

- 1423, 19 May George del Thwenge, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of Stephen Rudstane (Reg. Bowet I, fo. 76d). Died 1458.
- 1423, 6 Oct. William Yoxhale, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. Robert Bowet (*ibid.* fo. 76d). Died 1435.
- 1423, 9 Oct. Mag. Thomas Wilton, clerk, to the preb. vacant by res. of Thomas Wyot (*ibid.*, fo. 74d). Died 1448. He was M.A. and M.Med. in 1438, 28 Dec., when he held the church of Sessay with this preb. (*C.P.L.* ix, 7). Mag. Thomas Wilton, M.D. was instituted to the church of Dunnington, on the presentation of Henry, earl of Northumberland, 5 March 1439-40, and succeeded Stephen Wilton, archdeacon of Cleveland, in the church of Huggate, 10 Nov. 1446. He died, holding both churches, in 1448 (see below).
- 1424, 5 July John Burell, pres. by the Crown to the preb. of John Storthwayt, by exchange of the preb. of East Marden in Chichester. Letters patent dated 24 May; mandate for induction dated 15 July (Reg. Sede Vac., fo. 379; *C.P.R.* 1422-1429, p. 198).
- 1424, 3 Dec. William Bramley, priest, pres. by the Crown, 15 Nov., to the (subd.) preb. of John Bolton, by exchange of the church of Sprotborough for this preb. and the church of All Saints Pavement, York (Reg. Sede Vac., fo. 389, where Bolton is called Bilton; *C.P.R.* 1422-1429, p. 255).
- 1425, 16 May Robert Semer, pres. to the (priest) preb. of Stephen Percy, by exchange of the chantry at the altar of St. Michael in York Minster for the soul of Archbishop Gray for this preb. and the chantry of St. Agatha, St. Lucy and St. Scholastica in York Minster for the soul of mag. Thomas Dalby (Reg. Sede Vac. fo. 408d; *C.P.R.* 1422-1429, p. 272). Died 1432, so cannot be identified with Robert Semer, who in 1437 was vicar of St. Martin's, Coney Street, York, and was the donor of the beautiful west window in that church.
- 1425-6, 13 Jan. Henry Haunshard, priest, one of the clerks of the king's chapel, pres. by the Crown, 23 Nov. 1425, to the preb. vacant by death of John Newark (Reg. Sede Vac. fo. 441; *C.P.R.* 1422-1429, p. 319). Died 1446. Haunshard appears to be the same person as the rector of St. Mary Somerset, London, who exchanged that church in 1415 for the church of Clifton Reynes, Beds. (Hennessy, *Rep. Nov.*, p. 349). In 1428 he was rector of St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, London (*ibid.* p. 275). Hennessy limits his tenure of this church to 1428, but he is said to be still rector, holding the church with his preb. in the Chapel, in 1442 (6 Nov.), when he had a dispensation to hold the chapel of Rydon, dio. Norw., and that of Mote, dio. Chichester (*C.P.L.* IX, 278). He succeeded John Corynham (see above) in his canonry at Windsor, 25 Nov. 1444, which he held with this preb. and vacated by death in 1446 (*C.P.R.* 1446-1452, p. 2).

- 1426, 6 May John Langtoft, priest, to the (deacon) preb. of mag. John Akum, by exchange of the preb. of Wolvey in Lichfield (Reg. Kempe, fo. 1, but the date of collation is given as 16 May, *ibid.*, fo. 307d). Langtoft had obtained Wolvey preb. by an exchange, 18 Jan., 1425-6. Akum seems to have held it for only a short time, as his successor had collation 1 Aug. 1427 (Le Neve I, 641).
- 1428, 6 Dec. Thomas Gaite, chaplain, to a preb. vacant by res. of John Blakwell (Reg. Kempe, fo. 7d). Res. 1428.
- 1431, 6 Sept. Thomas Kyngg, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by res. of Thomas Gaites (*ibid.*, fo. 9d).
- 1431-2, 2 March William Lochard, to the preb. of John Coryngham, by exchange of the church of Clewer, Berks. (*ibid.*, fo. 10). Lochard, a clerk of the chapel royal, had ratification of his estate as dean of the free chapel of St. Buryan, Cornwall, 24 Feb., 1409-10, and 24 April 1414 (C.P.R. 1408-1413, p. 117; 1413-1416, p. 185). On 3 Aug. 1403 he had exchanged the church of All Saints, Hastings, for a preb. in St. John's, Chester (Ormerod, *Cheshire*, ed. Helsby, III, 309), and this he exchanged, 7 Feb. 1412-13, for a preb. in St. George's, Windsor (C.P.R. 1408-1413, p. 464). He exchanged this last, 2 Aug. 1432, for the precentorship of Hereford (*Her. Reg. Spofford* [C. & Y. Soc.], p. 369), and on 19 Oct. in the same year had a grant of the free chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, Bedford bridge, in which he succeeded John Coryngham (see above: C.P.R. 1429-1436, p. 225). He appears to have held his dignity in the church of Hereford with the preb. of Bullinghope. He died 24 Dec. 1438 (Le Neve I, 486, 497).
- 1432, 22 Nov. John Appelton, to a preb. vacant by the death of Robert Semer (Reg. Kempe, fo. 11d). Died 1453-4.
John Vautort. Admission not recorded.
- 1434, 24 June John Houden, to the (priest) preb. of John Vautort, by exchange of the preb. of Caer in Llandaff (*ibid.*, fo. 14). Exchanged 1449. Probably the John Howden who was warden of the college of Theale, Herts., 14 March 1430-1 (C.P.R. 1429-1436, p. 146). He had a grant of a preb. in Windsor, 2 May 1438. Later, he was rector of Clewer, Berks. See below. (*ibid.* 1436-1441, p. 156).
- 1435, 16 April An unnamed person, to the preb. vacant by death of William Yoksall (Reg. Kempe, fo. 15d).
William Saundirs. Admission not recorded.
- 1438, 16 May Henry Gunne, to the preb. vacant by death of William Saundirs (*ibid.*, fo. 16d). Died 1442.
- 1442, 30 Oct. Abel Lyvermer, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by death of Henry Gunne (*ibid.*, fo. 48d). Exchanged 1463.
Nicholas Keld. Admission not recorded.
- 1445, 5 May Robert Steele, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by death of Nicholas Keld (*ibid.*, fo. 55). Died 1447.
Thomas Skelton, chaplain. Admission not recorded.
- 1445-6, 1 Jan. Mag. Thomas Tanfelde, S.T.B., to the preb. vacant by death of Thomas Skelton (*ibid.*, fo. 56d). Res. 1446. Thomas Tanfeld, clerk, had a dispensation, 4 April 1427, *super defectu natalium*, and on 5 April was ordained subd. at the title of the church of St. Wilfrid,

Ripon. This, however, cannot certainly be identified with Thomas Tanfield, of the diocese of Durham, who had a similar dispensation from the bishop of Durham, 28 Feb. 1427-8, and, becoming rector of Gateshead, co. Durham, in 1436, held it for the rest of his life. He was instituted rector of East Gilling, 30 June 1441, which he appears to have exchanged with Alexander Etton for this preb. and the church of Laxton, Notts., 20 Aug. 1446. As archbishop's chaplain, he had collation of the preb. of Thockrington in York, 31 Jan. 1448-9, and on 30 Dec. 1449, of the mastership of Killingwold-graves hospital, near Beverley. On 29 April 1451 he quitted the preb. of Thockrington for that of Riccall, which he left for Strensall preb., 17 Oct. 1459, having previously, 2 Oct., res. his church of Stretton in the Clay (Sturton-le-Steeple), Notts. (Reg. Kempe, ff. 66, 73d; Reg. W. Booth, fo. 49d). On 13 Sept. 1465, he exchanged the church of Laxton for the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, Ripon. Meanwhile he appears to have obtained the church of Harpole. Northants.: he was rector from 1466 to 1474 of Castor in the same county, and in 1471-2 of Gayton, near Northampton, where his brother Robert Tanfield was lord of the manor (Bridges, *Hist. Northants*, I, 264, 518; II, 502). From 1449 to 1451 he held one of the prebendal portions in the church of Bromyard, Heref. (*Her. Reg. Beauchamp*, p. 15). At his death he held Strensall preb. and the churches of Gateshead and Castor. His will, dated 2 Jan. 1474-5, was proved 6 Feb. 1475-6. It contained legacies to the churches of Gayton, Gateshead, East Gilling, Sturton, and Garvestone in Norfolk. He desired to be buried in the abbey church of Peterborough in the high choir before the shrine of St. Oswald.

- 1446, 20 Aug. Alexander Etton, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by res. of Thomas Tanfelde (Reg. Kempe, fo. 58d). Exchanged 1454. This, as noted above, appears to have been an exchange which also involved the church of Laxton.
- 1446, 8 Oct. Mag. Thomas Passh, M.A., to the preb. vacant by death of Henry Hansard (*ibid.* fo. 193d). Prebendary of Minor pars altaris in Salisbury, 16 Dec. 1448 (Jones, p. 402) and of Windsor, in which, as subalmoner of the king, he succeeded John Howden (see 1434), 14 Feb. 1448-9 (*C.P.R.* 1446-1452, p. 302).
- 1447, 18 April John Cartmaile, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by death of Robert Stile (*sic*). (*ibid.*, fo. 61). Res. 1475.
- 1448, 2 June Mag. Robert Stillyngton, LL.D., to the preb. vacant by death of mag. Thomas Wilton (*ibid.*, fo. 63d). Res. 1459. This well known clerk, as chaplain to Thomas Bekynton, bishop of Bath and Wells, had collation of East Harptree preb. in Wells, 2 Aug. 1445, which he exchanged, 3 Feb., 1445-6, for Merther preb. in St. Davids. He was Bekynton's chancellor when he had collation of Whitchurch preb. in Wells, 6 June 1447, which he quitted, 24 July in the same year, for the preb. of St. Decuman's (Reg. Bekynton [Somerset Rec. Soc.] pp. 36, 48, 64, 65). He obtained the preb. of Givendale in Ripon, 2 June 1448: see note in *Mem. Ripon* II, 205, 206. He was made archdeacon of Taunton, 20 April, 1450. In March 1450-1, he exchanged St. Decuman's preb. for the preb. of Fenton in York (Reg. Bekynton, p. 125; Reg. Kempe, fo. 72d). On 9 July 1457

he had collation of Oxton Secunda preb. in Southwell, which he res. 28 May 1459 (Reg. W. Booth, ff. 42, 46), when he quitted Fenton for Wetwang preb. in York. Among his numerous benefices he appears in 1448 to have held the church of St. Michael, Ousebridge, York. He obtained the twelfth preb. in St. Stephen's, Westminster, 3 July 1456, and the deanery of St. Martin's-le-Grand, 28 Nov. 1458 (Hennessy). On 9 March 1463-4, he obtained the archdeaconry of Berkshire and, 16 March, exchanged his Westminster preb. for Chardstock preb. in Salisbury. He also held the archdeaconry of Colchester, which he is said to have acquired in 1462, and quitted the archdeaconry of Taunton for that of Wells, 28 Feb. 1464-5 (Le Neve I, 160). He was consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells on 16 March 1465-6. For his later life until his death in captivity at Windsor in May 1491, see *D.N.B.* and the summary note in Newcourt I, 89, 90. As his name indicates, he was a Yorkshireman, born at Nether Acaster, near Selby.

- 1448, 12 Dec. William Osgodby, chaplain, to a preb. (Reg. Kempe, fo. 65d). Res. 1475-6.
- 1449, 29 Sept. Mag. John Kette, to the preb. of John Howden, by exchange of the church of Clewer, Berks. Mandate for induction dated 2 Oct. (*ibid.*, fo. 66d). Res. 1452. Canon of Windsor 18 Sept. 1437.
- 1449, 25 Nov. MAG. JOHN SENDALE, archbishop's registrar, sacrist (*ibid.* fo. 68). This appointment was evidently made on the death of Thomas Bryan, who had been sacrist for twenty-seven years (see above). For Sendale see the note in *Mem. Ripon* II, 217. In addition to what is contained there it may be noted that his earliest preferment seems to have been the church of Holme-on-Trent (Holme Pierpont), Notts., 19 April 1444. As rector, he was ordained subd. 20 Feb. 1444-5, and deacon 22 May following. As rector of Bentham, to which church he was admitted 18 Aug. 1445, and, after resigning, was readmitted 21 Feb. 1446-7 (*Y.A.J.* XXX, 91, 92, 95), he was ordained priest, 17 Dec. 1446. In 1445 he was inst. to the first preb. in the church of Hemingbrough, which he res. on receiving the preb. of Thorp in Howden, 6 Dec. 1457 (Reg. William Booth, fo. 130d). He exchanged Sneating preb. in St. Paul's for Barnby preb. in York, 30 Aug. 1454, by commission to the bishop of London, 24 Aug., and received the archbishop's mandate for induction 8 Sept. (*ibid.*, fo. 32d). This preb. he quitted for that of Weighton, 3 March 1461-2 (*ibid.*, fo. 54d). On 19 March 1461-2 he received the two churches of Oswaldkirk and Wheldrake, but res. Wheldrake in 1463-4 on obtaining the church of Bolton Percy. He res. his prebs. in Southwell and Howden in 1462, but retained his prebs. in York and Ripon, with the church of Bolton Percy until his death in 1466, when he was a residentiary at Ripon. For his will see *Ripon Chapter Acts*, pp. 229-236, and for his chantry in Ripon Minster see *Mem. Ripon* I, 168-173.
- 1452, 1 July Robert Balard, archbishop's household chaplain, to a preb. vacant by res. of mag. John Kette (Reg. Kempe, fo. 76d). Res. 1458.

- 1452, July Mag. RICHARD WETEWANG, sacrist, on res. of mag. John Sendale (*ibid.*, fo. 77). Wetewang res. a preb. to which his admission is not recorded. See below.
- 1452, July John Gysburgh, archbishop's household chaplain, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. Richard Wetewang (*ibid.* fo. 77). See below.
- 1453, 6 Oct. Mag. Richard Wetewang, Dec. Bac., to the preb. vacant by res. of John Gisburn (i.e. Gysburgh) (Reg. W. Booth, fo. 30d). Died 1463.
- 1453, 7 Oct. JOHN GISBURN, archbishop's household clerk, sacrist, on res. of Mag. Richard Wetewang. (*ibid.*, fo. 31d). It is difficult to see the reason which lies beneath this exchange of benefices. Had it been necessary for the sacrist to be one of the canons at the time of his appointment, the transaction might be explained; but this had not habitually been regarded as a qualification. Gisburn (Guisbrough), as Kempe's household chaplain, was admitted to a preb. in the church of Hemingbrough 23 June 1451. On 16 March 1452-3 he obtained commendation of the church of Nunburnholme, to which he was instituted 20 Aug. following. On 4 Oct. in the same year he was instituted to the church of Eakring, Notts., which he res. in 1454, in which year, 25 Nov., he had collation of the preb. of Rampton in Southwell (Reg. W. Booth, fo. 33d). He had res. his preb. in Hemingbrough in Oct. 1454. On 15 March 1456-7 he had collation of the precentorship of York (*ibid.*, fo. 35d), but possessed no preb. in York until 20 July 1459, when, as receiver of the archbishop's exchequer at York, he was admitted to the preb. of Bugthorpe. He res. his preb. in Southwell about the same time (*ibid.*, fo. 49). He exchanged the precentorship for the church of Brompton-in-Pickering-Lythe, 14 Nov. 1460 (*ibid.*, fo. 53d). He res. the church of Nunburnholme by 1475, having been instituted to the church of Spofforth, 23 May 1474. He died 11 Nov. 1481 (Le Neve III, 179), being then preb. of Bugthorpe and rector of Brompton and Spofforth. His will, dated 21 April 1479 and proved 7 Dec., 1481, expressed his wish to be buried in the south aisle of York Minster. before the image of the Blessed Virgin.
- 1453-4, 4 March Peter Bardesley, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of John Appulton (Reg. W. Booth, fo. 31d).
- 1454, 20 Nov. Mag. William Preston, Dec. Bac., priest, to the preb. of mag. Alexander Etton, by exchange of the church of Hurworth, co. Durham, and the preb. of Pelton in Chester-le-Street for this preb. and the church of East Gilling (*ibid.*, fo. 33d). Died 1477.
- 1458, 4 July Mag. Philip ap Ris, Dec. Doc., priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of Robert Balard (*ibid.*, fo. 44).
- 1458, 9 Dec. Mag. John Worsley, commissary of the court of York, to the preb. vacant by the death of George Thweng (*ibid.*, fo. 45). Exchanged 1465.
- 1459, 28 May John Grymeston, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. Robert Stillyngton (*ibid.*, fo. 47). Res. 1485-6.
- 1462, 14 Nov. RALPH BRID, chaplain, sacrist, on res. of John Gisburgh (*ibid.*, fo. 55d). Ralph Brid or Bridde (Bird) of Ripon was ordained acolyte 20 Dec. 1421, subdeacon 7 March 1421-2, and deacon, with a title from the

college of Ripon, 28 March 1422. On 24 April 1424 he was appointed a chaplain to Bishop Langley of Durham in his manor-house at Darlington with a stipend of 60s. a year (original patent in the auditor's office at Durham). About this time he became rector of Dinsdale, co. Durham, which he exchanged, 25 April 1431, for the church of Leathley, which he res. in July 1443. There is a break between this date and 27 Dec. 1443, when he exchanged the church of Rolleston-on-Dove, Staffs., for that of Stonegrave, which he held till his death. He had licence, 13 Feb. 1443-4, to be absent from Stonegrave for three years, to study at an English university. As domestic chaplain to Archbishop Kempe, he had licence from him, 10 Jan. 1448-9, to use a portable altar. He had collation of the mastership of St. John's hospital at Ripon, 22 Feb. 1448-9, which he res. for that of St. Mary Magdalene at the same place, 11 June 1452. The patronage which Kempe had exercised to him was extended to him by Kempe's nephew Thomas, bishop of London, in whose diocese he received the church of Widford, Herts., 29 April 1454 (Newcourt I, 908). At the same time, much preferment came to him from Kempe's successor at York, William Booth, who gave him the prebend of Norwell III in Southwell, 26 Oct. 1457 (Reg. William Booth, fo. 43). On 12 May 1460 he became rector of Chigwell in Essex (Newcourt II, 140), and on 14 April 1462 he quitted Norwell III for Oxton II preb. in Southwell (Reg. W. Booth, fo. 55). By the annexation of the rectory of Chigwell to Thomas Kempe's chantry in St. Paul's and the union of the preb. of St. Pancras to the office of penitentiary which it carried with it, Byrd received that preb. 8 Nov. 1470 (Hennessy), and on 10 Nov. 1470 received the preb. of Fridaythorpe in York. On 31 March 1478 he res. St. Pancras preb. for Islington preb. in St. Paul's (Hennessy), which he res. in 1482-3, and 11 June 1479, res. Fridaythorpe for Thockrington preb. in York (Reg. L. Booth, fo. 7). This last, with the church of Stonegrave, he kept till his death. His will made 25 March and proved 7 June 1483, provided for his burial in York Minster near the door of the Chapel.

- 1463, 27 March Thomas Crossby, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of mag. Richard Wetwang. (*ibid.*, fo. 55d).
- 1463, 25 May Christopher Burgh, to the preb. of Abel Levermere, by exchange of the free chapel of St. Radegund in St. Paul's cathedral (*ibid.*, fo. 56). Exchanged 1468.
- Robert Knayton. Admission not recorded.
- 1463-4, 11 Jan. William Dawtre, clerk, to the preb. vacant by res. of Robert Knayton (*ibid.*, fo. 57d). Died 1510-11.
- 1465, 13 Nov. William Betson, to the preb. of mag. John Worsley, LL.B., by exchange of the preb. of Kynwaston or Stonhall preb. in St. Peter's, Wolverhampton (Reg. Geo. Neville, fo. 3). Died 1466.
- 1466, 23 May Mag. John Hardyng, archbishop's chaplain, to the preb. vacant by the death of William Betson (*ibid.*, fo. 4). Hardyng held the preb. of North Muskham in Southwell in 1470, which was vacant by his death before 24 Dec. 1485 (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 101, where he is called Hardy). Res. 1475.
- Mag. William Langton. Admission not recorded.

- 1468, 30 Aug. William Warton, archbishop's chaplain, to the preb. vacant by death of mag. William Langton (Reg. Geo. Neville, fo. 4). Died 1474-5.
- 1468, 1 May. Mag. Edmund Mynskip, to the preb. of Christopher Burght, by exchange of the church of Sigglesthorne (*ibid.*, fo. 6). Died 1492.
- 1474-5, 3 Jan. Mag. Robert Swannesley, Dec.Bac., to the preb. vacant by death of William Warton (Reg. Geo. Neville II, fo. 1d). Died 1483, when his name is given as Swanesby.
- 1474-5, 13 Jan. Mag. Thomas Barowe, LL.Lic., to the preb. vacant by death of Thomas (*ibid.*, fo. 3d). The surname of Thomas is not given.
- 1474-5, 4 March. Mag. John Hopton, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. Thomas (*ibid.*, fo. 7d) Mag. Thomas is probably Barowe (see last). Hopton res. 1485.
- 1475, 24 April. John Hert, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. John Hardyng (*ibid.*, fo. 14d). See 1479.
- 1475, 7 June. Mag. John Cartmell, A.M., to the preb. vacant by res. of John Cartmell (*ibid.*, fo. 17d). This may have been a re-admission of the same man, but the Cartmell who res. does not seem, either in 1447 or now, to have had a university degree. Res. 1476-7.
- 1475-6, 26 Feb. Robert Alston, to the preb. vacant by res. of William Osgodby (*ibid.*, fo. 24). There seems to be no record of his death or resignation.
- 1476-7, 22 Jan. John Alston, Dec.Bac. to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. John Cartmall (Reg. L. Booth, fo. 2d). Exchanged 1478.
- 1477, 5 Oct. Mag. Robert Middleham, S.T.B., to the preb. vacant by death of mag. William Preston (*ibid.*, fo. 4). Died 1512.
- 1478, 2 Nov. Mag. John Smert, to the preb. of John Alston, by exchange of this preb. and the church of Nunburnholme with John Alston (*ibid.*, fo. 6d). Died 1489-90.
- 1479, 25 Sept. JOHN HART, subtreasurer of York Minster, sacrist, on the res. of Ralph Bird, priest (*ibid.*, fo. 7d). It is possible that Hart, who had held a preb. since 1475, is identical with John Hert, who res. the chantry at the altar of St. Thomas the martyr for the soul of Thomas Whytton in York Minster, 9 Sept. 1456, for the chantry at the altar of St. John the Evangelist for the soul of Simon Evesham. He was appointed subtreasurer in April 1475, succeeding, as in his preb., John Hardyng (q.v.). On 4 July 1479 he had collation of the preb. of Howden in the church of Howden (Reg. L. Booth, fo. 53d). He was rector of Catwick 2 Aug. 1480 to 22 May 1482. On 22 April 1483, he had collation of the preb. of Thockrington in York, succeeding Ralph Brid (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 96d). He exchanged the church of Catwick for that of Everingham, which he res. on being instituted to the church of Sutton-on-Derwent, 10 Dec. 1487. He also held the first preb. in the church of Hemingbrough and the vicarage of St. Martin's, Coney Street, York, which he res. in 1487. On 26 Feb. 1487-8 he quitted Thockrington preb. for that of Botevant, and Botevant for Fridaythorpe preb. 13 Dec. 1490 (Reg. Rotherham I, ff. 103, 104). He res. Fridaythorpe on his admission, 23 June 1494, to the precentorship of York with the annexed preb. of

- Drifffield. He died 8 Dec. 1495, having res. the sacristy shortly before his death. In his will, proved 11 Dec., he desired to be buried in the nave of York Minster, near St. William's place of burial. The codicil of the will contained bequests of vestments to the churches of Otley and East Retford, appropriated to the Chapel.
- Mag. William Laybrone (*sic*). Admission not recorded.
- 1481, 8 Nov. Edmund Carter, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of William Laybrone. (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 96). Res. 1493. Admitted to Norwell Palishall preb. in Southwell, 27 March 1493 (*ibid.*, fo. 105), which he res. by 5 Dec. 1505 (Reg. Savage, fo. 29). He held the preb. of Nunwick in Ripon in 1439, resigning it by 11 March 1502-3 (*Mem. Ripon* II, 198).
- Mag. John Topclyff, Dec. Bac. Admission not recorded.
- 1482, 18 Sept. Cuthbert Lightfote, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by res. of John Topclyff (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 96d). Died 1498.
- 1483, 16 Aug. Mag. Robert (*sic*) Bryndholme, Dec. Bac., to the preb. vacant by death of mag. Robert Swanesby (*ibid.* I, fo. 97). Res. 1497. Mag. Richard Brindholme, Dec. Bac., had collation of the preb. of St. Katherine's altar in Beverley, 29 June 1488 (*ibid.*, fo. 103), which he vacated by death before 29 June 1510 (Reg. Bainbridge, fo. 53d). See a note on him in *Mem. Ripon* II, 191, containing no mention of this preb. or details of his preb. at Beverley. He died in 1510.
- Mag. John Spicer. Admission not recorded. He preceded Bryndholme in the preb. of Studley at Ripon. See note in *Mem. Ripon*, II, 190, 191.
- 1484, 24 July Mag. Robert Welynton, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. John Spicer (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 97). Res. 1492. He was appointed registrar of the exchequer at York, 8 June 1475. He was instituted successively to the church of Nunnington, 13 July 1480, the vicarage of Rothwell, 19 Nov. 1482, the church of East Gilling, on resigning Rothwell 28 March 1483, the church of Sessay, 28 May 1485, which he res. in Oct. 1491 (see Richard Carter, below), and the church of Bolton Percy 6 Nov. 1490. He had collation of the preb. of Ulleskelf in York, 20 Oct. 1492, which he probably retained with the churches of East Gilling and Bolton Percy till his death. In his will, dated 16 Feb., and proved 24 Feb. 1503-4, he desired to be buried in the choir at East Gilling, to which church he bequeathed a breviary and a bell, promised at 'the makying up of the steple,' to be delivered 'when the steple is performed and maid.' He willed also that his executors should make a window on the south side of the choir at Gilling, ordain obits for him in York Minster and St. Mary's Abbey, and find a priest to sing at Kirkby Wharfe, where his father was buried.
- 1485, 30 April William Ward, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by res. of John Hopton (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 98d). Res. or died 1497.
- 1485-6, 28 Feb. Thomas Bromlay, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by res. of John Grymston (*ibid.* I, fo. 102).
- 1489-90, 15 March Mag. William Grabarn, S.T.P., to the preb. vacant by death of John Smart (*ibid.* I, fo. 104*bis*). Res. 1501.

- 1492, 14 April William Aleynson, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of Edmund Mynskip (*ibid.* I, fo. 104 *bis*). Died 1497.
- 1492, 16 Oct. Mag. (Nicholas) Hawsewell, M.D., to the preb. vacant by res. of Robert Welyngton (*ibid.* I, fo. 104 *bis*). Res. 1496. Preb. of Lafford in Lincoln 12 May 1492 (Le Neve II, 161), and of Beckingham in Southwell, 29 Nov. 1496 (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 107d). He res. the latter in 1499, when on 12 July, he (Nicholas Halleswell) was admitted to the preb. of Langtoft in York (*ibid.*, fo. 110d). This, together with his preb. at Lincoln, he appears to have retained until his death.
- 1493, 24 April Mag. William Carpentar, to the preb. vacant by res. of Edmund Carter (*ibid.*, fo. 105). See note in *Mem. Ripon* II, 297, which notes his prebs. in Ripon, Southwell and Lincoln, but omits to notice this.
- 1495, 20 Nov. WILLIAM WARDE, priest, sacrist, on the res. of mag. John Herte (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 106).
Mag. William Croke. Admission not recorded.
- 1496, 22 May William Symond, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. William Croke (*ibid.*, fo. 107d). Died 1505. William Symonds had collation of North Leverton preb. in Southwell, 12 June 1499, and of Beckingham preb. in the same, 12 July in the same year (*ibid.*, fo. 110d). He retained Beckingham until his death in 1505.
- 1496, 8 Nov. John Wigmore, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. Nicholas Halswell (*ibid.* I, 109d). Res. 1498. He had collation of North Leverton preb. in Southwell, 19 April 1498 (*ibid.* I, fo. 109d), and, resigning this, of Woodborough preb., 16 June 1499 (*ibid.* I, fo. 111d). In the first of these prebs. he was succeeded by William Symonds (see above). In the second he was succeeded by William Carpenter (see above).
- 1497, 13 Aug. Mag. John Spicer, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. Richard Bryndholme (*ibid.* I, fo. 109). Res. 1501-2. The second preb. held by Spicer in the Chapel, after an interval of thirteen years.
- 1497, 27 Aug. MAG. EDMUND CARTER, priest, sacrist, on the death of mag. William Warde (*ibid.* I, fo. 109). See 1499.
- 1497, 27 Aug. Thomas Gree, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. (*sic*) of mag. William Warde (*ibid.* I, fo. 109). Died 1505. From this it would appear that Warde held the preb. which he had received in 1485 together with the sacristy until his death. Gree succeeded William Symonds as prebendary of North Leverton in Southwell, 12 June 1499 (*ibid.* fo. 110d), continuing in that preb. until his death (Reg. Savage, fo. 29).
- 1497, 27 Aug. John Briggs, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of William Aleynson (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 199). Res. 1507.
- 1498, 19 April Richard Hogh, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of John Wigmore (*ibid.* I, fo. 109d). Res. 1499.
- 1498, 18 Sept. Richard Carter, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of Cuthbert Lightfote (*ibid.* I, fo. 109d). Carter succeeded Robert Wellington (see above) as rector of Sessay, 5 Oct. 1491, and, on his resignation in 1497 was succeeded by Thomas Magnus (see below).

- 1498, 27 Oct. Mag. William Rowkeshawe, S.T.P., to the preb. vacant by death of Cuthbert Lightfote (*sic*) (*ibid.* I, fo. 110). Died 1505-6.
- Mag. Robert Barra. Admission not recorded. Barra occurs as a vicar choral at York in 1472 and 1489. He was admitted to the vicarage of Husthwaite, 25 May 1482, and to that of Botevant, 17 June 1488, both in the choir of York. On 26 May 1484, he had collation of the chantry at the altar of St. Edward for the soul of mag. John Langton. He had collation of the vicarage of Nafferton, 14 June 1492, and of Osbaldwick preb. in York 8 Oct. 1498 (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 109d). On 27 Aug. 1499, he obtained the preb. of Dunham in Southwell (*ibid.* I, fo. 111). Here he became a residentiary until his death in 1526, when he also held his preb. in York and the church of 'Medilton,' presumably Middleton-on-the-Wolds in the provostry of Beverley, as there is no record of his institution to this peculiar, and his will shows that the church was dedicated to St. Andrew. From his will, dated Oct. 1526, and proved 21 Jan. 1526-7, he was also rector of 'Hemylsay,' i.e. Gate Helmsley, the church appropriated to his preb. of Osbaldwick. He desired to be buried in the choir of Southwell, in the place where the cantors sang *Venite* at the beginning of matins. In a letter to Wolsey from Lawrence Stubbes, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, and prebendary of Bugthorpe in York, he is mentioned under the name of Dr. Barrye as lately dead.
- 1499, 25 Aug. Mag. Edmund Cartar, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. Robert Barra (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 111). From this it would appear that Carter, as his predecessor had done, combined a preb. with the sacristy. It is possible that Barra had succeeded Carpenter in the preb. which Carter had res. in 1493, and that Carter now returned to it.
- 1499, 26 Aug. Robert Hancock, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of Richard Hogh (*ibid.*, fo. 111).
- 1501, 21 July John Symson, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. William Graibarn (Reg. Savage, fo. 21).
- 1501-2, 3 Feb. Mag. John Mild, priest, to the preb. vacant by res. of mag. John Spicer with an annual pension of £4 (*ibid.*, fo. 22d).
- Richard Spurttt. Admission not recorded.
- 1504, 4 June Mag. William Kirkham, LL.B., to the preb. vacant by death of Richard Spurttt (*ibid.*, fo. 26d). Died 1506.
- 1504, 17 Nov. MAG. THOMAS MAGNUS, priest, sacrist, on res. of Edmund Carter (*ibid.*, fo. 28d). The last of the sacrists, who still held the office at the dissolution of the foundation. A native of Newark-on-Trent, where a groundless tradition grew up that he had been a foundling. In the deed of settlement of the free school which he founded at Newark, however, he mentions the names of his father, mother and sisters. Thomas Magnus of Newark was ordained acolyte 1 March and subd. 22 March 1487-8. On 2 Oct. 1497, he was instituted to the church of Sessay on the resignation of Richard Carter (see above), and on 16 Nov. 1498 to the church of 'Southby in Longcolingham,' i.e., South Collingham, Notts.,

near Newark (Reg. Rotherham I, ff. 164d, 184). Of these benefices, the first was in the gift of the abbot and convent of St. Mary's, York, the second in that of the abbot and convent of Peterborough. He remained rector of Sessay all his life, but res. South Collingham at some date not recorded, but probably at his promotion to an archdeaconry. On 13 Feb. 1502-3 he received the mastership of the chantry college and hospital of Sibthorpe, Notts., in which he succeeded William Rokeby, afterwards bishop of Meath and archbishop of Dublin (Reg. Savage, fo. 71). This sinecure he also retained until the dissolution of chantries. On 28 Sept. 1503 he had collation of the preb. of St. Stephen's altar at Beverley (*ibid.* fo. 24d) which he res. when on 12 June 1504, Archbishop Savage gave him the archdeaconry of the East Riding, apparently by exchange with Richard Mayew who, later in the year, became bishop of Hereford (*ibid.*, fo. 26d). This and the sacristy, which he obtained soon afterwards, were both kept by him to the end, as was also the church of Kirkby-in-Cleveland, to which he was instituted 17 April 1509 (Reg. Bainbridge, fo. 7). To this last he was pres. by the archbishop's registrar John Chapman, who had a lease of the advowson from the abbot and convent of Whitby, and succeeded in it Martin Colyns, the late treasurer of York. To these benefices in the diocese of York he added at various times the mastership of St. Leonard's hospital, York, and the two most profitable livings in the archdeaconry of Richmond, viz., the church of Bedale and the vicarage of Kendal, of all of which he was in possession in 1535. Further, he became a canon of Windsor in 1520 (Le Neve III, 392), and prebendary of North Kelsey in Lincoln, 7 May 1521 (*ibid.* II, 198), in the second of these and probably in the first succeeding John Longland, recently appointed bishop of Lincoln. He quitted this last, 25 March 1522, for the preb. of Corringham in Lincoln, which, with his preb. at Windsor, he res., contrary to his usual habit, two to three years before his death (*ibid.* II, 135). His gift for amassing benefices did not neglect trifles, for, in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, he appears as prebendary of Llanbadarn Odwyn in the collegiate church of Llanddewi Brefi, co. Cardigan, and rector of the free chapel of Whipstode, dio. Winton. Meanwhile, he was much occupied in public business and in the diplomatic service: full details of this side of his career may be gleaned from *Letters and Papers Hen. VIII*. He was among the king's chaplains at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, clad in damask and satin. Nothing seems to be known of the means by which he acquired his special knowledge of business, but he seems to have been to a foreign university, as in 1521 he made petition for a doctorate at Oxford on the ground that he was a doctor beyond sea (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.*). It is obvious that his presentation by monasteries to his first two livings was a tribute to his ability to be of service to them, and, in his will, he acknowledged his obligation to Archbishop Savage as his 'singler good lord.' During the episcopates of Bainbridge and Wolsey, he was possibly more conspicuous outside than within the diocese from which he received the greatest part of his income; and it is perhaps noteworthy that, with his archdeaconry

and the sacristy, he held no preb. in York and therefore was not a member of the cathedral chapter. After the fall of Wolsey, he was certainly cautious in his relations with the cardinal, excusing himself in 1530 from lending him the master's lodging at Sibthorpe as a temporary residence on his northward journey; and, although Hunter, *South Yorks.* I, 16, says that he was with the rebels in the Pilgrimage of Grace, he does not seem to have lost the royal favour, though his retirement from his canonry at Windsor in the year of Henry VIII's death and his nearly contemporary retirement from that at Lincoln, soon after the death of Bishop Longland, may indicate that in both places he was out of touch with the old régime. His will bears date 8 March 1549-50, a date at which the usual bequests for masses and obits were no longer possible, and its terms from the reformed point of view, without being too explicit, are quite unexceptionable. After the dissolution of chantries he had obtained a grant of the house at Sibthorpe, and it was his will that, if he died there or in those parts, he should be buried 'forsomoch as I receaved the holie sacrament of baptisme within the parishe church of Newarke uponne Trent,' in the Trinity aisle there 'afore the myddes of the altar.' If on the other hand, he died in or near York, he was to be buried in the Minster, 'as nigh as convenientlie maye be to the tombe of my lord Savege, who was my singler goode lorde and maister.' Directions for his burial at York included distributions to the poor and a provision 'that a sermon is maide to the people to exorte them to lerne to die, and soo to leve that they maye all waye be redie to die,' with a bequest of half a mark to the preacher for his pain and labour. In the end, as, if neither of these alternatives were possible, he was to be buried 'in suche place as God shall call me to his marcie,' he rests at Sessay, where he died on 28 Aug. 1550. His brass remains there in the chancel of the modern church. Of his other benefices, Sessay and Bedale receive mention in his bequests to his parish priests in both churches.

- 1505, 10 Nov. John Dennys, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of Thomas Gree (Reg. Savage, fo. 29).
- 1505-6, 7 Jan. Thomas Wilkynson, abbot of Welbeck, to the preb. vacant by death of William Symond (*ibid.* fo. 29d). This appointment must have been by a dispensation.
- 1505-6, 12 Jan. William Burclever, to the preb. vacant by death of William Rokeshawe (*ibid.*, fo. 28d).
- 1506, 20 Aug. James Harington, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of William Burclever (*ibid.* fo. 29d). He was instituted to the church of Badsworth 17 May 1496, and to that of Tankersley 29 Oct. 1501, both of which he held until he died. He had collation of Husthwaite preb. in York 27 Jan. 1506-7, and of the subdeanery of York on 13 July following (Reg. Savage, ff. 30, 31). He was installed dean of York on 31 Jan. 1507-8 (Reg. Sede Vac. fo. 550d). As dean, he quitted Husthwaite preb. for that of Bugthorpe, 31 March 1509 (Reg. Bainbridge, fo. 61d). He died at the end of 1512 and was succeeded in the deanery and his preb. by Thomas Wolsey. He res. his preb. in the Chapel about a year before his death: see 1511-12.

- 1506, 10 Oct. Mag. Lewis Williams, Master of Grammar, to the preb. vacant by the death of William Kirkham (Reg. Savage, fo. 30).
- 1507, 16 May Mag. John Carver, Dec.Doc., to the preb. vacant by res. of John Briggs (*ibid.*, fo. 31). John Aleyn or Carver received collation from Thomas Kempe, bishop of London of the church of Great with Little Hadham, Herts., 2 March 1477-8 (Newcourt I, 832). He appears in the diocese of York as early as 1480-1, when he (mag. John Carver alias Aleyn) was assigned a pension of ten marks out of a moiety of the church of Gedling (Reg. Rotherham I, fo. 7d). As rector of a church closely dependent upon the bishops of London, he received preferment in St. Paul's, first as prebendary of Portpool, 31 May 1484, and then, 20 Oct. following, of Neasden. He res. the preb. of Neasden in 1496-7, when on 8 March, Bishop Savage gave him the vacant archdeaconry of Middlesex (Hennessy). On 27 Nov. 1500 he had collation of the preb. of North Kelsey in Lincoln, which he res. in 1504, taking from it an annual pension of £10 (Le Neve II, 198). Bishop Savage, immediately after his translation from London to York, appointed Carver his vicar-general in the diocese of York, 15 April 1501, and made him archdeacon of York on 12 June 1504 (Reg. Savage, fo. 27d). He obtained the preb. of Weighton in York, 1 Jan. 1505-6 (*ibid.*, fo. 29d). On 3 Dec. 1508, Archbishop Bainbridge appointed him his vicar-general throughout the whole province. He quitted Weighton preb. for that of Strensall, 16 Dec. 1509 (Reg. Bainbridge, fo. 53). He res. this preb. and the archdeaconry of York in May 1515, resigning also the church of Hadham about the same time; but he kept the archdeaconry of Middlesex until his death, which took place before 11 Aug. in the year following. It does not appear when he quitted his preb. in the Chapel.
- 1508, 4 July Edmund Chollerton, clerk, to a preb. vacant by death (Reg. Sede Vac. fo. 566d). By Crown presentation, 26 June (C.P.R. 1494-1509, p. 570).
- 1510-11, 27 Feb. Thomas Harwod, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of mag. William Dawtre (Reg. Bainbridge, fo. 53d). Prebendary of Givendale in Ripon, 9 July 1509. See note on him, *Mem. Ripon* II, 209. Le Neve's attribution of him to Givendale preb. in York, 1 July 1509 (III, 189) appears to be wrong.
- Mag. — Sparowe. Admission not recorded.
- 1511, 8 July John Herteley, priest, to the preb. vacant by death of mag. — Sparowe (Reg. Bainbridge, fo. 54).
- 1511-12, 8 Jan. Thomas Harpeham, to the preb. vacant by res. of James Harington (*ibid.*, fo. 54).
- 1512, 3 May Mag. Christopher Radclif, LL.B., to the preb. vacant by death of mag. Richard (*sic*) Midilham (*ibid.*, fo. 54).
- Thomas Legh, clerk. Admission not recorded.
- 1531, 5 July William Houghton, clerk, pres. by the Crown, 17 May, to the preb. vacant by cession of Thomas Legh (Reg. Sede Vac., fo. 645; *Lett. and Papers Hen. VIII* V, 129 [g. 278, 26]). Probably identical with Thomas Houghton, who held a deacon preb. in 1535. William Houghton, clerk, was instituted to the church of Foston, 3 June 1557 (Reg. Heath, fo. 121).

Master John Sheffield, Dec.Bac. Admission not recorded.

1534, 26 Nov.

Mag. Arthur Cole, to the deacon preb. vacant by res. of mag. John Sheffield (Reg. Lee, fo. 65). On Arthur Cole see the note in *Mem. Ripon* II, 234, 235, which, however omits this preb. and the vicarage of Birstall, of which Cole had collation 31 Oct. 1535 (*ibid.*, fo. 66). He is named among the canons of the Chapel in *Val. Eccl.* He was rector of Bolton Percy from 1536 to his death, prebendary of Monkton in Ripon in 1543-4, canon of Windsor in 1543, and president of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he had held a fellowship from 1519 to some time before 1533, in 1555. He died 18 July 1558 and is buried in the ante-chapel at Magdalen.

William Mooke held a priest preb. in 1535 (*Val. Eccl.* V, 19). Admission not recorded. He was instituted vicar of Aldbrough in the East Riding, 8 July 1528 (Reg. Wolsey, fo. 93d), and had collation of Thockrington preb. in York, 12 April 1531 (Reg. Sede Vac. fo. 635). See *Test. Ebor.* V, 242. He died 30 May 1545 and was buried at Welbourn, Linc., of which church he was rector. In 1528 he was executor and a considerable legatee of John Chapman, notary public, who had been registrar to Wolsey and his immediate predecessors in the archbishopric.

Thomas Mersar held a priest preb. in 1535 (*Val. Eccl.* u.s.). Admission not recorded. This is Thomas Mercer or Marcer, of whose career there is a very full account in *Mem. Ripon* II, 243, 244. His tenure of this preb., however, is not noted there. At this time he was succentor of the vicars at York, prebendary of North Leverton in Southwell, and rector of Escrick. He subsequently obtained the mastership of St. Mary's hospital in Bootham, York, in 1536, the preb. of Sharow in Ripon in 1539, and the preb. of Langtoft in York, where he was a canon residentiary, in 1541. He died 8 Jan. 1546-7 and was buried beneath the lantern in York Minster.

Thomas Teshe held a priest preb. in 1536 (*Val. Eccl.* u.s.). Admission not recorded. He was ordained subd. on a title furnished by the prior and convent of Healaugh Park, 2 May 1513, and was admitted to the chantry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin, 12 Oct. 1518. This last he res. in 1531. On 13 Nov. 1521 he was instituted to the vicarage of Crambe, which he res. in 1528 (Reg. Wolsey, ff. 61, 92), with a yearly pension of £5. On 5 Nov. 1527 mag. Thomas Teshe, LL.B., was instituted to the church of Welbury, and on 18 Dec. in the same year to the vicarage of Wath-on-Deerne (*ibid.*, ff. 89, 89d). He res. Welbury before 2 Feb. following, having been instituted to the vicarage of Batley on 10 Jan. (*ibid.*, ff. 90, 91). He retained this vicarage until his death, but res. that of Wath before 7 Feb. 1532-3, a date which probably marks the beginning of his incumbency of Thurnscoe, a church which he held in 1535 (*Val. Eccl.* V, 52). On 5 Feb. 1536-7 he was instituted to the church of Beeford, and on 4 Jan. 1538-9 had collation of the preb. of Osbaldwick in York (Reg. Lee, fo. 71d). This preb. was vacant by his death by 25 Feb. in that year (*ibid.*, fo. 72d); but Beeford and the vicarage of Batley were not filled up until the following July (*ibid.*, ff. 18, 34d).

Thomas Skynner held a deacon prebend in 1535 (*Val. Eccl.* V, 19). Admission not reorded.

Mag. Anthony Maxwell held a deacon preb. in 1535 (*ibid.*) Admission not recorded. Mag. Anthony Maxwell, M.A., was instituted to the vicarage of Rudston, 6 Sept. 1535 (Reg. Lee, fo. 29d).

William Burdon held a priest preb. in 1535 (*Val. Eccl.* u.s.). Admission not recorded.

John Coltman held a subd. preb. in 1535 (*ibid.*). Admission not recorded. Coltman had collation of the chantry of St. Michael for the soul of Archbishop Gray in York Minster, 6 Feb. 1517-18. He took the oath as warden of the fabric of the Minster, 4 March 1520-1, and as chamberlain, 26 Aug. 1525. On 19 July 1521 he was admitted to the church of Foxholes, and on 30 March 1527 to that of Slingsby (Reg. Wolsey, ff. 57d, 85d). On 15 Nov. 1535 he was appointed sub-treasurer of the Minster. He res. his chantry in 1540. He obtained the preb. of Apesthorpe in York 1 April 1546 (Reg. Holgate, fo. 20), and held it with his churches of Foxholes and Slingsby until his death, which took place before 6 May 1553 (*ibid.*, fo. 50).

Christopher Ashton held a subd. preb. in 1535 (*Val. Eccl.* u.s.). Admission not recorded.

John Rogers held a subd. preb. in 1535 (*ibid.*). Admission not recorded.

Robert Gybson held a subd. preb. in 1535 (*ibid.*). Admission not recorded.

1535, 2 Sept. Christopher Beane, chaplain, to the preb. vacant by res. of Anthony Maxwell, with a yearly pension of 13s. 4d. (Reg. Lee, fo. 65). Christopher Been was instituted to the vicarage of Rudston, 28 May 1533, for which Maxwell evidently considered his preb. a reasonable exchange with the pension thrown in (*ibid.*, 24d).

1538-9, 28 Feb. William Lightfoot, chaplain, to the priest preb. vacant by death of mag. Thomas Tesh (*ibid.*, 72d).

1546-7, 28 Feb. Mag. Cuthbert Scott, S.T.P., to a vacant preb. (Reg. Holgate, fo. 24). He had collation of the church of Beeford 21 Dec. 1549 (*ibid.*, fo. 31d) and became master of Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1553 (Le Neve III, 690). He obtained the preb. of Chamberlainwood in St. Paul's, 26 April 1554 (Hennessy), in which year and the following he was vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge. In that position he was zealous in promoting the Marian reaction in religion. He became bishop of Chester in 1556, but was deprived in June 1559, went abroad and died at Louvain (Le Neve III, 604).

1546-7, 1 March Mag. William Boice, clerk, to the priest preb. vacant by res. of William Asheton (Reg. Holgate, fo. 24). William Asheton may be an error for Christopher Asheton, who had been a canon in 1535 and may have quitted his preb. for another in the interval.

Thomas Blakburne. Admission not recorded.

1546-7, 10 March John Goldinge, clerk, to the deacon preb., vacant by res. of Thomas Blakburne (Reg. Holgate, fo. 24d). Master of St. Mary's hospital, Bootham, York, 17 Jan. 1546-7 (*ibid.*, fo. 23d).

At the conclusion of this list, I desire to express my thanks to the Rev. Angelo Raine for most kindly furnishing me with the notes compiled by his father on the careers of the dignitaries and canons of York Minster. These have supplied many additional details with regard to several members of both chapters, and it is my hope to make further use of them for the revised list of members of the chapter of York on which I have long been engaged. Where I have used such details, for which references to the registers at York, their principal source, were seldom given, it has been with confidence in their accuracy; but all references given in the text are the result of independent personal examination of sources in manuscript and print.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE.

EDITED BY DOROTHY GREENE

EAST RIDING.

Grange Farm, Elloughton Road, Near Brough on Humber.

This land was requisitioned for a hostel for Messrs. Blackburns Aircraft Company and work was commenced in January 1944. The extent of the site is about 6 acres and the job is now left incomplete.

Very soon the Foreman, Mr. Johnson of Geo. Wimpey & Co. reported various finds. Three floors were exposed varying in depth from 1 to 3 feet. Two of these were cut through by a trench 2 feet by 4 feet and the other was partly destroyed for a building foundation. Each floor was well made with beaten material and many dressed sandstones of various sizes. On each floor were found numerous sherds of pottery, small pieces of metal, nails, charcoal and animal bones. Human bones were found at different points on the site and one deposit contained 2 skulls, arm and rib bones, and pottery, and at other points arm and leg bones were found. It is certain these were proper burials as each had a number of good stones round the remains. The floors were numbered for convenience and there is no doubt that Floor 3 has some connection with the floor on which pigs of lead were found in the garden of a house in Haven Avenue about 12 yards away over the hedge in a direct line to the west.

The skulls and some of the pottery were gathered up and handed over to the Yorkshire Philosophical Society.

J. B. FAY and T. E. CROWLEY, B.Sc.

NORTH RIDING.

Gresthwaite, Near Thirsk.

In March 1944, Mr. J. W. Rooke reported that during ploughing operations on his farm the blade of the plough struck a stone about 15 inches below the surface. Thinking it was a boulder, farm workers dug round the object and recovered a complete coffin, the lid of which had sustained a clean break across the centre.

The coffin is seven feet long, width at head a little more than two feet tapering slightly to the foot. Interior depth is fifteen inches, while walls and lid are between five and six inches thick.

Mr. Rooke notified the Yorkshire Museum, York, and Mrs. Derwas Chitty, Miss E. M. Walker and Mr. D. Gilyard-Beere inspected the coffin. They removed the lid and found the interior filled with earth which was carefully examined. No bones were found but a few pieces of earthenware appeared, one of which was part of the rim of a IVth century cooking pot. Mrs. Chitty says the coffin is of a regular Roman type, and that the lid was broken in ancient times. She suggests that the site had been forgotten or disused as a burial ground before the IVth century. The coffin appears to be of West Riding stone and is a fine specimen although lacking any inscription. It is hoped to give a fuller report at a future date.

D. G.

Langwith House, near Well.

In 1943 a field near Langwith House, near Well, was requisitioned for demolition by the War Department and very soon masonry was noticed and a piece of Roman "concrete" turned up, 4 in. x $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. x 2 in. very roughly shaped with some half dozen tessaræ inset apparently very similar to that found in the villa at Holly Hill, about 2 miles away.

The site on which the tessaræ was found is low lying and marshy and less than a foot under the surface the subsoil is boulder clay. Time has forbidden any attempt to trench the ground.

L. P. WENHAM.

Middleton Tyas, near Richmond.

This is a negative report. In February 1944, the Reverend S. B. A. Somerset reported that during excavations for a water pipe an old road or causeway was exposed at several points and when Mr. Wright of Durham University paid a visit to the site he immediately ruled out any possibility of it being Roman.

The old causeway runs from Scotch Corner to the west end of Middleton Tyas village on the broad verge to the south of the modern road. It is from 5 to 8 feet wide, the stones are laid by hand in a single well cambered layer and are for the most part sandstone, some being 6 in. x 10 in. "Certain evidences," says Mr. Wright, "accord well enough with the Roman theory but there is clear evidence against this at one point. The field boundary suddenly projects for about 15 feet towards the modern road and the causeway makes a sudden swerve to keep to the narrowed verge between the modern road and the medieval or later fence line. No Roman engineer could foresee the need to swerve sharply at such a point and so we can safely say the causeway is subsequent to the existing field system. It looks like an early road to connect the gap of one mile between the village and the Roman Arterial road."

D. G.

WEST RIDING.**North Lees, Near Ripon.**

Another non-Roman find. In 1935 Mr. Bower of North Stainley found a dagger at a distance of approximately 440 yards due south of North Lees. North Lees is situated one and a half miles from Ripon on the Ripon-Masham Road and is about one mile from the Roman site at Castle Dikes. Also 440 yards due south of the position in which the weapon was found is the moat of a medieval house.

The weapon is in good condition, complete length 15 inches, blade $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches long and 2 inches wide. The handle is similar to that of a bayonet and is $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches long. Three holes in the handle appear to be machine cut also the screws are of modern design and a small portion of the wooden handgrip is still visible. The handguard is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by $\frac{7}{8}$ inches wide at both ends and in the middle is $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide. It protrudes $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches at one end and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the other, one side being slightly bent. The weapon has been carefully examined at the Philosophical and Castle Museums and the unanimous opinion is that it is not more than 100 years old. This description was sent in by Mr. G. G. Dobson and the report is made to finally kill any idea which may still prevail as to the Roman origin of this weapon.

D. G.

Mexbrough, near Doncaster.

A new Power Station, situated on the Mexbrough-Conisbrough Road, is being constructed by Airey & Co. of Leeds. The building lies between the main road and River Don and in December 1943 excavations were made for the main water intake to the condensers. A trench was dug about 30 feet deep through river warp and black carbonaceous stony shales. At 12 feet down a large log about 30 feet x 18 inches, black and partly carbonised was found and removed. As the excavations proceeded what appears to be an ancient culvert was revealed. This ran at a narrow angle to the intake trench and laid roughly E.N.E. It was in the form of a trench, semi-circular in section, with wings and lined with small masonry. It was approximately 6 feet in radius and the invert was at a depth of 28 feet. The masonry was very small and certain pieces were "joggle jointed."

T. E. CROWLEY, B.Sc.

Roman Ridges and Fort in Scholes Wood, near Rotherham.

The so-called Roman Ridges are two lines of earthworks which run roughly parallel from the Fort on Wincobank Hill, near Sheffield, in a north-easterly direction to Mexbrough, near Doncaster, a distance of 11 miles. The earthworks overlook the Don Valley and also the Roman Fort at Templebrough, near Rotherham. I do not propose to devote space to a more full

description now but I must add that it is believed that originally a line of Forts ran behind the Ridges of which one still remains in Scholes Wood, near Rotherham. This is perfect and has never been excavated.

In September 1943 the first whisper of the threat to work opencast coal in this area was heard and immediately I reported the matter to the Roman Antiquities Committee. Mrs. Chitty got in touch with the Ministry of Works and a little later I heard from Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil. Much correspondence resulted in Mr. O'Neil paying a visit to Rotherham to examine the Ridges, etc. This I found a most enjoyable experience and Mr. O'Neil made a tour of the monuments in two very crowded days. As a result the whole of the Ridges which lie within the County Borough of Rotherham were saved and also the Fort in Scholes Wood, and I would like to take this opportunity of expressing the gratitude I am sure all archaeologists must feel to Mr. O'Neil for his very practical help. It has been a notable achievement. And I would also like to put on record the delightful courtesy displayed by the Department of the Ministry of Works engaged in opencast coal operations. We were treated with the greatest kindness and the utmost care has been displayed to avoid any damage to the monuments.

DOROTHY GREENE.

Obituary.

JOHN BILSON, D.LITT., F.S.A.

To none of its members, past and present, does our Society owe more than to John Bilson, who died at Hessle in his eighty-seventh year on 15th December, 1943. For some years past growing infirmity had prevented him from taking part in active life and attending our meetings and excursions; but his influence still remained with all of us who, remembering him in his full vigour, look back upon his services to the Society with singular gratitude.

John Bilson was born at Newark-on-Trent on 23 September, 1856, the eldest son of John Bilson and his wife Elizabeth Anne Mayston. He went to school at Wesley College, Sheffield, and, on leaving, was articled to Mr. W. Botterill of Hull. With the exception of three years spent in London in attending architectural classes, his whole professional life was spent in Hull, where eventually he entered into partnership with Mr. Botterill. He was admitted an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1881 and a Fellow in 1891. Without developing striking originality as an architect, he set himself a high standard of practical efficiency, which, accompanied by sound technical knowledge, gave his work a definite individuality. He made his mark in school design with the building of Hymers College at Hull, and subsequently was the architect of new buildings at Grantham, Bridlington, Rossall and Bromsgrove Schools. He also, among other works, designed a guest-house, much used for retreats, for the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield. In ecclesiastical architecture he repaired a large number of churches in Yorkshire, including some of the most important, and designed one large church, St. Nicholas, Hessle Common, built in memory of King Edward VII, the imposing tower of which is a familiar object from the railway on the western outskirts of Hull.

For us he is not so much the capable and conscientious architect as the architectural historian and antiquary, second to none in his generation. His study of mediaeval buildings began at an early date and continued throughout his life. He fully embraced the opportunities which were given by the annual excursions of the Architectural Association, sketching and taking notes of churches and houses with a sure eye for the essential in design and detail. His whole-hearted devotion to a subject which he pursued with remarkable intelligence did not escape the attention of older enthusiasts and was encouraged by contact with such wise and experienced antiquaries as Sir Henry Dryden, for whom he cherished a special regard. But it is difficult to imagine Bilson at any time immature, or at all events guilty of the follies of immaturity. The manuscripts of a few early lectures, delivered in Hull, survive and may be read with profit, showing as they do

a firm grasp of their subject without attempt at oratory. The present writer well remembers paying a visit to Beverley in 1898, armed with two recent numbers of *The Architectural Review* in which John Bilson, a name then new to him, had published two articles on the Minster. Magazine articles they were, but in them were revealed a depth of knowledge and width of experience which expressed themselves with unmistakable authority and rivetted the attention of the reader.

In 1895 Bilson was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and his brief paper upon the remains of the chapter house at Beverley appeared in the current volume of *Archaeologia*. It was, however, in the *R.I.B.A. Journal* that he made his first important contribution to the history of architecture. From the time of the discovery of the foundations of the original east end of Durham Cathedral, he had made himself familiar with that building and its history. In 1899 his two papers entitled *The Beginnings of Gothic Architecture* developed the thesis, in a survey of Norman vaulting in England, that Durham, when the existing structure is compared with the documentary evidence for its building, can claim, in spite of its remoteness from the main centres of architectural activity, to be the first great church in Europe covered with ribbed vaults, planned from its beginning. Further at Durham the employment of the ribbed cross-vault was followed by the adoption of the pointed arch in the transverse arches of the nave and the flying buttress in the arches and half-arches that span the triforium beneath its roof. In fact, in this church, between its foundation in 1093 and the completion of the nave forty years later, the three essential elements of Gothic art came into being within a fabric which externally preserved its Romanesque character.

This thesis Bilson maintained unswervingly throughout his life, and his final conclusions are set forth at length in a paper contributed to *The Archaeological Journal* in 1922. His views naturally met with opposition, especially among French archaeologists, jealous for the priority of the Ile-de-France as the original home of Gothic vaulting. This controversy, however, brought him into friendly relations with his opponents, who found him an adversary to be seriously reckoned with. He, on his side, face to face with such masters of their weapons as Robert de Lasteyrie and Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, recognised in them a type of mind closely akin to his own; for the methods of research fostered and practised in the École des Chartes seemed to be implanted in him by nature, so that he could contend with them on equal ground. Visits to the annual meetings of the Société française d'Archéologie brought him into contact with a host of friends who respected and admired his keen faculty of observation and his severely logical treatment of architectural and historical problems, with its rejection of theories that were merely conjectural and ingenious. Papers from his hand, of which two at least seem never to have appeared in their original English dress, found willing translators

into French, and not least his final account of the chronology of the Durham vaults. For, although his claims for Durham have never been completely accepted in France, yet, as time went on, the opposition perceptibly weakened and his hypothesis, as that of a *savant archéologue* who was also a practical architect, was admitted as by no means negligible. Finally the Société française, of whose Comité d'honneur he was for some years a member, manifested its regard for him by conferring upon him at Rouen in 1926 its *grande médaille de vermeil*, annually bestowed in memory of its founder, Arcisse de Caumont. A year earlier, the University of Durham had appropriately recognised his services to architectural scholarship by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Letters *honoris causa*.

Among the societies for which he worked in England the Royal Archaeological Institute stands out prominently. He was a frequent visitor to its meetings and his contributions to *The Archaeological Journal* include some of his best papers, most notable among them his historical analysis of *The Architecture of the Cistercians*, which was a new edition for a wider public of his share in the Thoresby Society's volume on Kirkstall Abbey. Here he was working primarily on a subject supplied by Yorkshire, and, whatever his other interests might be, Yorkshire and our Society always held a high place in his affection, and at no time did his interest in our doings flag. He was on terms of intimate friendship with its members, many of whom were heavily indebted to his generous help and frank criticism and gave him of their best in return. In the list of his publications which follows, some special examples are included of notes on buildings described by him at the Society's excursions, in addition to which much of the descriptive programmes drawn up for such occasions was supplied by him from time to time. Those who listened attentively to what he had to say at meetings learned much from him: impatient of sciolism and barren argument, a formidable critic who never wasted praise, he was capable of inspiring with his own zeal others who followed his clear and detailed exposition of the growth of a building. Unable as he was in his last years to take part in meetings and excursions, the Society felt the loss of a mentor whose instruction had been assimilated by a whole generation of its members.

If Bilson's chief interest lay in architecture and its archaeology, he was not satisfied with the evidence of stones, however great his skill in reading it. His writings on Durham were devoted to the proof of a thesis which could not be advanced without the aid of written documents, and to this literary source of evidence he applied himself whole-heartedly. Before taking in hand the description of a church or house, he collected all available references to it which might throw light upon its origin and development. His paper on Gilling Castle is an excellent example of the thoroughness with which he brought together the historical details which furnished his chosen building with its proper background and

worked out the genealogy of its builders and their family and heirs. In thus blending history with architecture, he won the friendship of historical scholars like the late Professor Tout, a hearty admirer of his rare gifts and a keen sympathiser with his co-ordination of the two subjects. A conspicuous instance of the perfect understanding with which he dovetailed his architectural work into that of a collaborator who had made charters and chronicles his special study may be seen in his last paper which appeared in print, his notes on the building of the nave of Wells Cathedral. His interest in the eleventh-century churches of the East Riding led him to pursue researches in Domesday Book and in Farrer's *Early Yorkshire Charters* which he used to advantage in two papers; while his paper entitled *Wyke-upon-Hull*, with its remarkable plan of the disposition of tenements in Hull in the year 1293, is a most striking instance of the patience with which he attacked and the success with which he solved difficult historical problems requiring a command of minute detail.

In 1901 Bilson married Edith, second daughter of the well known doctor, Sir Robert Craven of Hull. They had two children, a son and a daughter, both of whom survive their father. The death of his wife in 1919 was a misfortune which he felt deeply, and, though for some years after he went about his business with his wonted activity, he gave up his practice in 1930 and gradually retired more and more into private life. The last excursion of our Society in which he took an active part took place in 1931, when we visited Hedon, Patrington and other churches in Holderness, and to an excursion in the neighbourhood of Driffeld a year later he came merely as a visitor. His interest in his favourite pursuits remained to the end, when increasing bodily weakness and failing eyesight prevented him from active indulgence in them. There are many of its past officers and members whom the Yorkshire Archaeological Society has reason to remember with pride; but none of them has won so high a position of undisputed authority in his own special field as John Bilson, and we may look back upon his long connexion with us as deserving special commemoration in our annals.

The following list of Dr. Bilson's writings includes contributions to numerous periodicals, to which abbreviated references are given as beneath :

A.J.	..	The Archaeological Journal.
Ant. J.	..	The Antiquaries Journal.
A.R.	..	The Architectural Review.
Arch.	..	Archaeologia.
B.M.	..	Bulletin Monumental.
C.A.	..	Congrès archéologiques de France.
E.R.A.S.	..	Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society.
Proc. S.A.	..	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.
R.A.I.	..	Royal Archaeological Institute.
R.I.B.A.	..	Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 3rd Series.
Trans. D.N.		Transactions of the Durham and Northumberland Archaeological Society.
Y.A.J.	..	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal.

The earliest printed paper which I have been able to find is an address delivered to the British Association on their visit to Beverley, 11 Sept., 1890, with the title *Two Beverley Churches*, which occupies pp. 20-36. Unsigned contributions to the Y.A.S. excursion programmes, written in collaboration with the late Dr. William Brown and others, are omitted. From 1893 onwards the list is as follows :

1893. Beverley Minster : Notes of an address to the Archaeological & Architectural Society of Durham & Northumberland on July 20th, 1893 (Trans. D.N., iv, 2).

1894. On the discovery of some remains of the chapter-house of Beverley Minster (Arch., liv., 425-32) : read before S.A., 15th March).

1895. The east end of Durham Cathedral (R.I.B.A., ii, 546-8).

1896. On the recent discoveries at the east end of the cathedral church of Durham (A.J., liii, 1-18)

Notes on a disused bell at Bessingby (E.R.A.S., iv, 72-3).

The North Bar, Beverley (E.R.A.S., iv, 38-49). Complementary to A. F. Leach, The building of Beverley Bar, *ibid.*, 26-37).

1898. Beverley Minster (A.R., iii, 197-205, 250-9).

1899. Durham Cathedral and documentary evidence (R.I.B.A., vi, 72).

The beginnings of Gothic architecture in England : i. Review of recent discussion (R.I.B.A., vi, 259-69). ii. Norman vaulting in England (*ibid.*, 289-319. Paper read before the Institute, 20th March, 1899). Supplementary notes to both papers, *ibid.*, 322-3, 345-9.

Wressle Castle and Bubwith Church. Note additional to Y.A.S. programme, 6th July, 1899 (Y.A.J., xv, 503-4).

1900. The mediaeval architecture of Cyprus. Review of C. Enlart, *L'art gothique et la renaissance en Chypre* (R.I.B.A., vii, 41-8).

1901. Fountains Abbey. Review of monograph by W. H. St. John Hope. (R.I.B.A., viii, 365-8).

1902. The beginnings of Gothic architecture : Norman vaulting in England. A reply to R. de Lasteyrie, *Discours sur l'origine de l'architecture gothique* (R.I.B.A., ix, 350-6).

Description of St. Cross, Winchester, delivered at the summer meeting of the R.A.I. (A.J., 355-61).

1903. The beginnings of Gothic architecture : Norman vaulting in England (R.I.B.A., x, 19-20. Supplementary to previous papers).

1905. Amiens Cathedral. Review of G. Durand, *Monographie de l'église cathédrale Notre-Dame d'Amiens*, vol. i (R.I.B.A., xii, 97-100).

1906. The eleventh-century east ends of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and St. Mary's, York (A.J., lxiii, 106-16. Translated by Emile Travers for B.M., lxix, 209-23, with title *Les chevets du xi^e siècle de Saint-Augustin de Cantorbéry et de Sainte-Marie d'York*).

On a remarkable sculptured representation of Hell Cauldron, lately found at York (Proc. S.A., xxi, 248-60. Communicated to S.A., 6th Dec., 1906. Also published in Y.A.J., xix, 435-45. Translated by Louis Serbat for B.M., lxxii, 442-54, with title, *Un bas-relief du xii^e siècle représentant des scènes de l'enfer trouvé à York*).

Deviation of axis in mediaeval churches. Review of R. de Lasteyrie, *La déviation de l'axe des églises est-elle symbolique ?* (R.I.B.A., xiii, 114-16).

Amiens Cathedral and Mr. Goodyear's 'refinements,' a criticism (R.I.B.A., xiii, 396-417). Translated by Louis Serbat for B.M. lxxi, 32-78, with title *La cathédrale d'Amiens et les 'raffinements' de M. Goodyear*).

1907. Gilling Castle (Y.A.J., xix, 106-92).

The architecture of Kirkstall abbey church, with some general remarks on the architecture of the Cistercians (Thoresby Soc., xvi, 73-140, forming the second half of the volume of which W. H. St. John Hope's Kirkstall Abbey is the first).

A French purchase of alabaster in 1419 (A.J., lxiv, 32-7. Documents from C. de Beaurepaire, Notes sur les architectes de Rouen).

1908. Amiens Cathedral and Mr. Goodyear's 'refinements,' a rejoinder (R.I.B.A., xv, 84-90. Answer to W. H. Goodyear, Architectural refinements, a reply to Mr. Bilson, *ibid.*, 17-51).

Mediaeval bricks (R.I.B.A., xv, 179-80).

The place of Durham Cathedral in the evolution of Gothic architecture (A.J., lxv, 325-6. Summary account of paper read at the summer meeting of R.A.I.).

Accounts of the churches of Welwick, Patrington and Hedon, at meeting of Y.A.S., 3rd Sept., 1908 (Y.A.J., xx, 134-48).

Les voûtes ogives de Morienvall. French translation by C. Enlart. (B.M., lxxii, 128-36, 498-510).

1909. The architecture of the Cistercians, with special reference to some of their earlier churches in England (A.J., lxvi, 185-280. Adapted and augmented from the paper on Kirkstall : see 1907. A résumé, L'architecture des Cisterciens dans leurs plus anciennes églises en Angleterre d'après l'étude de M. J. Bilson, by Louis Serbat, appeared in B.M., lxxiv, 434-45).

Accounts of Blyth Priory and Roche Abbey, at a meeting of the Y.A.S., 18th June, 1909 (Y.A.J., xx, 447-54).

1910. St.-Denis and Nôtre-Dame, Paris (R.I.B.A., xvii, 118. Review of Paul Vitry and Gaston Brière, L'église abbatiale de Saint-Denis, and Marcel Aubert, La cathédrale de Nôtre-Dame).

English alabaster tables in foreign collections. (Paper read before S.A., 27th May, 1910 : printed in Catalogue of Alabaster exhibition).

Le chapiteau à godrons en Angleterre (The scalloped capital in England. Translated by Louis Serbat, 1910 for C.A., lxxv session, ii, 634-46. Caen, 1909).

1911. The plan of the first cathedral church at Lincoln (Arch., lxii, 543-64. Read before S.A., 25th May, 1911. An abstract of this paper in R.I.B.A., xviii, 590-1).

Fountains Abbey (R.I.B.A., xviii, 17. Brief review of A. W. Oxford's guide).

Lincoln Cathedral, the new reading (R.I.B.A., xviii, 464-75. Criticism of Francis Bond and W. Watkins, Notes on the architectural history of Lincoln Minster, printed *ibid.*, 33-50, 84-97). Supplemented *ibid.*, 551-4, in answer to reply by W. Watkins, *ibid.*, 510-18.

Newbald Church. (Y.A.J., xxi, 1-42).

The story of Hessle Church. Summary of an address to the Church of England Men's Society, 16th March, 1911.

1912. Angers Cathedral : the vaults of the nave (R.I.B.A., xix, 727-37. Previously printed in French translation by R. de Lasteyrie with title Les voûtes de la nef de la cathédrale d'Angers, in C.A., 1910, ii, 203-23).

La date et la construction de l'église abbatiale de Bernay : (B.M., lxxv, 403-422, following account of excavations at Bernay by A. Porée. French translation by Louis Serbat).

1913. Howden Church : some notes on its architectural history (Y.A.J., xxii, 159-65).

Wressle Castle (Y.A.J., xxii, 182-4).

The manor-house of the bishops of Durham at Howden (Y.A.J., xxii, 256-69).

Bridlington Priory : the cloister arcade (Y.A.J., xxii, 238-9).

Accounts of the churches of Kirk Hammerton, Nun Monkton, Askham Bryan, Askham Richard, Healaugh, Wighill and Bolton Percy, at a meeting of the Y.A.S., 7 and 8 Aug., 1913 (Y.A.J., xxiii, 105-22).

1915. Arthur Francis Leach : an appreciation (E.R.A.S., xxi, 98-100).
Whitby Abbey : damage from the bombardment (Proc. S.A., xxvii, 52-3. Report to S.A. : also in R.I.B.A., xxii, 141-2).

1917. The Norman school and the beginnings of Gothic architecture (A.J., lxxiv, 1-35).

The aisle vaulting of Winchester transept (R.I.B.A., xxiv, 65-9).

Beverley Minster : some stray notes. (i) The legend of Theophilus; (ii) A piscina basin; (iii) The order of the choir-stalls; (iv) Three inscribed floor slabs (Y.A.J., xxiv, 221-35).

Some notes on St. Mary's Church, Hull (Y.A.J., xxiv, 275-85).

1920. St. Mary's Church, Beverley (Y.A.J., xxv, 357-430).

1921. Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis (Ant. J., i, 242-3. Obituary notice).

1922. Weaverthorpe Church and its builder (Arch., lxxii, 51-70. Paper read before S.A. on 22nd June, 1922).

Durham Cathedral, the chronology of its vaults (A.J., lxxix, 101-60. Translated by Louis Serbat, with title *La cathédrale de Durham et la chronologie de ses voûtes*, for B.M., lxxxix, 5-44, 209-55).

Elland Church, chancel arch (note in Y.A.J., xxvi, 305-7).

Gilling Castle, glass. (Note in Y.A.J., xxvi, 307-8).

1923. Wharram-le-Street Church, Yorkshire, and St. Rule's Church, St. Andrews (Arch., lxxiii, 55-72. Paper read before S.A. on 28th June, 1923).

1924. Hackness Church, a note on the earlier building (Y.A.J., xxvii, 406-8).

1926. St. Mary's Church, Beverley (Note in Y.A.J., xxviii, 340).

1927. *Les vestiges de la cathédrale de Rouen du xi^e siècle* (The vestiges of the eleventh-century, cathedral of Rouen. French translation by Jean Valléry-Radot for B.M., lxxxvi, 251-67).

Camille Enlart (Ant. J., vii, 327-8. Obituary notice).

1928. Wyke-upon-Hull in 1293 (E.R.A.S., xxvi, 37-105).

1930. Notes on the earlier architectural history of Wells Cathedral (A.J., lxxxv, 23-68. Complementary to J. Armitage Robinson, Documentary evidence relating to the building of the cathedral church at Wells, c. 1186-1242, *ibid.*, 1-22).

A. HAMILTON THOMPSON.

REVIEWS.

York Monuments. By J. B. Morrell. Batsford, 1944. £3. 3s. 0d. net. 100 pl. and front.

York Minster has the distinction of being the third great church to have its monuments illustrated. The first complete collection was Dart's *Westminster Abbey*, c. 1723; the next was his *Canterbury* (1726), and the third Drake's *Eboracum* (1736); in 1755 the plates and relevant text both of the *Canterbury* and the *Eboracum* were reissued in a useful folio volume. Alderman Morrell's invaluable volume may be described as *Eboracum* brought up to date, and a comparison of its plates with Drake's shows the extraordinary inaccuracy of the 18th century engraver; details are altered or omitted, and the character and expression of the effigies is changed in many cases almost beyond recognition. No one who loves York should be without this admirable volume—the first of several, we learn, to deal with York antiquities; and our debt to the present Dean of York is well illustrated by Pl. xxvi, which shows us Archbishop Sterne's monument as Drake knew it, with the beautiful setting misguidedly removed a few years ago, and Sir George Savile (Pl. lxxv) no longer a miserable dusty figure divorced from its pedestal, but set again upon that pedestal, as graceful and well-proportioned as any in England, and a very notable example of the work of the York sculptor John Fisher.

It is an interesting sequence, varying from c. 1255 to 1900, an epitome of taste in England as complete as Canterbury itself—if we can imagine a Dart's *Canterbury* brought up, as Drake's *Eboracum* is in the volume we are considering, to date. The number of alabaster monuments of local origin is not imposing in view of the importance of the trade; Alderman Morrell has searched the Freeman's Rolls, and we need not be surprised by the number of these craftsmen when we remember that Fuller comments on the alabaster found at Ledsham as the finest and whitest in England, found in large blocks, sometimes as much as a ton weight.

York, Mr. Morrell, the County and the publishers are alike to be congratulated on what is, in the fullest sense, a monumental volume.

K. A. ESDAILE.

Petvaria. By Philip Corder, M.A., F.S.A. and Ian A. Richmond, M.A., F.S.A. Reprinted from the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. Third Series. Vol. VII. 1942.

During the excavations at Brough-on-Humber, 1933-1937 interim reports were published annually. This is a complete survey of the whole work. Horsley was the first to identify the

Roman site at Brough with the *Petuaria* of Ptolemy and the *Notitia* and the identification has been proved correct by the discovery of an inscription there in 1937. For various reasons the Parisi of North Ferriby seem to have migrated to Brough in the early days of the Roman period and traces of the rammed gravel floors of their huts have been found. Then the Romans arrived in the north and traces of a section of the east rampart of the original Flavian camp were seen by the excavators. It was made of turf and had a rampart walk of rammed gravel and a breast-work of osier hurdles. There was evidence to connect it with the campaign of Petilius Cerealis. After York became the headquarters of the Ninth Legion this camp seems to have been dismantled. About the end of the first century or the beginning of the second the native huts began to be replaced by stone buildings, four or five of which have been located. This development owing probably to the military troubles in the early part of the second century, fell into abeyance. After Hadrian had pacified the north and the frontier wall was built the process revived and a new turf rampart was constructed. A great part of the eastern rampart of this date (together with a small portion of the earlier Flavian one) was available for excavation in Bozzes Field. All this reconstruction dates from the years 120 to 130 A.D. About the middle of the same century the town defences were rebuilt in the form of a stone rampart backed with clay. In the reign of Pius a theatre stage was built by M. Ulpis Januarius. This was a surprising find, for as far as we know at present, there were only two other theatres in Britain, at Verulamium and Colchester, much more important places than *Petuaria*. Originally the capital of the fourth *pagus* of the Parisi, the town had risen to the primary place among the towns of that people. Romanization there was not so deeply noted as in southern Britain. The unearthing in 1936 of two sceptres and a bucket as grave furniture shows the survival of native ideas and customs. The little town, well situated as it was for communication with other places was undoubtedly a commercial centre and a seaport, but in the third century the countryside was of far greater importance than the town. Attempts were made to revive its former importance in the time of Constantine Chlorus, when the walls were repaired and provided with projecting rectangular towers. This revival, if there really was one, was shortlived, though it still remained of some importance as a centre of administration. Nevertheless, as in other Romano-British towns decay went on slowly but inevitably.

Such is a very brief outline of the story of *Petuaria* as recovered by Messrs. Corder, Richmond and Romans. They have fitted it into the general current of the history of the period and have made a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the period.

C. E. W.

TRANSACTIONS, Etc., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1942, contains—
Local Historical Research, by T. W. Hanson; The Waterhouse Coats of Arms, by R. Bretton; Clough in Mixenden, by W. B. Trigg; Holdsworth House, by W. B. Trigg; Ripponden and the Spout, by J. H. Priestley; The Hill, Marley, by T. W. Hanson; Ashday in Southowram, by R. Bretton; Ryburn Inns, by J. H. Priestley; How Halifax developed, by C. Sunderland; Midgley Records (Third Series), by H. W. Harwood.

Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, Vol. VI, Pt. 1, contains—A Fragment of a Compotus Roll of the Manor of Sheffield, 1479-80, by G. R. Potter and M. Walton; The Huttons of Hooton Pagnell, by C. E. Whiting; Some letters of Alfred Stevens, by F. Bradbury; Mural Paintings, and the "Howle in the Ponds," by J. B. Himsworth.

Teesdale Record Society's Transactions contain, No. 9—Selaby; The Rokeby Brief Book, by W. Oliver; Denton Chapelry; Illustrations of Tomb Slabs, Pt. IV.

No. 10—Spoils of Streatham; Some Wills from Gainford Parish; Petition from Piercebridge and Coniscliffe; Illustrations of Tomb Slabs; A Local Vicar of the 17th c., the Rev. Wm. Parish, Vicar of Rokeby, 1661-88, by W. Oliver; A Local Postman of the 17th c., Chris. Thwaites of Greta Bridge, 1626?-1693, by W. Oliver.

Thoresby Society's Publications, Miscellany, 1941, contains—Yorkshire Cloth Traders in the United States, 1770-1840, by H. Heaton; The Mediaeval Borough of Leeds, by G. Woledge; Lieut.-Col. E. Kitson Clark, T.D., F.S.A.

Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, Vol. VII, contains—The Use and Abuse of Phonetics, by F. G. Ackerley; Wensleydale Lullaby, by D. U. Ratcliffe; Reeaks, by S. Umpleby.

PAPERS ON YORKSHIRE SUBJECTS IN NON-YORKSHIRE TRANSACTIONS.

The Antiquaries' Journal, Vol. XXIV, includes—Three Fragments of Roman Official Statues from York, Lincoln and Silchester, by I. A. Richmond. (p. 1).

The Journal of the British Archaeological Association, Vol. VII, includes—Petuaria, by P. Corder and I. A. Richmond. (p. 1).

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The Story of Bowes Church, by W. Oliver. Teesdale Mercury, 1944.

The Legends of Huddersfield and its District, Collected and Classified by P. Ahier; Vol. VII, Pts. 1 and 2, The Elland Feud. The Advertiser Press Ltd., Huddersfield. 1944.

A History of Underbank Chapel, Stannington, by F. T. Wood, 7½ x 5; xv + 153 pp. J. W. Northend, Sheffield. 1944.

The Yorkshire Dalesman, Vol. 6, Pts. 1-7.

York Monuments, by J. B. Morrell, 22 x 28 cms.; viii + 131 pp.; Batsford, 1944.

Yorkshire Dialect Prose, ed. by W. J. Halliday and Bruce Dickens. Henry Walker, Leeds. 1944.

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THE
Dorsetshire Archaeological Journal.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

**SETTLEMENT SITE AT HUTTON-LE-HOLE,
NORTH RIDING.**

East of the village of Hutton-le-Hole (3 miles N.E. of Kirby-Moorside) is a plateau of Tabular Limestone formed by the Hutton Beck on the West and the River Seven on the East. This plateau terminates in an escarpment at Spaunton, just over 600 feet O.D., and falls away gently for about 3 miles to Sinnington, about 300 feet O.D. In the centre a beck runs North-South forming a long shallow depression. In this depression, about a mile S.E. of Hutton-le-Hole, on a line about half way between the beck (here about 400 feet O.D.) and the top of the Hutton Beck valley (about 460 feet O.D.) and on the middle of the three farms known collectively as Ox Close, flints were found in 1943 and 1944 in quantities sufficient to indicate settlement. For reasons of present cultivation, the flints could only be collected in two places, but probably extend for an area about 200 yards long (North-South) and 25 yards wide (East-West). In addition, isolated flints were found near the farm buildings, in the lane to the West of the depression, and in a field $\frac{1}{4}$ -mile North of the main area.

The flints are small, few exceeding $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. So far 62 have been found by the writer, of which 5 are cores, 29 wasters and 28 recognisable implements. Of these 62, about a quarter are of honey-coloured flint, presumably of Wold origin, and the rest of the blue and black flint associated with the Drift on the North Riding coast. Most have a thick white patination. A few more have been found by local people, but have been lost.

The types form a range running from the Mesolithic to the Early Bronze Age. They include several blunt backed scrapers or knife-blades of the kind usually mounted in wood, three round scrapers, a core-scraper (with steep face), a borer, several points and point-scrapers, and a tanged-and-barbed arrow-head. One of the cores has probably been used as an implement. A high proportion of the flints show signs of having been re-struck or reshaped once or even twice.

E. S. Wood.

EFFIGY AT SKERNE.

In Volume XXIX, Part I of the Y.A.S. in the article by the late W. M. I'Anson, F.S.A. there is a description and drawing (Fig. 69) of an effigy of a knight, built into the wall of the blocked up arcade of the destroyed North aisle of Skerne Church; Mr. I'Anson has not identified this; he dates the effigy as 1320-30.

According to some notes by the late Earl of Liverpool on East Riding families, there was a family of Skerne of Skerne who left there in the 14th century for Waltham and Bondby in Lincolnshire. According to the late Colonel Saltmarshe, "Some Howdenshire Villages" (E.R.A.S. Transactions, Vol. XIII, Part II, The Hothams of Cranswick (the adjoining village to Skerne) had a manor at Laxton, the heiress of which married early 15th century (alive 1439) Henry Skerne of Bondby—the Skerne family held Laxton till the 16th century.

It therefore appears probable that this effigy belongs to the Skerne family and was possibly in the destroyed North aisle, the arcade of which is 14th century and was built into the wall when the aisle was destroyed.

There are some grass mounds apparently covering foundations at the approach to the church; this may be the site of the Manor House.

RICHARD H. WHITEING.

A SIDE-LIGHT ON BOOK COLLECTING.

The massive and dignified tomes in which XVII Century Divinity faced the world presented their first readers with a problem which is strange to us. The carriage of these great books involved difficulties which modern transport has eased for us, but these difficulties are well illustrated by a small packet of papers found in a box of odds and ends in the Diocesan Registry at York. The books in question were apparently six copies, or sets, of Bishop Jewell's works, and the papers give the cost of carrying them from London where they were purchased, to York. The total weight of the books seems to have been very heavy, so perhaps we must suppose them to have been sets of works rather than single volumes.

The packet is endorsed :—

" 1612

Charges paied about Bp. Jewells works
To Mr. John Southworth in Swine Gaite streete in
Yorck yeve theis, with speede."

The first paper is headed :—

"Trinitie Terme, 1612. My charges at London then, and for conveying the books or works of Bp. Jewell to York, etc.

My charges & my mans from Bishopthorp to London	xliiis. vid.
At London	vli. xs.
Boathyre to & from Battersey two tymes	vis.

Item boathyre to the Kings Arms	xiid.
Charges from London to Bishopthorp	xliis.
10li. 3s. 6d.	
For 3 large fatts at viis. a pece	xxis.
For 20 hoopes to mend those fatts whereof 9 at iid. & xi at iiid. a pece	vis. ix d.
For nayles	ix d.
Bread & beare for the workmen	xiid.
A great hamper	iiis. vid.

33s. per billam.

To Edward Rowe owner & master of the Edward of Hull for the carrying of those three drie fatts and hamper from London to Hull by sea	xxxiiis. per bills
For wharfage at London	iiis.
To the water Bailey	xviiis.
For 3 carts to carry the fatts from Paules to the water side	iiiiis.
To Richard Waulesse a porter	iiis. iiid.
To the scrivener for a bond	iis.

1612 14 Julii

To Tho. Rowe, keelman, for the freight of the 3 drie fatts from Hull to York	xs.
For the hamper	iis. vid.
To John Fermar merchant at York for receiving the same fatts and hamper	vs. vid.
To Percivell Tesh for carrying the same fro Ouze bridge to Jo. Southworths house	vis. viiid.
For helping in of the books	iiid.
	xxvs.

26 Decembris 1612.

To Jo. Southworth himself	vli.
To his maid	vis. viiid.
To a porter	viid.
To the Carryer to books had to Retford	vis.
	21li. 0. 8d.

Bookes given by me to	
My lo. Gr. one	I
Dr. Ingram I	I
Mr. Badworth I	struck out
Mr. Emondson one	
Mr. Culmane	struck out
my self	

4 li."

The second paper has :—

"3 lardge fatts at 7s. a fat	1.1.0
20 hoopes whereof 9 at iid. and a II at 3d.	0.5.9.
Nayles	0.1.0.
a hamper	0.4.6.

Sum 1.13.0.

By me Joseph Bagsett."

The third paper is the shipmaster's receipt :—

“2 Julie 1612

Receive for thrie fattes and one hamper for frighet to Hull the
some of thiry towe shillings I saye received in full for frighet
of all by me Edward Rowe

All so one tronke to be deliverd at Yorke to have for frighe upon
delivere there of by me Edward Rowe.”

The fourth paper is the consignment note :—

“Kingston super Hull the 14th of Julye 1612.

Mr. John Southworth. You shall receave of this bearer Thomas
Rowe a keeleman of Hull, three greate drye fatts & one
hamper full of boocks, which Mr. Turbatt hath sent from
London and doth pray you to receave, and to paye him for
the freyghte thereof from Hull to Yorke for the 3 drye fatts
xs. and for the hampire iis. vid., for which Mr. Turbatt hath
alreadye paide the freyghte thereof from London to Hull.
Also I have sent by the said Keeleman a trunck to be sent
to Mr. Wm. Man of Yorck: I pray you dyrecte him to his
house. I have paid the Skipper that brought this trunck
from London, named Edward Rowe, iis. vid. for the freight
of this trunck from London to Hull, in . . . of Mr. Thrus-
cros—he must paie him for the freyghte of yt from hence to
Yorck xiid. or such a matter. Lett Mr. Man keep the iis. vid.
in his (? hands) till we meete, intreating your kindenes here
in Mr. Turbatt's behalfe. I take my leave. William Hawkins.”

Last in the file are three receipts, two of them damaged :—

“Recd. off John Sowthworth ffor crayneage howse Rowme &
handynge off iii great Dryfatts & I baskytt vs. vid.
Recd. for the carrynge . . . fatts and one hamper . . . By me
Parcyvall . . .

Payd to George Gibson (mark) and John . . . for helping in with
your bookes.”

It remains only to say that Mr. Turbatts, who undertook to
arrange all this business, was then Deputy Diocesan Registrar.
Hence the survival of these papers in the Registry.

J. S. PURVIS.

A PRE-HISTORY Research Section of the Society has
now been formed with a view to advancing the study of Pre-
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NOTES ON THE EARLY ARCHDEACONS IN THE CHURCH OF YORK.

BY C. T. CLAY, C.B., Hon.Litt.D., F.S.A.

In an earlier volume of this Journal¹ a description was given of a manuscript compiled by the late William Farrer on the Yorkshire ecclesiastical dignitaries of the twelfth century, which also includes lists, and on the later folios fuller and revised lists, of the archdeacons in the church of York. It was noted that these lists were certainly not ready for print, and that on several points Farrer had evidently not arrived at his final decision. They contain, however, a great number of documentary references which are essential as a basis for any further inquiry; and the present attempt to investigate the early archdeacons is primarily due to them.²

In his life of archbishop Thomas I, in a passage earlier than his statement relating to the institution of the dignities of dean, treasurer and precentor, Hugh the Chantor records that the archbishop "archidiaconos quoque sapientes et industrios per dioecesim divisit."³ The three dignities, certainly in existence in 1093,⁴ were probably instituted about the year 1090; and it seems likely, therefore, that the geographical areas had been fixed for the archdeaconries by then. There is no reason to suppose that these areas were not mainly the same as those which in the twelfth century and for a long time to come formed the archdeaconries of York (or West Riding), the East Riding, Cleveland, Richmond, and Nottingham. In a document not likely to be later than 1135, there are mentioned the archdeaconries of 'Austreing,' 'Westreing,' and 'Notinghamschira';⁵ and evidence will be given below⁶ that before 1114 one of the archdeaconries, almost certainly that of the East Riding, had been combined with the treasurership. There is also evidence that the archdeaconry of Richmond was in existence in 1133, when its limits were contracted at the foundation of the see of Carlisle.⁷

¹ *Ante*, xxxiv, pp. 361-2.

² In addition to the lists given in the 1716 and 1854 editions of Le Neve and in Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedrals of York* . . . (1727), lists for the five archdeaconries in the church of York down to the middle of the thirteenth century were compiled by Richard Holmes in his edition of the *Pontefract Chartulary*, Yorks. Rec. Series, pp. 56-8, with several documentary references; these lists, however, must be regarded as susceptible of considerable revision.

³ *Hist. Ch. York*, Rolls Ser., ii, 108.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, 75. For this document and its date, and the impossibility that it was issued by abp Roger, see *ante*, xxxv, pp. 129, 130*n*.

⁶ See below under Ranulf, no. A12.

⁷ On this point see A. Hamilton Thompson in his introduction to 'The Registers of the Archdeaconry of Richmond, 1361-1442,' *ante*, xxv, pp. 130, 133.

In the endeavour to compile lists for each of the archdeaconries in the twelfth century it must be admitted that, with the exception of the archdeaconry of the East Riding, for which the list of the treasurers is the same, the evidence relating to any particular archdeacon is often quite insufficient to determine his archdeaconry either with certainty or with any degree of probability. At the outset it is necessary to examine the phrases *archidiaconus Eboracensis* and *archidiaconus Eboracensis ecclesie*. It is clear that the latter might be applied to any of the archdeacons in the church of York; nor is there any reasonable doubt that the former was used either as its equivalent or, on the other hand, as the specific description of the archdeacon of York (or West Riding). This ambiguity has this important result, that, unless there is supporting evidence to prove that a man described as *archidiaconus Eboracensis* was archdeacon of York, the phrase taken by itself gives no evidence whatever as to which of the archdeaconries in the church of York it was that he actually held.¹ It is an example of the danger of supposing that words and phrases in medieval documents had a definite and restricted official meaning, and could not be used to signify something wider.

To support these considerations some references can be given :

(a) Ralph Baro, when almost certainly he was archdeacon of Cleveland, described himself in a charter as *Eboracensis ecclesie archidiaconus* (see below under Ralph Baro, no. A11); and the agreement between archbishop Roger and the bishop of Durham, 1162-67, relating to the churches of St. Cuthbert in Yorkshire, which shows that John son of Letold then held the archdeaconry of Cleveland, was witnessed by John son of Letold, *archidiaconus ecclesie Eboracensis* (see below under Geoffrey, no. B2).

(b) In the period 1164-70 John son of Letold, *archidiaconus Eboracensis*, who witnessed a confirmation charter of king Henry II, was evidently the same man as John, *archidiaconus Eboracenses ecclesie*, who witnessed the confirmation charter of archbishop Roger relating to the same gift (see below under John son of Letold, no. B7). It is reasonably certain that John son of Letold was at that time either archdeacon of Cleveland or archdeacon of Nottingham.

(c) An instrument of archbishop Roger, 1164-77, was witnessed by Geoffrey and John described as *archidiaconi Eboracenses* (see below under Geoffrey, no. B2). The former was archdeacon of York (West Riding), and the latter was apparently not.

(d) If, however, in a document the phrase *archidiaconus Eboracensis* is used as a descriptive term of one archdeacon, and to others are given the names of their respective archdeaconries, the phrase then clearly means the archdeacon of York. Thus it

¹ Stubbs in his preface to *Howden*, Rolls Ser., iv, p. xxviii, notes that probably the phrase was a loose expression, which might apply to all the archdeaconries.

can be deduced from a charter issued to St. Peter's, York, which was witnessed by *Adam archidiacono Eboracensi, Willelmo archidiacono de Notingham, Radulfo archidiacono Clifland[ie]*,¹ that Adam was archdeacon of York—a fact which is known to be true from other evidence. Other examples will be found in the notes on Ralph d'Aunay (no. B8) given below.²

These considerations have an additional importance in view of the suggestion made by Farrer that during certain periods in the twelfth century there were joint-archdeacons of York. He noted that in the period immediately after 1160 there were two archdeacons of York, namely Ralph de Aulnai and John son of Lethold, and during the period 1154-60 Ralph Baro and Robert Butivillein likewise;³ and, further, he stated that Osbert de Bayeux was joint-archdeacon of St. Peter's or of the West Riding and Ralph de Baro joint-archdeacon with him.⁴ But the evidence on which he appears to have relied is not convincing. Indeed it will be suggested in the notes on Ralph Baro (no. A11 below) that he was archdeacon of Cleveland, and not archdeacon of York; nor is there any evidence that John son of Letold ever held the archdeaconry of York. Certainly there is a difficulty about Osbert de Bayeux, for, as will be discussed below, the archdeaconry which he held is very doubtful; but, whether he held the archdeaconry of York or not, the statement that Ralph Baro held it jointly with him cannot be justified. In the absence of any definite proof the suggestion that the archdeaconry of York was held jointly, which, indeed, is *prima facie* most unlikely, cannot be accepted;⁵ and the phrase *archidiaconus Eboracensis* must frequently be given a wider interpretation. It can be added that there is no available evidence to show that at any particular time in the twelfth century there were more than five archdeacons in the church of York.⁶

There is another phrase, of which only one example is available in the charters cited in this paper. This is *archidiaconus sancti Petri*. With this description Robert, presumably Robert Butevilain, witnessed a charter to Sallay abbey (see below under Robert Butevilain, no. A13). The balance of other evidence suggests that he was archdeacon of York; and although it cannot be said that the phrase, taken by itself, is a proof of this, it can be regarded as affording evidence in support.

¹ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 1261; the date is at the beginning of the 13th cent., probably 1201. Cf. *ibid.*, v, no. 253 note, for a similar example.

² An earlier example, though not so conclusive, is given by a charter of archbishop Roger, 1154-58, witnessed by Robert *archidiacono Eboracensi* and Bartholomew the archdeacon (see below under Ralph Baro, no. A11). In all probability Robert [Butevilain] was archdeacon of York; and the phrase there has evidently that significance.

³ *E.Y.C.*, iii, p. 442, being a note on a charter witnessed by Ralph *archidiacono Eboracensi*. This was Ralph Baro. Cf. also *ibid.*, ii, p. 276 for John son of Letold "one of the archdeacons of St. Peter's."

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, p. 133.

⁵ A special arrangement following the dispute between Adam de Thorner and Peter de Dinan at the end of the century is noticed in §3 below.

⁶ Except as the result of the arrangement mentioned in the preceding note.

It is probable that in the twelfth century, as in later days, the archdeacon of York—the *archidiaconus major*—was the senior of the five archdeacons, except that the archdeacon of the East Riding in virtue of his tenure of the dignity of treasurer, with which his archdeaconry was combined until 1218, had a precedence of his own. In the witness clauses to charters the treasurer was usually given precedence over the other archdeacons;¹ but it would be dangerous to assume that when these other archdeacons occur as witnesses without their archdeaconries being specified the archdeacon of York necessarily preceded the others.² The order, therefore, in which they occur gives no very helpful clue in deciding whether any particular archdeacon was the archdeacon of York or not.

It is proposed in the present paper, first, to examine the available details relating to those who held an archdeaconry in the church of York earlier than 1154, with some tentative suggestions as to which of the archdeaconries they may have held; secondly, to examine similar details for the period to 1189; thirdly, to give notes on those who held the several archdeaconries down to 1215, that period being one when no doubt ordinarily exists as to which of the archdeaconries any particular archdeacon held; and, lastly, to give some references from twelfth-century charters to those who are described as vice-archdeacons.

The primary object is to gather together the material derived from charters and other sources already in print; but it must be realized that in view of the large amount of material in such sources as monastic chartularies and the collections made by Dodsworth, which have not yet been printed, evidence may be forthcoming to correct or amplify present deductions; and the time has not come for the compilation of satisfactory lists of the archdeacons, especially for the first half of the twelfth century.

§1. THE PERIOD TO 1154

A 1. CONAN.

Conan the archdeacon was the first witness to a charter of count Stephen, giving to the abbey of St. Mary, York, several churches and lands of the honour of Richmond, 1125-35;³ another charter of the same in favour of Rumburgh priory, c. 1135;⁴

¹ In *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 71, cited under Osbert de Bayeux, no. A10, Hugh the treasurer is preceded by Osbert the archdeacon; but this seems exceptional.

² Under Ralph d'Aunay, no. B8, charters are cited in which Geoffrey archdeacon of Cleveland preceded Ralph archdeacon (of York) in the lists of witnesses. Again, in the period 1154-58 a charter was witnessed by Ralph the archdeacon (probably of Cleveland), preceding Robert the archdeacon (probably of York); see under Ralph Baro, no. A11.

³ *E.Y.C.*, iv, no. 8. The dates there assigned depend on the supposition that Conan succeeded Thurstan as archdeacon of Richmond; but, although this supposition may be unsound (see below under Thurstan, no. A15) the period is probable from the names of the other witnesses.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 10.

and three charters of Alan earl of Richmond issued in England in the period 1136-45.¹ Described merely as Conan the archdeacon he issued a notification that he would warrant to the monks of Castle Acre the gift which he had made to them with the concession of count Stephen and earl Alan, namely two-thirds of the tithe of the demesnes of Narford, Norfolk, 1146-58;² and also a notification that he had made a gift to Ralph de Hoilanda of Estovenning, par. Swineshead in Holland, co. Lincoln, to hold "sicut barones com[itis] melius tenent," not later than 1146.³ It has been suggested that as a Conan the archdeacon witnessed a charter of earl Alan at Quimper in 1145, and another at Ploërmel in 1145-46,⁴ he had accompanied the earl to Brittany in the former year.⁵

It must be noted, however, that one or more persons of this name—a common one in Brittany—held archdeaconries in the churches of St. Brieuc and Tréguier. A charter of John bishop of St. Brieuc, dated 1132, was issued "assentientibus clericis nostris Conano scilicet et Judicale archidiaconis."⁶ A gift of count Henry, earl Alan's brother, of the church, of Ste. Croix at Guingamp to the abbey of La Trinité, Vendôme, was made "in domo Conani archidiaconi apud Gingamp in manu domni Roberti Vindocinensis abbatis et per manum Briocensis episcopi et Conani archidiaconi predictum abbatem et ecclesiam Vindocinensem investivi," his charter being witnessed by Conan the archdeacon;⁷ and a charter of William bishop of Tréguier, dated 19 Sept. 1151, was issued "presentibus et laudantibus Conano Trecor' archidiac[ono] . . ."⁸ It is therefore possible that it was one of these who was the Conan the archdeacon in earl Alan's company in Brittany in 1145-46.

With regard to Conan the archdeacon who was in England in the period 1125-45, and after 1146, it has always been supposed, following Le Neve, that he was archdeacon of Richmond. Although this is a natural supposition, there is no definite proof; and it is strange that Conan never appears as a witness to the archbishops' charters or to charters relating to the church of York. The possibility must therefore not be overlooked that he never held any archdeaconry in that church, and that he had been brought over from Brittany by count Stephen, retaining the style of archdeacon in virtue of his tenure of some Breton archdeaconry which he had previously held.⁹ It is a significant

¹ *E.Y.C.*, iv, nos. 14, 21, 23.

² *Ibid.*, v, no. 398.

³ *Ibid.*, footnote 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, nos. 25, 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

⁶ Bourgoigne and Barthélemy, *Anciens Evêchés de Bretagne*, vi, 120.

⁷ *Cart. La Trinité de Vendôme*, ii, 394; the probable date is 1151-56.

⁸ Morice, *Hist. de Bretagne*, Preuves, i, 610. Another charter of count Henry, dated 1152, was issued "Guingampi in domo Conani archidiaconi" and in his presence (*ibid.*, p. 611). The references in these three notes have been kindly supplied by Mr. L. C. Loyd.

⁹ A parallel would be afforded by Osbert de Bayeux (see below no. A10), who retained his archidiaconal style for many years after he resigned his archdeaconry.

circumstance that within the extreme limits of 1137 and 1140—when, if Conan was archdeacon of Richmond, he must certainly have been in possession of the archdeaconry, a charter of archbishop Thurstan gives the names of four of the archdeacons;¹ and the fifth, the archdeacon of the East Riding, was then William Fitzherbert the treasurer. Among these five the name of Conan does not appear.

A2. DURANDUS.

Among those present with archbishop Thomas I when archbishop Anselm was consecrated, 4 Dec. 1093, were Hugh the dean, Ranulf the treasurer, Durandus the archdeacon, and Gilbert the precentor.² Durandus the archdeacon and Hugh dean of York were among those present at the king's council at Gloucester at Christmas 1093, when the king gave to archbishop Thomas the church of St. Stephen, York, in settlement of a claim to other land in York.³ Durandus the archdeacon was among the witnesses to the supposed charter of archbishop Thomas I confirming the privileges of the church of Durham; but as this document is spurious no deduction as to the date of the witnesses can be drawn.⁴ It can be assumed that with him can be identified 'Dinandus' the archdeacon named on the mortuary roll of Maud abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen (see below under Gerard, no. A5); and that he therefore died before Feb. 1114.

A3. GEOFFREY.

The charter of archbishop Thurstan confirming to Durham priory several churches in Yorkshire, c. 1121-1128, was witnessed by Ranulf bishop of Durham, Ralph bishop of Orkney, Hugh dean of York, William the treasurer,⁵ Geoffrey the archdeacon, Hugh the archdeacon, Osbert the archdeacon, Walter the archdeacon, Thomas provost of Beverley, William *clericus* de Sancta Barbara,⁶ and Ralph de Sancta Columba.⁷

A4. GEOFFREY TURCOPE OR TROCOPE.

The charter of archbishop Thurstan, surrendering to the prebend of St. Peter, then held by Osbert the archdeacon, his nephew, the mill of that prebend, whereof the pool was set in the land of the archbishopric, 1137-40, was witnessed by William dean of York, Walter, Geoffrey, and Ralph de Baro, archdeacons, Walter abbot of Selby, and others.⁸ Another charter of the same to the church of Ripon, 1137-40, was witnessed by Walter abbot of Selby, Walter, Osbert and Geoffrey, archdeacons, and others;⁹

¹ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 154; cited below under Geoffrey Turcople, no. A4.

² Hugh the Chantor in *Hist. Ch. York*, ii, 104.

³ *Mon. Ang.* iii, 546; and for the date see Davis, *Regesta*, no. 338.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 926; *Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 20.

⁵ Archdeacon of the East Riding, making five archdeacons in all.

⁶ William de Ste-Barbe, later dean of York and bishop of Durham.

⁷ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 936.

⁸ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 154.

⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 116; *Memorials of Ripon*, i, 95.

and another, 1137-40, by William dean of York, William the treasurer, William de Augo, precentor of York, Osbert, Walter and Geoffrey, archdeacons, and others including Walter abbot of Selby.¹ A notification of archbishop Thurstan relating to the church of Darrington, 1137-40, was witnessed by Walter abbot of Selby, G[aufridus] the archdeacon, and others.² There can be no doubt that Geoffrey the archdeacon, mentioned in these references, was Geoffrey Turcople or Trocope, archdeacon of Nottingham.³

John of Hexham records the story of the appearance of archbishop Thurstan a few days after his death in February 1140 in a dream to Geoffrey Turcople "viro celebris peritiae in scholari eruditione"; and quotes the archbishop's reply to a question asked by Geoffrey :

'Vivere carne mori fuerat, sed carne resolvi
Est modo vera salus, vita beata mihi.'⁴

John took these two lines from a poem which describes the archbishop's appearance in a dream to Geoffrey 'Trocope dictus Nottinghamensis archelevita';⁵ and the same Geoffrey 'de Nottingham' wrote a long metrical panegyric on the archbishop.⁶

It is probable that he was the same man as the second of two archdeacons, Osbert and Geoffrey, who witnessed a charter of archbishop Henry in favour of Meaux abbey, 1150-53.⁷

A5. GERARD.

On the mortuary roll of Maud abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen, under the title of the church of St. Peter, York, occurs the following :⁸

Orate pro nostris, Aldredo archiepiscopo, Thoma archiepiscopo, Girardo archiepiscopo, Girardo archidiacono, Dinando⁹ archidiacono, Rannulfo archidiacono et thesaurario, Aldredo canonico, Saxfordo canonico, Giraldo canonico, Willelmo archidiacono, Alvero canonico.

¹ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 150.

² *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1470; *Pontefract Chartulary*, no. 40.

³ Geoffrey Turcopula, without designation, witnessed with archbishop Thurstan and William dean of York a charter of Roger de Mowbray and Gundrea his mother (*Whitby Chartulary*, no. 259; he was evidently the Geoffrey de Cupl' of no. 238). A William Turcople occurs as a witness to a charter to St. Peter's, York, of a later date (*E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 683).

⁴ *Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Soc., i, 131.

⁵ *Hist. Ch. York.* ii, 267.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 268; and *cf.* preface pp. xvii, xviii. The editor suggests that Geoffrey probably became archdeacon [of Nottingham] after a person of the name of William who held the office in 1129, citing *Priory of Finchale*, Surtees Soc., p. 13; but that document was issued in 1199 and not 1129, and the master William archdeacon of Nottingham mentioned therein was William Testard; see the correct text in *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, no. 686c.

⁷ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 40.

⁸ L. Delisle *Rouleaux des Morts*, Soc. de l'Hist. de France (1866), p. 199.

⁹ Presumably this should be *Durando* (see above under Durandus, no. A2).

This seems to be the only known reference to an archdeacon in the church of York named Gerard. Maud abbess of Holy Trinity died in 1113. The second name is evidently that of archbishop Thomas I; and it can be deduced that the entry was made before the death of archbishop Thomas II,¹ 24 Feb. 1114. It follows that archdeacon Gerard died before that date.

A6. HUGH.

H. the archdeacon was the bearer of a letter from the chapter of York to archbishop Anselm relating to the required profession of obedience of Thomas II, archbishop elect, in 1108.² As Hugh *archidiaconus* *Eborac[ensis]*, he was a witness to a charter of archbishop Thomas II, 1112-14, giving to Sanson son of Aiulf, his nephew, land which he (the archbishop) held of the church of Worcester.³ As Hugh the archdeacon he witnessed a charter of Fulk son of Reinfrid to Whitby abbey.⁴ With four other archdeacons he was among the witnesses to archbishop Thurstan's confirmation to Durham priory, c. 1121-1128 (see above under Geoffrey, no. A3);⁵ and with Hugh the dean witnessed a charter of the archbishop to Whitby abbey, 1120-c.1136,⁶ though it is possible that in one or both of these cases the archdeacon was Hugh Sottovagina (see below).

A7. HUGH SOTTOVAGINA.

An account of Hugh Sottovagina or Sottewame has been given in the paper 'The Early Precentors and Chancellors of York.'⁷ He was probably a canon of York in the periods 1109-14 and 1125-35; and he became precentor not later than 1133. He combined that office with one of the archdeaconries, issuing a letter to the prior and convent of Durham under the style of Hugh *Eboracensis ecclesiae cantor et archidiaconus*, not earlier than 1137; being presumably Hugh the archdeacon who was among the dignitaries of York in the company of archbishop Thurstan on his visit to St. Mary's abbey on 9 Oct. 1132, and who witnessed an agreement between Whitby abbey and Guisborough priory, 1130-39. He can

¹ In the roll of Vitalis abbot of Savigny, 1122, both archbishops Thomas I and Thomas II are mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 314).

² *Hist. Ch. York*, ii, 116.

³ *Ante*, xxxvi, 132, and plate facing p. 135.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 530; *Whitby Chartulary*, no. 253. The date, assigned by Farrer as c. 1115-c. 1125, was probably earlier than 1118.

⁵ As H[ugh] the archdeacon he witnessed archbishop Thurstan's confirmation of an agreement between Whitby abbey and Bridlington priory, c. 1120-1129, the text of which, however, is either spurious or corrupt; his name occurs unusually after two canons (*E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 875; *Whitby Chartulary*, no. 561).

⁶ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 876; *Whitby Chartulary*, no. 204.

⁷ *Ante*, xxxv, pp. 116-20, where references for these details are given. Another reference to him as archdeacon appears to be in *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 375, a gift of the church of Hutton Bushell to Whitby abbey, witnessed by dom. Hugh the archdeacon, Cuthbert prior of Guisborough, and others; dated by Farrer, 1135-42.

probably be identified as the Hugh *Eboracensis archidiaconus* whose obit was commemorated at Durham on 4 July; and as he was apparently alive on 22 Aug. 1138, and had been succeeded as precentor before the death of archbishop Thurstan, the date of his death can be assigned to 4 July 1139.

A8. HUGH DU PUISET.

He was appointed treasurer of York before 24 July 1147, probably *c.* 1143; and in combination with the treasurership held the archdeaconry of the East Riding. As treasurer and archdeacon he was elected bishop of Durham on 22 Jan. 1153; and he was consecrated at Rome on 20 Dec. of that year. He held the see of Durham until his death on 3 March 1195.¹

A9. OSBERT.

As the fourth of five archdeacons he was among the witnesses to archbishop Thurstan's charter to Durham priory, *c.* 1121-1128 (see above under Geoffrey, no A3). The date makes it almost, if not quite impossible to identify him with Osbert de Bayeux.

A10. OSBERT DE BAYEUX.

There is no doubt that he was Osbert the archdeacon named in a charter of archbishop Thurstan, 1137-40, as his nephew and the holder of one of the prebends of St. Peter (see above under Geoffrey Turcople, no. A4); and named among the witnesses to two of the archbishop's charters in the same period, both being also witnessed by Walter and Geoffrey, archdeacons (*ibid.*). As Osbert *Eboracensis archidiaconus* he issued a notification, 1136-45, that he had been present when a gift to Selby abbey of land in Kelfield was confirmed.² Archbishop Thurstan's charter to Fountains abbey, *c.* 1135-36, was witnessed by William the dean, William the treasurer, Hugh the precentor, Osbert the archdeacon, Walter the archdeacon, and others including all the canons of York, several of them named.³ In Jan. 1140-1, described as Osbert *archidiaconus Eboracensis*, he opposed the election of William Fitzherbert, the treasurer, to the see of York.⁴ As Osbert the archdeacon he witnessed a charter of William de Percy to Whitby abbey, 1142-54;⁵ one of William son of Duncan and Alice his wife to Fountains abbey;⁶ one of Alice de St. Quintin to Nun Appleton priory, 1144-50;⁷ one of Alexander de Ruhale to Selby abbey, 1144-*c.* 1160;⁸ and one of Henry de Lascy as to the bounds of Barnoldswick, 1147-54.⁹ A notification of archbishop

¹ *Ante*, xxxv, 11.

² *E.Y.C.*, v, no. 163.

³ *Ibid.*, i, no. 62; for the date see *ante*, xxxv, 117.

⁴ *Hist. Ch. York*, ii, pp. 389-90.

⁵ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 1202.

⁶ *Fountains Chartulary*, i, 434; the probable period is 1146-53.

⁷ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 541.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1623.

⁹ *Ibid.*, i, no. 641.

Henry, recording his gift to Meaux abbey, 1150-53, was witnessed by Osbert and Geoffrey, archdeacons (see above under Geoffrey Turcople, no. A4); and a charter of the same to Fountains abbey, 1150-53, by Osbert the archdeacon, Hugh the treasurer, Robert Butevillanus, archdeacon, and others.¹ Osbert the archdeacon also witnessed a charter of Henry de Lascy to Kirkstall abbey, c. 1150-1159.²

In 1153, after supporting the restoration of Elias Paynel as abbot of Selby, he was instrumental in procuring his ejection.³ In 1154 he took an active part in endeavouring to prevent the restoration of archbishop William and his return to York; and on the latter's death in June he was accused of causing his death by poison.⁴ He supported the election of archbishop Roger in the same year;⁵ and retained his archdeaconry for a further period. A confirmation by the dean and chapter of York, after the accession of archbishop Roger, in favour of Fountains abbey, 1154-58, was witnessed by Ralph bishop of Orkney, Robert the dean [of York], Osbert, Robert and Ralph, archdeacons, and several canons of York.⁶ As Osbert the archdeacon, evidently still holding his office, he witnessed several charters in the period 1154-59;⁷ and as Osbert *archidiaconus Eboracensis* a confirmation of archbishop Roger, 1154-60.⁸

After his retirement from the archdeaconry⁹ he retained the style of Osbert the archdeacon. In 1166, so described, he held half a knight's fee of the Lascy fee, and 11 carucates by knight service of the honour of Skipton.¹⁰ He also held a tenancy of the Paynel fee in Bingley, where he confirmed land to Drax priory;¹¹ and sometime during the period 1159-70 he was the steward of Hugh de Tilli.¹² As Osbert the archdeacon he gave land in Bingley to St. Peter's hospital, York;¹³ and as Osbert de Baius or Bayeux gave land in Haddlesey to Ralph Vilain;¹⁴ land in Middle Haddlesey to Pontefract priory, c. 1175-1183;¹⁵ and land in Bradley [near

¹ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 71.

² *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1500. His position in the list of witnesses suggests that he had retired from his archdeaconry (see below); and if so the latest date for this is 1159.

³ *Hist. Selebiensis in Selby Coucher*, i, p. [45].

⁴ Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, pp. 225-6; *D.N.B.*, s.n. Fitzherbert.

⁵ *William of Newburgh*, *Rolls Ser.*, i, pp. 81-2.

⁶ *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 708. For the later limit of date see under Robert Butevilain, no. A13.

⁷ *E.Y.C.*, iii, nos. 1503, 1669, 1670, and perhaps no. 1667; also in periods 1154-60 (*ibid.*, ii, no. 880), 1154-61 (*ibid.*, iii, no. 1504), and 1154-62 (*ibid.*, i, no. 158).

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1825.

⁹ The date is uncertain. It was possibly before Mich. 1158 when the sheriff of Yorks. rendered account of 10*li.* for a man of Osbert the archdeacon (*Pipe Roll 4 Hen. II*, p. 147); and there is some evidence that it was not later than 1159 (see note above).

¹⁰ *Red Bk. of Exch.*, pp. 424, 431.

¹¹ *E.Y.C.*, vi, no. 68; described as Osbert de Bayous. He was also a donor of land in Bingley to the Templars and Hospitallers (*ibid.*, nos. 68*n*, 69).

¹² *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1527.

¹³ *Ibid.*, i, no. 199.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 497.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1718.

Grimsby, co. Lincoln] to Guisborough priory.¹ As Osbert the archdeacon he witnessed a charter of Henry de Lascy, 1165-75;² and one of Robert de Lascy, 1177-c.1185;³ and as Osbert de Baius an agreement in the county court at York in 1184.⁴ He had a son who, described as William de Bayeux son of Osbert the archdeacon, owed 15*li.* among the debts of Aaron the Jew in Yorkshire at Michaelmas 1191.⁵ At Michaelmas 1194, on the roll of escheats for which Hugh Bardolf answered, was a sum of 42*s.* 8*d.* for the farm of Bingley, belonging to Osbert de Bayeux, for half the year.⁶ If Osbert was still alive he had certainly attained a considerable age. He had another son who, described as Turstin de Baius son of Osbert the archdeacon, witnessed a charter to Fountains abbey.⁷

A11. RALPH BARO.

Among the witnesses to a charter of archbishop Thurstan, 1137-40, were Walter, Geoffrey and Ralph de Baro, archdeacons (see above under Geoffrey Turcople, no. A4). Ralph Baro, *Eboracensis ecclesie archidiaconus*, issued a charter at Thirsk, confirming an agreement between Rievaulx abbey and the church of Scawton relating to tithes; it was witnessed by the rural dean and the whole of his chapter;⁸ the words "nostra auctoritate corroboramus et ne temere a quoquam violetur pro nostro officio interdicimus," and the fact that Scawton lay in the archdeaconry of Cleveland, and also the place of issue, suggest that Ralph was then holding that archdeaconry.⁹ The same agreement was confirmed by archbishop Roger, who stated that it was made in the presence of Ralph *archidiaconi nostri*; his charter being witnessed by John the treasurer of York, Robert *archidiacono Eboracensi*, Bartholomew the archdeacon, three canons of York, and others.¹⁰

With Ralph Baro can be identified Ralph the archdeacon mentioned in the following references :

A notification to archbishop Henry of the gift of the church of Kirkby in Cleveland to Whitby abbey, 1147-53, was witnessed

¹ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 673.

² *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1567; and *cf.* no. 1529.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 1509.

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 1779.

⁵ *Pipe Roll 3 Ric. I*, p. 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 6 *Ric. I*, p. 13.

⁷ *Fountains Chartulary*, i, 106.

⁸ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1831; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 226.

⁹ The gift to Rievaulx of part of the land concerned (*E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1830; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 74) was witnessed by Ralph *archidiacono Eboracensi* and John the treasurer, the earliest date being 1152-54. From that phrase Farrer deduced that Ralph was archdeacon of York, and supposed that he held that archdeaconry jointly. But the phrase by itself need not indicate any one of the archdeaconries in the church of York; see the introductory remarks above.

¹⁰ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1832; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 225. The limits of date are 1154 and 1158.

by Ralph the archdeacon, with the rural dean and others.¹ A charter of Roger de Mowbray giving Welburn to Rievaulx abbey, 1154-58, was witnessed by archbishop Roger, Robert the dean, John the treasurer, Ralph the archdeacon, Robert the archdeacon, and others;² and a notification by Robert dean of York relating thereto was witnessed by Robert the dean, John the treasurer, Robert the archdeacon, Ralph the archdeacon, and others.³ Among the witnesses to a charter in favour of Fountains abbey, also 1154-58, were Osbert, Robert and Ralph, archdeacons (see above under Osbert de Bayeux, no. A10).

The combined evidence suggests, therefore, that Ralph Baro was archdeacon of Cleveland before 1140 until a date later than 1154, the latest possible date for which there is any available evidence being 1158.

A12. RANULF.

He occurs as treasurer of York in Dec. 1093, and probably in Dec. 1091, and in the period 1100-08.⁴ He was evidently the Ranulf, archdeacon and treasurer, named on the mortuary roll of Maud abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen (see above under Gerard, no. A5). The phrase is important, as it proves that he held an archdeaconry in combination with the treasurership. There can be no doubt that this was the archdeaconry of the East Riding, which was held by later treasurers until its separation from the treasurership by archbishop Gray in 1218; and it can be deduced as likely that the combined tenure dated back to the institution of the dignity of treasurer *c.* 1090. The mortuary roll also shows that Ranulf died before Feb. 1114; and this supports the suggestion that he was succeeded as treasurer by William Fitzherbert in the period 1108-14.⁵

A13. ROBERT BUTEVILAIN.

As Robert Butevillanus, archdeacon, he witnessed a charter of Hugh de Muscamp to Rufford abbey, giving land of his fee of Muskham, co. Nottingham, issued in the presence of archbishop Henry, 1147-53;⁶ and, with archbishop Henry, a charter of Robert de Ros to Rievaulx abbey.⁷ As master Robert Butevilein, archdeacon, he was the first witness to an award by archbishop Henry relating to the church of Barnoldswick;⁸ and, described as *Eboracensis ecclesie archidiaconus*, to a confirmation of archbishop

¹ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 567; *Whitby Chartulary*, no. 78.

² *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 57; the later limit of date being due to the witness Robert the archdeacon (see below under Robert Butevilain, no. A13).

³ *Ibid.*, no. 229. The different placing of Ralph and Robert in these two charters shows that no stress must be laid on archidiaconal precedence in witness clauses.

⁴ *Ante*, xxxv, 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ F. M. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, Brit. Academy, no. 367.

⁷ *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, Hist. Mss. Comm., iv, 75; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 43.

⁸ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1471.

Henry to Fountains abbey.¹ Following Osbert the archdeacon and Hugh the treasurer, as Robert Butevillanus, archdeacon, he witnessed another confirmation of archbishop Henry to Fountains (see above under Osbert de Bayeux, no. A10). As Robert the archdeacon he witnessed confirmation charters of archbishop Henry to Whitby abbey,² Bridlington priory,³ and the canons of St. Peter's;⁴ and other charters of the same in favour of Rievaulx abbey⁵ and Watton priory.⁶

After archbishop Roger's succession in 1154, as Robert the archdeacon he witnessed with Osbert and Ralph, archdeacons, a charter in favour of Fountains abbey⁷ (see above under Osbert de Bayeux, no. A10); with John the treasurer and Ralph the archdeacon a charter of Roger de Mowbray; and, as Robert *archidiaconus Eboracensis*, with John the treasurer and Bartholomew the archdeacon a confirmation charter of archbishop Roger (see above under Ralph Baro, no. A11). A charter of German abbot of Selby confirming Stainton, par. Gargrave, to Sallay abbey within the extreme limits of 1154-60 was witnessed by Hugh bishop of Durham, John bishop of the Isles, Savaric abbot of St. Mary's, Clement prior of the same, Richard the precentor,⁸ Robert *archidiacono sancti Petri*, with the canons thereof.⁹ This description supports the general impression given by other evidence that Robert Butevilain was archdeacon of York.

As Robert the archdeacon he was among the dignitaries of York with archbishop Roger in the king's presence at Gloucester on 13 Dec. 1157, and he had become dean of York before 6 May 1158.¹⁰ He remained dean of York until his death in July 1186, being described sometimes as Robert Butevilain and sometimes as Robert *secundus*, dean of York.¹¹

¹ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 67.

² *Ibid.*, ii, no. 878; *Whitby Chartulary*, no. 199.

³ *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. 429.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 145.

⁵ *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 219.

⁶ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 1108.

⁷ To this charter (*Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 708) Robert dean of York was also a witness. Robert Butevilain appears to have been the only archdeacon in the church of York named Robert in the early years of abp Roger; and this charter was evidently issued before he became dean in 1158. It follows that charters issued not earlier than 1154, and within the next few years, which include the names of Robert the dean and Robert the archdeacon, can be dated 1154-58; in addition to this one examples are *Rievaulx Chartulary*, nos. 57, 229. These charters therefore confirm the suggestion made, *ante*, xxxiv, 370, that Robert de Gant was still dean after 1154, and remained so until shortly before Robert Butevilain (Robert *secundus*) became dean in 1158.

⁸ Probably of St. Mary's; certainly not of York.

⁹ *Sallay Chartulary*, i, no. 49. In view of the presence of Robert the archdeacon the limits of date can be narrowed to 1154-58.

¹⁰ *Chartulary of St. Peter, Gloucester*, Rolls Ser., ii, pp. 106-7.

¹¹ *Ante*, xxxiv, pp. 370-2. It appears likely that he had a son Hugh, who as a canon of York and son of the dean witnessed with Robert the dean three charters to St. Peter's hospital, not later than 1177 (*E.Y.C.*, iii, nos. 1562-4).

A14. ROGER.

An agreement between Roger abbot of Fécamp and Robert earl of Gloucester relating to the priory of St. Gabriel sur Seules, dated 1128, was witnessed *inter alios* by Thurstan archbishop of York, Richard bishop of Bayeux, and Thurstan the archdeacon, and on the part of abbot Roger by 'Rogerius archidiaconus archiep[iscopii].'¹ The agreement was evidently made in Normandy.² Presumably because no other archbishop besides Thurstan was mentioned Round, in his index to the Calendar, supposed that Roger was an archdeacon of the archbishop of York. This is possible, although no other reference is available to prove that in 1128 one of the archdeacons in the church of York was named Roger. On the other hand it seems unlikely that an archdeacon in the church of York was witnessing on behalf of the abbot; and the alternative must be regarded as probable that the archbishop was the archbishop of the province, namely Rouen.

A15. THURSTAN.

As Thurstan the archdeacon he witnessed archbishop Thurstan's charter to the men of Beverley, 1115-28.³ In the period 1123-33 king Henry I issued a writ to archbishop Thurstan and Thurstan the archdeacon, directing them to cause the bishop of Lincoln and the church of Clayworth, co. Nottingham, to have the tithes and rights belonging to that church.⁴ To the charter of archbishop Thurstan to St. Clement's priory, York, 1125-35, the witnesses were Hugh the dean, William the treasurer, William son of Tole, archdeacon, Thurstan the archdeacon, William son of Durandus, archdeacon, Hugh Sottewame and ten others named as canons.⁵ In 1128 Thurstan the archdeacon was in Normandy, witnessing with archbishop Thurstan and others an agreement between the abbot of Fécamp and Robert earl of Gloucester (see above under Roger, no. A14).

It has been supposed that Thurstan was archdeacon of Richmond; but there is no proof of this.⁶ The king's writ noted above suggests the likelihood that he was then archdeacon of Nottingham. He became provost of Beverley c. 1132.⁷

¹ *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 1410.

² Abp Thurstan was certainly there in 1127 and 1129 (Farrer, *Itinerary of Henry I*, nos. 567, 586).

³ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 95.

⁴ *Reg. Antiquissimum*, Lincoln Rec. Soc., i, 20; Farrer, *Itinerary of Henry I*, no. 598A.

⁵ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 357. The original is Cotton Ch. xi, 66. As Hugh Sottewame is not described as precentor the latest date is probably 1133.

⁶ *E.Y.C.*, iv, pp. xxiii-iv. Le Neve gives him as archdeacon of Richmond, and is followed by Round in his index to *Cal. Docs. France*. Gale in *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. p. 78, is cautious, saying that of the three archdeacons William son of Cole [*recte* Tole], Thurstan, and William son of Durandus, one of them was archdeacon of Richmond.

⁷ *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, ii, p. cix.

A16. WALTER OF LONDON.

In Jan. 1140-1 master Walter of London (*Lundoniensis*) the archdeacon, with his fellow archdeacons, opposed the election of William Fitzherbert, the treasurer, to the see of York. On their journey to the king to state their case they were seized by William count of Aumale (then earl of York) and imprisoned at Castle Bytham. In 1142 master Walter appeared in the papal consistory to press their opposition; and in the following year he and the precentor, with some of the Yorkshire abbots and priors, were in Rome for the purpose when the case was heard. Their opposition was unsuccessful, and William Fitzherbert was consecrated at Winchester on 26 Sept. 1143.¹

A charter of archbishop Thurstan to Pontefract priory, 1136-40, was witnessed by William de Sancta Barb[ar]a, Walter de Lund[oniis]; Hugh de Sotewame, and Ralph de Sancta Columba.² These witnesses have no official description; but as the first was dean of York, and the third was precentor and archdeacon, it can be assumed that Walter was then holding one of the archdeaconries.

With Walter of London can presumably be identified Walter the archdeacon who occurs as the last of five archdeacons among the witnesses to archbishop Thurstan's charter to Durham priory, c. 1121-1128 (see above under Geoffrey, no. A3); and as the last of three archdeacons among the witnesses to his charter to Fountains abbey, c. 1135-36 (see above under Osbert de Bayeux, no. A10). Walter the archdeacon was the first of three archdeacons (the others being the archdeacons of Nottingham and probably Cleveland) among the witnesses to archbishop Thurstan's charter to one of the prebends of St. Peter, 1137-40; and with Osbert and Geoffrey, archdeacons, in one preceding Osbert, and in the other being second to him, among the witnesses to two other charters of the archbishop, both 1137-40 (see above under Geoffrey Turcople, no. A4).

The obit of Walter *archidiaconus Eboracensis* was commemorated at Durham on 12 July.³

It is recorded that after archbishop Henry's consecration and his return to England in 1148, the citizens of York refused to receive him, and the senior archdeacon was mutilated by the archbishop's opponents.⁴ If, as will be suggested in the notes at the end of this section, it can be assumed that Walter was archdeacon of York, the reference is probably to him. It cannot be deduced that he died as a result; but a vacancy in the archdeaconry of York about that time is consistent with the probability that Robert Butevilain (no. A13) became archdeacon of York in the period 1147-1153.

¹ John of Hexham in *Priory of Hexham*, i, pp. 133, 140, 142; Additions to Hugh the Chantor in *Hist. Ch. York*, ii, pp. 221-2, where he is described as *mag. Walterus Londoniensis, Eboracensis archidiaconus*.

² *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1469; *Pontefract Chartulary*, no. 41.

³ *Liber Vitae Dunelm.*, Surtees Soc., vol. xiii, p. 144.

⁴ *William of Newburgh*, *Rolls Ser.*, i, 56; 'in tantum ut seniore archidiaconum qui forte in manus eorum inciderat abscidere minime vererentur.'

A17. WILLIAM.

William the archdeacon was the first witness to the charter of Geoffrey Bainard giving the church of Burton Agnes and other churches to St. Mary's abbey, *c.* 1100-*c.* 1115.¹ A charter of Ranulf Meschin to Wetheral priory, probably early 12th cent., certainly before 1121, was witnessed by William the archdeacon.² Archbishop Thurstan, William the archdeacon and Angot the vice-archdeacon were the first three witnesses to the charter of Durandus de Butterwick to St. Mary's abbey. 1122-*c.* 1137.³ William *archidiaconus Eborac[ensis]* was among those who with Geoffrey, the king's chancellor, were present when Roald son of Wigan gave to Bernard the scribe certain churches, probably in Cornwall, 1123-33.⁴ Among the witnesses to four charters of William Meschin and to one of Godard de Boiville to St. Bee's priory, *c.* 1120-30, were archbishop Thurstan and William the archdeacon.⁵

The first of these references may relate to William the archdeacon named on the mortuary roll of Maud abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen, who therefore died before Feb. 1114 (see above under Gerard, no. A5). The other references, with perhaps the exception of the second, relate to a later William. There is not sufficient evidence to prove any identification of the latter which may be suspected with William son of Tole, William of Beverley, or William son of Durandus (see below).

A18. WILLIAM FITZHERBERT.

He was appointed treasurer of York not later than 1127, and probably in the period 1108-14; and in combination with the treasurership held the archdeaconry of the East Riding. He was elected archbishop of York in Jan. 1141, and as archbishop elect continued to hold the archdeaconry. He was consecrated on 26 Sept. 1143.⁶

So far as is known, when he occurs as a witness to charters, he is described as William the treasurer or William son of Herbert, treasurer of the church of York.

A19. WILLIAM SON OF TOLE OR THOLE.

He was the second of four archdeacons, the first being the treasurer, who were among the witnesses to archbishop Thurstan's charter to St. Clement's priory, 1125-35 (see above under Thurstan, no. A15). With no official description he was among the witnesses, who included Thurstan the archdeacon; to archbishop Thurstan's charter to the men of Beverley, 1115-28.⁷ From this it can be deduced that he had not become archdeacon by 1115 at the

¹ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 676.

² *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 583; *Reg. of Wetherhal*, no. 2.

³ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 1073.

⁴ Round, 'Bernard, the King's Scribe' in *E.H.R.*, xiv, 420.

⁵ *Reg. of St. Bees*, nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 76.

⁶ *Ante*, xxxv, 10.

⁷ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 95.

earliest. In his life of Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, Walter Daniel relates that an archdeacon named William son of Thole, 'vir preclare gratie,' was related to Ailred, for whose parents he had great affection; and that, visiting their house, he saw Ailred in his cradle and foretold his future glory.¹ As Ailred was born c. 1110² the visit can scarcely have been made later than 1112; but it need not be assumed that he was actually an archdeacon at the time. It is therefore not impossible that he was the same man as William of Beverley, who had probably not become an archdeacon before 1117 (see below).

A20. WILLIAM OF BEVERLEY.

William *de Beuerlaco qui et archidiaconus* was the first witness to a charter of archbishop Thurstan in favour of the priory of Holy Trinity, York, with special reference to the church of Leeds, within the limits of date 1119-38.³

He can be identified as William de Beverlie who is mentioned in a letter from the canons of York to archbishop Thurstan in 1117 as having previously gone to Rome on their behalf.⁴

A21. WILLIAM SON OF DURANDUS.

He was the last of four archdeacons who were among the witnesses to archbishop Thurstan's charter to St. Clement's priory, 1125-35 (see above under Thurstan, no. A15).⁵ Without any official description he was among the witnesses to the supposed charter of archbishop Thomas I confirming the privileges of the church of Durham;⁶ but this document is spurious.

Of these twenty-one names, with the exception of the treasurers, who were also archdeacons of the East Riding, and of Thurstan (see below), the only one which can be assigned to a particular archdeaconry with reasonable certainty is that of Geoffrey Turcople, archdeacon of Nottingham at some time in the period 1137-40, in 1140, and probably as late as the period 1150-53. There is, however, good evidence that Ralph Baro was archdeacon of Cleveland in the period 1137-40, and up to the period 1154-58; and that Robert Butevilain was archdeacon of York up to 1157-58, and probably in the period 1147-53.

¹ F. M. Powicke, *Ailred of Rievaulx and his Biographer Walter Daniel*, p. 75. It has been supposed that William son of Thole was the same man as William the archdeacon named Havegrim, present at the translation of St. Cuthbert in 1104 (*ibid.*, p. 30n); but the latter was one of the Durham archdeacons; see *Reginald of Durham*, Surtees Soc., p. 84.

² Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³ *E.Y.C.*, vi, no. 9; probably earlier than 1135; and if master Walter, the second witness, can be identified as Walter of London (no. A16 above) the date would be earlier than 1128 when the latter had apparently become an archdeacon.

⁴ Hugh the Chantor in *Hist. Ch. York*, ii, 146.

⁵ It is quite certain that he was not archdeacon of the East Riding as given by Le Neve, for that archdeaconry was held by the treasurer who occurs as the second witness to the charter, being the first of the four archdeacons who witnessed it. ⁶ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 926; *Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 20.

There are two periods when we have the names of five archdeacons at one and the same time, namely in the period *c.* 1121-1128, when they were William Fitzherbert, treasurer and archdeacon of the East Riding, and Geoffrey, Hugh, Osbert and Walter, archdeacons (see under Geoffrey, no. A3); and in the period 1137-40, when Osbert, Walter, Geoffrey and Ralph de Baro occur as four of the archdeacons, the fifth being William Fitzherbert the treasurer (see under Geoffrey Turcople, no. A4). The latter reference suggests that, as Geoffrey was archdeacon of Nottingham and Ralph de Baro probably archdeacon of Cleveland, Osbert (de Bayeux) and Walter (of London) were the archdeacons of Richmond and York, though not necessarily respectively. The details about Walter of London are insufficient for any safe deductions; but it is not improbable that in Jan. 1140-1, being apparently the senior of the archdeacons opposed to the appointment of William Fitzherbert to the see, he was archdeacon of York, having possibly held one of the other archdeaconries previously.¹ If that is so, it would follow that Osbert de Bayeux held the archdeaconry of Richmond in the period 1137-40, though for that there is no kind of independent authority nor any reference which suggests that he was concerned with its administration. At the same time there is no good evidence that he was ever archdeacon of York.² Indeed, he was still an archdeacon after 1154, when the archdeaconry of York was apparently held by Robert Butevilain.

It is unfortunate that in the case of that distinguished figure Hugh the Chantor or Hugh Sottovagina his archdeaconry cannot be ascertained with any certainty. The evidence of charters issued in the period 1137-40, and the probable fact that he died on 4 July 1139, suggest the possibility that he was archdeacon of Cleveland, being succeeded therein by Ralph Baro.

For many of the other names—Durandus, the earlier Geoffrey, Gerard, the earlier Hugh, the earlier Osbert, William, William son of Tole, William of Beverley, and William son of Durandus—no suggestions are justified. With regard to Roger it is unlikely that he held an archdeaconry in the church of York.

There remain the names of Thurstan and Conan, who it has been supposed were successive archdeacons of Richmond. Thurstan was an archdeacon by 1128, and the evidence seems strong that sometime in the period 1123-33 he was archdeacon of Nottingham. He is not named among the five archdeacons in the period *c.* 1121-1128; and it is possible, therefore, that he became

¹ Farrer in his MS. cited above placed Walter among the archdeacons of Cleveland, having deleted him from his list of archdeacons of York. This suggestion was followed by the present writer in *E.Y.C.*, iv, p. xxiv, for the period *c.* 1121-1128, when Walter witnessed as the last of the five archdeacons. Though it is possible that Walter held the archdeaconry of Cleveland before that of York there is no evidence to prove it.

² It cannot be supposed that he was archdeacon of York in 1148 when the 'senior' archdeacon was mutilated (see under Walter of London, no. A16).

archdeacon of Nottingham *c.* 1125,¹ remaining so until he became provost of Beverley *c.* 1132. With regard to Conan the evidence is against the assumption that he ever held the archdeaconry of Richmond.

(To be continued).

¹ There may be a possibility that there were two Thurstans, archdeacons; but this does not seem to be necessary on chronological grounds, if archbishop Thurstan's charter to the men of Beverley was issued late in the period 1115-28.

MEDICINE IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY YORKSHIRE.

By J. W. WALKER, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., F.S.A.

Plenty of unconscious humour is to be found among the bills, letters of advice and prescriptions of North country doctors in the closing years of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century.

Extracts from some of these may be of interest at the present time as shewing the difference between modern medicine and that of two and a half centuries ago.

Fortunately to-day doctors' accounts have not to be made out in such detail as in the bill rendered to Mr. Lionel Copley of Sprotborough Hall, near Doncaster, who died in 1720, and whose wife—the Madame Copley mentioned in the account, as also his eldest son, Geoffrey, and Miss Copley—Castiliana, who became in 1721 the wife of the Rev. Charles Willatt, rector of Plumtree, co. Notts. On thirty-one occasions in the year 1700 Dr. Edmund Jackson of Doncaster provided for him and his family professional attendance and medicines; for all this devoted service he asked only the modest fee of £6. 15s. 2d., adding meekly, after this total for the whole of that year, “upon other accts. to date £80. 3s. 8d.” without any tactful hint that “an early settlement will oblige.” Mark the reward of patience; his accounts were paid in full—just 13 years later. Some of the items in the bill for 1700 may prove of interest :

			£	s.	d.
1700.	Jan.	26	Madame Copley, Attendance, a		
			Cordial Julep ¹ , frankincense,		
			and purgative infusion	0	: 08 : 04
	Feb.	4	A Consumptive Plaster, leather,		
			Balsamic Syrup	0	: 02 : 03
	March	10	Mr. Geoffrey Copley, Attendance,		
			& Febrifuge Mixture	0	: 07 : 06
		12	a pectoral powder, lambative		
			ointment ²	0	: 03 : 04
		18	Attendance, Pearl Cordial	0	: 11 : 00
	May	5	Mr. Copley, Epsom Salts, manna		
			& Attendance	0	: 06 : 06
		7	Side playster, purg. specif. pulv.		
			& Attendance	0	: 08 : 10
		13	Ivory Clyster pipe, Purgative		
			infus. Attendance	0	: 10 : 00

¹ Cordial Julep, a sweet soothing drink.

“And first, behold the cordial julep here,
That flames and dances in his crystal bounds,
With spirits of balm and fragrant syrups mix'd.”

Milton, *Comus*, i, 672.

² Lambative ointment, One made from the oil obtained from sheep's wool. Similar to Lanoline.

			£	s.	d.
June	3	Madame Copley, Hysterical Mixture, Attendance	0	7	06
	8	Hysterical Julep, with Pearl & Purge	0	05	00
Aug.	13	Miss Copley, Pectoral Lambative & Attendance	0	08	04
	18	A Vomit, the Aphones, blister, large specific Electuary, ¹ Julep, & Attendance	0	18	06
Sep.	22	Mr. Copley, Basilicon, ² 2 Boluses ³ & Attendance	0	07	06
	24	hiera picra, Lucatel balsam, Diascord, ⁴ Atte.	0	07	02

A further note charges Madame Copley with hysterical julep, vomit, Canary wine with ingredients, Mellitot,⁵ Chalybeate Wine, Assafetida, medicated wine, Kent's powder, Volatile drops and Cordial powders.⁶ From these several prescriptions, I think, we may diagnose her ailment.

Dr. P. Spendelow of Wakefield, sent the following account to his patient Mr. John Walker of Northgate in that town :—

			£	s.	d.
1720					
Mch. ye	13	Ye Haustus	0	01	00
		Jelly of Hartshorn 1 pott	0	02	00
		Gentian ii oz. & bottle	0	02	02
		The Lotion & ye Electuary	0	03	04
	16	Ye Restoration Water	0	12	00
		7 Bottles	0	01	02
		Ye Tyssuck 8 oz.	0	02	00
		A Pott Jelly	0	02	00
	24	A Pott Jelly	0	02	00
			£1	07	08
		For Attendance	0	15	00
			£2	02	08

April ye 3rd, 1720

Recd. this Bill in full P. Spendlow.

¹ Electuary, a medicine composed of powders incorporated with honey or syrup; originally made in a form to be licked by the patient.

"How do you do, my honest friend" ? "Very weakly, sir, since I took the electuary," answered the patient.

Scott, *The Abbot*, xxvi.

² Basilicon, an ointment so-named from its supposed sovereign virtues, consisting of yellow wax, pitch, resin and olive oil.

³ Bolus, a large pill to be swallowed at once.

⁴ Diascord, an electuary in which the plant Scordium or Water Germander formed an important ingredient.

"With their syrups, and their juleps, and diascordium, and mithridate, and my lady what-shall-call-'um's powder."

Scott, *The Abbott*, xxvi.

⁵ Mellitot, an electuary made with honey.

"Wyne mellitot, as saide is, save hem shall."

Palladium, *Husbandrie*. (Early English Text Soc. p. 53).

⁶ Cordial Powders, a medicine which increases the action of the heart.

In this account it may be noticed that bottles were charged at 2d. each, almost as valuable a commodity as at the present time. The patient might have got off more lightly had he not required (in his doctor's opinion at any rate) a bottle of "Restoration Water," for which he had to pay 12 shillings. This Restoration Water did not restore him to health, for he died in August of that year, leaving a young widow and small family, to mourn his loss.

Another Dr. Spendelow of Wakefield—Thomas this time—seems to have been casual about entering prescriptions in his day-book. Thus, writing to his patient, Mr. James Watson of Wakefield, he begins airily, April 20, 1704.

"Sr. I suppose I have sent ye same Vomitts you mention; which aboutt 6 o'clock in the Evening I would have you take in some thin Possett. Drink as you did before.

Who am wishing success, Your Hble. Servant,

Thos. Spendelow.

There is however a sting in the tail of this letter, the postscript of which runs "By your water Bleeding is required." Rather depressing news for Mr. Watson, who up till then had got away with "a few vomitts taken in a thin possett drink, ye syrup as often as you have a mind, and applying ye plaster to ye part affected."

In 1708 we find Dr. H. Hall of Leeds advising his patient, Mr. Isaac Smith of Briggate, to take every morning fasting and at 4 in the afternoon a Tea-spoonfull of the Elixir in a glass of rich white wine in the morning, and in the afternoon take it in a glass of Claret. Instead of taking the Elixir in white wine in the morning you may use small Punch made with Virginia in Juice of Lemons, of which you may likewise drink a glass after dinner."

Two years later we find Dr. Hall taking a pretty firm line with his patient, for he writes :—

I desire you to apply the Plaister to the small of ye back & let it lye across ye loins, let it stick on as long as it will; the ointment must be melted in a spoon when you use it, & then let it be well rub'd on those parts where the swelling is hardest. You had best to use it twice a day & before & every time yt you use it. remember first to apply a piece of flanell to the parts Dipt into a Mixture of equal parts of Verjuice¹ & Sack² made warm & then gently wrung out; let it lye on at least a quarter of an hour before you use the ointment, & every time you use the ointment first apply ye Flanell.

¹ Verjuice, an acid liquor expressed from crab-apples.

"Many leave roses and gather thistles, loathe honey and love verjuice."
Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 556.

² Sack, dry wine.

"Will it please your lordship drink a cup of sack."

Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, Ind. ii, 3.

Take every night at bedtime and every morning Fasting about 4 good Spoonfulls of the Balsamic mixture.

Take the quantity of a large Nutmeg of the Electuary every day about 2 hours before Dinner & about 2 hours after.

Let ye Diet consist of rosted Veal, Mutton or fowls or eggs, Milkmeats, Oatmeal gruell, Puddings, good broths & the like. Avoid salte meats and roots. You may drink Tost and water at ye meal. & you may drink good Claret or clear well-brewed smooth ale, but avoid bottled drink, small beer & anything that is windy.

Let me have an act. how you go on. Eat only wheat bread & none else, but let it not be Leaven'd.

I am Sr yrs

May ye 6th, 1710.

H. Hall.

Mr. Isaac Smith

Briggate, Leeds.

A further letter from Dr. Hall, dated May ye 11th, 1710, seems to show that the Plaister applied to the back had not had the desired effect, for the doctor writes :—

When you go to bed at night, spread some of the Poultice upon a Double strong Linnen Cloth, & apply it warm to the parts, & be provided wth a Needle and thread to stitch the sides of the Cloth together, to prevent it Droppin of in the night, for the better preventing of w^{ch} it might be convenientt for you to wear a Girdle next your skin about 4 Fingers breadth, made of either white fustian or Linnen cloth; to the edges of w^{ch} you may stitch the cloth on which you spread the Poultice which will much contribute to keep it fast. You may take it off Every morning and apply a fresh one at night. You need not spread it much thicker than a brown piece.

Five years later another doctor was in attendance upon Mr. Smith, a Dr. Thomas Amphlett of Leeds, who wrote to his patient "According to your desier have sent some vomitts and pills, which take in a spoone, fast halfe an houre, then drink possett, drinke plentifully untill you have procured 4 or 5 vomitts, and when the vomitts are all spent then you may give ye pills as formerly, and when all is spent I shall expect a letter from you."

(Was this to be sure that his patient survived this drastic treatment?) He adds as a postscript :

"Take of the electuary every night when you goe to bed the quantity of a nutmeg untill all is spent w^{ch} I hope will be of service to you soc with kind love to yr all. I rest your friend to command.

Th. Amphlett.

Tough man that he was Mr. Isaac Smith survived all this unpleasant course, and it was left to a third doctor, William Grosvenor of Leeds, to administer the coup de grâce to him ten years later which must have been accomplished very speedily, his modest bill only amounting to twelve shillings and sixpence, thus :

	£	s.	d.
1722, Feb. 28. A stomachic electuary	0	3	0
An Asmathic mixture	0	1	6
Ingredients for Tea	0	1	0
Fee for attendance	0	7	0
	<hr/>		
	0	12	6

Recd. April 2, 1722.

The full Contents of this Bill.

Wm. Grosvenor.

Dr. Amphlett, Mr. Smith's previous doctor, was conventionally sorry to hear of his demise, commenting, a trifle sententiously perhaps, in a letter to a nephew, writes "I am sorry to hear of Mr. Smith's death, but God knows what is most fitt for us." he then gives directions for the distressed widow "As for your Aunt lett her loose some blood from her arm next month; and once a week take one ounce of Epsom Salts; and as to yourselfc take *Hidra picra*¹ a spoonful in a glass of warm ale every morning fasting. Eat drink and goe abroade.

Another of Dr. Amphlett's letters of advice was sent to a Mr. Jonathan Shuttleworth of Northgate, Wakefield, dated April 23, 1716.

"Accordinge to promise have sent a Bottle of mixture which you make shake the Bottle very well and take one spoonfull in Glasse of warme ale every other morning, faste two howers, then you may eate and drinke as usually, be carefull of takinge cold; all salt meats and Sharpe liquor are hurtfull; it will be proper for you to ride abroad. My kind love to all the family. I rest your friend.

Tho. Amphlett.

Dr. John Simpson of Knaresborough knew what was good for ye Biting of a Mad Dog. His concoction of Herbgrace, cloves, garlick, treacle, and thyme boiled together in a pottle of Ale to be drunk morning and evening, the dregs to be laid on the place bitten for 9 days; by the blessing of God it will do well. It has never been knowne to faile Man, Woman or Childe.

Dr. Simpson was equally sure of another prescription as a preventative against Smallpox.

4 ounces of ye best Alloways; 2 ounces of Myrrhh

1 ounce of the best English Saffron; Syrup of Angelica

To be made into pills; one taken before supper will prevent Smallpox.

¹ *Hidra picra*, *hieropicra*, a warm cathartic compound of aloes and cinnamon, popularly known as hickory picchory.

Dr. James of Rochdale and Dr. Edmund Taylor of Heywood fancied themselves at curing "Stomach ake and Cholick in Christians." Possibly Agnostics, Jews or Mahomedans were not afflicted with such pains, or possibly these worthy doctors would have no truck with such infidels.

Quicksilver, boiled in water, was recommended by Dr. Ratte of Malton as "a constant drink in Feveres." This must surely have been a unique treatment, but it is difficult to see the rationale of it, unless it be that, with the mercury down the fever must abate.

Dr. Benjamin Watkinson, born at Wakefield in 1659, took the degree of M.D. Oxford and practised in London in 1688, but returned to the place of his birth in 1695 and there set up as a physician. He had a remedy for "Consumption," Conserve of roses, loaf sugar and resins stoned, mixed with a pint of syrup of violets; a not unpleasant mixture to soothe the gradual passing away of the sufferer.

For Rheumatism he prescribed two spoonfuls (he does not say whether tea, table or gravy spoonfuls) of mustard seed and some finely sliced horse radish infused in a quart of ale; half a pint of which drunk in the morning fasting will cure the rheumatism in 4 or 5 weeks.

With more reason he claimed good results against the Itch by the application of an oily suspension of brimstone (with other irrelevant materials) spread on clean linen.

Numerous and complex were the prescriptions for the treatment of Rickets, a pathetic reminder of the prevalence and intractability of the disease in those days. Dr. Amyas of Sandal advised a compound of Scabious, Agrimony, Fern roots, Speedwell, Sothern wood Middle Wort; Boyle all together with a piece of steel, and when colde lett the childe drinke it blood Warme.

Dr. Russell of Bradford had a much simpler prescription: "Take 6 Quarts of milde beer, a pint of honey, and a good handfull of Tamaris. Boyle them together till it be clear, then bottle it and Lett the Childe drink no other Drinke."

For the Gout Mr. Mullens of Pontefract ordered Stone Pitch, Turpentine, Resin, Sandefrie, Venite Glass; the two latter to be beaten very fine, then boyle all together, spread it upon sheep's leather. "It is a most excellent thing for the Gout used as a Back Plaister."

An interesting account of the practice of medicine in Yorkshire is found in the memoranda of Dr. Henry Power of Halifax and Wakefield, between the years 1655 and 1664. Henry Power was the eldest son of John Power, merchant of Halifax, born in 1623; he received his education at Christ's College, Cambridge, and had the degree of M.D. of that University conferred on him in 1654, and in 1663 was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He practised in Halifax from 1655 to 1664, and then removed to Wakefield, where he remained until his death on the 23rd of

December, 1688, and was buried in the south aisle of the parish church there, where a well-carved stone records his merits.

Dr. Power's journeys on horseback must have been very protracted as he attended county families at great distances; Savile of Copley, Waterhouse at Elland, Lady Bolles of Heath Old Hall, Thornhill of Fixby, Richardson of Bierley near Bradford, Nevile of Chevet, Jackson of Hickleton Hall, Lady Jopson of Hutton Pagnell, Lady Reresby at Barnborough, Lady Bland of Kippax, Matthew Boynton of Rawcliffe, Mr. Towneley of Towneley Hall, Lancashire, Sir Gervas Cutler of Stainbrough, and other well-known Yorkshire families.

From his "Memorandum" (British Museum, Sloane MS. 1351-1356) I take the following prescriptions :

For Mr. Daniel Oley, citizen and Girdler of London, then living in Wakefield, 30 Cyprian pills (tonic and invigorating), a diuretic powder, a lenitive electuary and oyles for the back (the diagnosis evidently being lumbago).

Lady Middleton, widow of Sir Peter Middleton of Stockheld, who remarried Francis Nevile of Chevet in 1657, in May, 1664 had an effervescing douche for her ears, and an electuary made up of compound of roses and syrup of poppies, made up to be licked by the patient; a few days later the prescription was 'a fragrant essence, a pectoral electuary, a little box of lozenges, a diet bag for rheumatism (for which latter the charge was 10s. 6d.) and a glass of syrup of violets, 2s. 2d.

Sir John Kaye of Woodsome was given 2 sweating powders, 2 clysters (enemas), a stomach electuary and a pint of julep (a sweet demulcent drink), a pectoral ointment of mustard applied to his chest and some purgative pills for an apoplectic seizure from which he died on 26 July, 1662.

Mrs. Anne Wentworth, a visitor in the house at the time, was so overcome on hearing of this that she promptly went off into hysterics; Dr. Power gave her an hysterical powder and 6 gilt purging pills, which we must hope brought the lady to her senses.

Mr. Matthew Meager, merchant of Wakefield, had 'two quart julep in a jug glasse, lavender water, a head playster, spirit of salt, a cephalic electuary, chym : oyles for the head, and a little diet bag¹ the charge for which was £1. 8s. 8d.

Lady Bolles of Heath Old Hall, in her last illness, described by Dr. Power as 'stomach debility,' was prescribed 'lozenges, spirit of mint, an electuary of saxifrage and 'artificial tobacco'; in spite of this treatment the good dame passed away in the 81st year of her age on May 5th, 1662.

¹ Diet bag.

"Observation will do that better than the lady's *diet bags* or apothecary's medicine." John Locke, M.B., F.R.S., 1632-1704.

In 1658, Miss Rookes of Royds Hall received treatment for 'scabies salimosa cum tumore pedum' (itch caused by an animal parasite, with swelling of the feet), for which sulphur ointment was prescribed.

Dr. Power's treatment for phthisis was 'a simple pectoral decoction in a jug glasse and a box of protean (chalk) pills.'

For Mr. William Denison of Wakefield, suffering from gout, the doctor prescribed 10 guilt purging pills, wine of Colchicum and Barbadoes Aloes pills with an electuary.

A much less complicated formula than the prescription for gout given in *Thesaurus Pauperum*, the most popular medical handbook on medicine in the middle ages, which reads thus :—

"Take a very fat puppy and skin him, then take juice of wild cucumber, rue, pellitory, ivy berries, euphorbium, castoreum, fat of vulture, goose, fox and bear, equal parts, and stuff the puppy therewith. Then boil him. Add wax to the grease that floats on the surface and make an ointment. Or, if you like, take a frog when neither sun nor moon is shining. Cut off its hind legs and wrap them in deer skin. Apply the right leg to the right foot and the left leg to the left foot of the gouty person, and without doubt he will be healed."

In one of Dr. Power's letters to Sir Thomas Browne, the celebrated physician of Norwich, author of *Religio Medici*, he writes on August 25th, 1649, "There is one inbryd and late disease amongst us (ricketts), wch puzzles me in the cure; for I know not well wt Ricketts are neither can I be relieved by any Authour, it being so late standing, that none I know of have attempted to write thereon. If you please therefore to answer my requests in some directions for the cure of it, it shall be most courteously received by me."

From this letter it would appear that ricketts was then either a new disease, or that, as is more probable, attention had not been directed to it previously. Unfortunately we have not Sir Thomas Browne's reply to this enquiry.

Dr. Power was the author of *Experimental Philosophy, in three books, containing new experiments Microscopical, Mercurial, Magnetical*, published in 1663. Robert Hooke's microscope had been known for but half a century. A few random observations had been made with it. Now it had been somewhat improved and, in England especially, it was beginning to attract attention. Henry Power (1623-68), disciple of Sir Thomas Browne, had been overwhelmed by what he saw through it. His lovely writing echoes the softly glowing music of the "Religio Medici."

Dioptrical Glasses [he wrote in 1663] are but a Modern Invention, neither do Records furnish us with anything that does antedate our late discoveries of the Telescope and Microscope. The want of which incomparable Artifice made the Ancients not

only erre in their fond Coelestial Hypothesis and Crystalline wheelwork of the Heavens but also in their nearer observations of the smallest sort of Creatures which have been perfunctorily described as the disregarded pieces and hustlement of the Creation. In these pretty Engines are lodged all the perfections of the largest animals : and that which augments the miracle, all these in so narrow a room neither interfere nor impede one another in their operations. Ruder heads stand amazed at prodigious and Colossean pieces of Nature, but in these narrow Engines there is a more curious Mathematicks.

THE CURSOR MUNDI.

By REV. PROF. C. E. WHITING, M.A., D.D., F.S.A.

A Lecture to Members of the Y.A.S., July 11th, 1945.

The Cursor Mundi is a mediaeval English epic of some 30,000 lines, written in the Northern dialect. The title signifies the Cursitor of (one who runs over) the World. It appears to have been exceedingly popular, and was copied beyond the limits of Northumbria. There is a note by a scribe at the head of one MS. at present in the University of Göttingen, which says, "This is the best book of all, The course of the world men do it call." It is a kind of manual in verse of sacred history from the Creation to the Day of Judgment. But it was not written for the clergy, but for the common people, and was composed of set purpose in competition with the popular romances of Alexander, Troy, Arthur and Tristram. The influence of these, thought the writer, was not always good. Sometimes they conduce to loose living. Better than all the ladies of romance is the Blessed Virgin. So he will sing of her and in order to make a good foundation he will begin at the beginning, and will show forth God's providence in the history of the world.

In the main he follows the Bible story, but he does so in the way of this time—"Not merely does he dilate on such incidents as please him with perfect freedom," sometimes letting the narrative stand still while he expounds some lesson to be drawn from it, but in an arbitrary, uncritical, but always delightful fashion, he incorporates any fragments of hagiology, and any traditional stories, or any inventions, perhaps of his own, that come into his head. Hence, while he in the main follows the scripture account, his work teems with striking, and often fanciful additions. Running right through it as a kind of secondary theme is the legendary history of the Cross of our Lord. Indeed, it would hardly be fair to call this a secondary theme. For the writer's philosophy of history is that the guiding thread through the maze of secular events is the recognition that the Incarnation and Redemption are the central historical facts round which all else revolves, and that history falls into two related sections, the preparation of the world for Christ, and the extension of the Incarnation and Redemption to all mankind.

But it is far from his purpose to write a mere theological treatise. He wishes not merely to edify and instruct, but to entertain and amuse. He does not, however, scorn a didactic purpose. He gives shrewd and kindly counsels, makes use of frequent proverbs without being too sententious, and at the same time keeps up the interest by the simple art with which he varies his materials, and the distinct sense of proportion which keeps him

from overloading his story with detail. The merit of the work is so much the greater in that it is derived from quite a large number of sources. First of all, is the Vulgate, of which he shows an intimate knowledge. It is a great mistake to think that people in the Middle Ages did not know the subject-matter, at any rate, of the Scriptures. They probably knew a great deal more about the Bible story than very many, perhaps the majority, of people do to-day. Poems like this, translations, pictures and windows in the churches, songs and popular literature, all made them familiar with Holy Writ. If you but glance down the list of the volumes of the Early English Text Society, you will see how large a proportion of our early English literature treated of religious subjects. Take up any one of these at random, and see the number of Scripture quotations and references. The educated Englishman, in what Maitland named "the so-called Dark Ages" had an extensive knowledge of the text of the Bible, while the unlearned man, though unable to read, was generally familiar with a good deal of its contents.

As well as the Bible, the author has for one of his chief sources the *Historia Scholastica*¹ of Petrus Comestor, written in Latin between 1169 and 1175. It has been suggested that he based his narrative entirely on this, and did not use the Vulgate at all. But there is no proof whatever, except in the enlargements of scripture which he derives from Comestor's and other like works. All the evidence seems to point quite the other way.

The Cursor commences (after a long Prologue) with the Fall of the Angels before the Creation. He tells how Lucifer fell from heaven to hell. The distance, he says, was so great that the journey could only be done if a man could travel 40 miles a day for 7700 years. The story of the Book of Genesis is given very fully. But the writer adds considerably to our information, and incidentally also, gives us some side lights on the science of his time. Adam was in paradise only three hours, and was turned out at noon. Cain slew his brother with the jaw-bone of an ass. God allowed primeval man to live long in order that he might learn the hidden things of the world, because, for example, the planets take a hundred years to describe their revolutions. The ark had five storeys, one of which was especially for reptiles. When the raven left the ark it lighted on the body of a drowned beast, and rejoiced so much in the banquet it had discovered, that it forgot to return. The Flood washed out the strength of man, and it was in consequence of this that God granted to man permission to eat flesh. Before Babel, all men spoke Hebrew, which is spoken by the Jews unto this day. The Tower of Babel was proposed by Nimrod. The foundations were 62 fathoms broad, and the building rose so high that its top was near the stars, and the builders could not endure the heat of the sun, a statement

¹ This was translated into French in the thirteenth century. It was a kind of encyclopedia of scripture, history and interpretation, and of the teachings of the philosophers and of reference to secular history.

which modern scientists would hardly care to accept. We learn that Joseph went into the chamber of Potiphar's wife and said, "Madam, come to your meat." When he became ruler over the land of Egypt he had a thousand barns built, and caused deep cellars to be made. In these he stored corn, wine, meal, and salt meat. (The description of the famine in Egypt suggests a familiarity with the more or less sporadic scarcity in England in the Middle Ages). Joseph caused the corn to be threshed before it was distributed. The chaff was thrown into the Nile, and floated down the river till it came to the place where Jacob lived, and he thereupon commanded his sons to follow the stream to the country from whence the chaff came. "Thus," says our author, "they found their way to Egypt," but I am afraid his geography was somewhat vague, to say the least of it.

Genesis occupies nearly 5500 lines, rather more than one-sixth of the whole work. The rest of the Old Testament takes less than 4000 lines. After getting half way through Exodus, he begins to shorten his account, and gives us much less in the way of elaboration and addition. But he finds time to relate that when Moses ground the golden calf to powder, he mixed the powder with wine and water, and made the people drink of it. Those who had worshipped the false god found that after drinking their beards were gilded, while the beards of the innocent were clean, and thus the Levites knew whom to punish. The history of Joshua and the Judges is told in very scrappy fashion, only the tale of Samson being dealt with at all fully. But here he begins to give us brief notices of contemporary secular events, as he thinks; all probably taken from Comestor. Thus, he says that while Caleb was Judge the fable of Saturn and Jupiter was written. In Shamgar's time the building of Troy was begun. Apollo and the Libyan Sibyl lived in the time of Deborah; Orpheus and Hercules in the days of Gideon. Tola's judgeship synchronized with the rise of the Delphic Oracle. Priam began to reign and Latin letters were invented while Jair judged Israel. In Ibzan's days lived Paris and Helen, Troy was besieged in Elon's time, and taken in Abdon's. Half the world was at war in those days,

"And all the reason of that strife
Was for ravishing a wife,
All for fairness of Elayne
Were there many thousands slain."

These chronological notes are continued, but with less frequency, in the account of the Kings. Thus, we read that in the reign of Jotham, Romulus ruled at Rome. We have references to the Amazons, Homer, the building of Carthage, the destruction of Nineveh. There are fairly full histories of Saul, David, and Solomon, and we have a really thrilling description of Goliath of Gath. He was like Satan to look upon. His eyes were three feet apart, his visage was loathly and his legs long. He could eat seven sheep by himself, and he swore by "Saint Mohammed." A truly fearsome giant!

The Cursor takes us at breathless speed over the rest of the Kings of Israel and Judah. He was probably not the first student, and certainly not the last, who has found difficulties with them. But he had a difficulty of his own, for he jestingly complains of the difficulty of getting their names into verse!

So far, we have traced four Ages of the World. The first was from the Creation to the Flood; the second from the Flood to Abraham; the third to the death of Saul; the fourth to the death of Solomon. The fifth Age begins with the prophesies of Christ spoken by Isaiah and Jeremiah. At this point the writer breaks off into two parables which expound his theology of the Atonement. The first is *The Parable of the King and his four daughters*. There was once a great King who had a son so wise that he made him partner in all that he did. He had also four daughters called Mercy, Truth, Justice and Peace. To these he gave gifts because he could not reign without them. One of his servants, beguiled by an enemy, had trespassed against the King and been thrown into prison. Mercy pleaded with the King to pardon him, but Truth argued against her sister's plea, and declared that "Truth should guide Mercy." If Mercy were allowed to save everybody, no one need be afraid of sin, because in this way there would be no punishment. Justice then intervened, and declared that the slave ought to die. While he was free he had Justice and Mercy, both, but he parted from them by his own sin. But Peace argued that she was the person to try the case. Truth and Justice must keep Peace in the land so that Mercy may be heard. No judgment should be given without the consent of the four. The King's son, hearing of the contention between the sisters, declared that Mercy had moved him. He would take the thrall's clothing and suffer for him, and Justice and Peace should kiss each other.

The second parable is that of *The Castle of Love and Grace*. These parables are taken, with some additions of the writer's own, from the *Chasteau d'Amour*¹ of Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln. Beside the French original, there is extant a Middle English translation dating from the early part of the fourteenth century. But the Cursor probably used the French version. He tells us in his prologue that he wrote in English and did not use French, in order to make it easier for the common people. The Middle English version is probably later than his own. The parable runs thus: The Castle of Love and Grace stands on a high rock, so polished that no weapon can touch it. It is enclosed by four stone walls and a deep ditch, and is fortified with battlements and seven barbicans, with a gate and tower. Every fugitive can take refuge here. The foundation is green, the middle Indian blue, and the battlements rose-red. A clear spring, from which run four healing streams, rises in the Tower. Within the Tower is a throne with the brilliant light of which the bright colours mingle.

¹ A poem of over seventeen hundred lines in which the principle Christian doctrines are expounded under the form of a romance of chivalry in the manner of the troubadours.

This castle is our shield against our enemies. The polished rock is Mary's heart, the green colour betokens her *end* (he mistranslates here—Grossetête says it is her *faith*) The blue is her love and truth, and the red her charity. The four walls are the four cardinal virtues; the seven barbicans are the seven other virtues which conquer the deadly sins. The well is Mary's inexhaustible mercy, the throne is Christ who made His seat in Mary's soul.

By a natural transition we pass to the legendary story of the Conception of our Lady. Joachim and Anna were childless, but an angel promised to the former a maid child who should be the mother of the Saviour. In gratitude he offered a great sacrifice. Meanwhile Anna was sitting alone and grieving, while her maid Utaine tried in vain to comfort her. The angel appeared to her and made the same promises, adding that the daughter's name should be Mary, who should be worshipped by all, and should dwell in the Temple till she was fourteen years old. All this came to pass. When she was fourteen, the Bishop sent all the maidens of that age dwelling in the Temple home to be married. Mary refused, and said "I am given to God and can have no other lover." The Bishop, puzzled at this, called an assembly of the wisest men to take counsel with them. They held that the vow must be kept, and yet that she ought to marry. Remembering the prophecy of the Rod of the Stem of Jesse in Isaiah, they called together all the descendants of David. Each was to bring a rod, and he whose rod blossomed should marry her. Joseph, an old man and a widower, found that his rod bore leaves and flowers, and a dove from heaven lighted upon it. He therefore became the Virgin's Bridegroom. For this part of the story, and for the account of the Infancy of Christ, the Cursor directly or indirectly derives his information from the Apocryphal Gospels, the *Pseudo-Saint Matthew*, the *Gospel of the Nativity* and the *Protevangelium Jacobi Minoris*, which were known in England, and of some of which there were English versions extant before his time. He also knew of Wace's account of the Establishment of the Festival of the Conception of Our Lady.¹ In some respects the various MSS. differ here, some (the Cotton² and Göttingen³) following Wace, while others (the Fairfax⁴ and Trinity⁵) keep more closely to the Bible. The Cursor also refers vaguely to "*some books*", which he does not more particularly specify, as his sources, and some of his details cannot so far be traced. For instance, he gives as the reasons why Mary should have a husband—First, the fiend would be deceived and would not be able to triumph over her, secondly, the Jews would be prevented from stoning her, and thirdly, Mary would not lack the protection of a husband.

We get most of the familiar legends connected with Our Lord's childhood. During the flight into Egypt He stood upon serpents, and they bowed down to Him. Lions and leopards

¹ *Fête de la Conception Notre Dame.*

² Cotton Vesp. A.iii, B. Mus.

³ Göttingen MS. theol. 107.

⁴ Fairfax MS. 14, Bodleian Library.

⁵ MS. R. 3. 8, Trinity Coll., Camb.

followed meekly with the oxen and the asses. At His command a palm tree bent down that Mary might take its fruit, and a spring burst forth from its roots. In the morning He bade an angel take a branch of this tree and plant it in paradise. They went into an idol temple, and the idols fell to the ground. Meanwhile, Herod slew 144,000 children, but was stricken with a fell disease, and by the treachery of his son and the physicians, he was drowned in pitch and tar.

On the Christ-child's return, He performed other miracles. He made sparrows of clay and breathed life into them. A child attacked Him and was struck dead. He rebuked those who advised that He should be sent to school, saying, "Ye are under the Law, I am not. Before Abraham was, I am." He raised the dead. On one occasion He went to fetch water for His mother, and when His pitcher was broken by another child, He gathered the water into a ball and carried it home without need of a vessel. He planted a grain of wheat from which came a hundred measures of corn. Joseph made a wooden bed for a man, but it was not long enough. Jesus came to his help and pulled it to the required length. His parents at last made Him go to school, where the master struck Him and fell dead. Joseph went with James into a garden to pick cabbages, and when an adder stung James, Christ healed him.

We now enter upon the Sixth Age of the World, which extends from the Ministry of our Lord to the Day of Doom. In relating the Gospel story, the Cursor gives very few additions or interpolations. Of Herodias' daughter, who salted St. John the Baptist's head and threw it into a well, we read :—

"Of hir name is no fors to telle
Knowen she is therby in helle."

The Bridegroom at Cana in Galilee is St. John the Evangelist. After the Betrayal, Judas went to the Blessed Virgin and told her what he had done, and all his sins. She told him that he will be ruined, but that Christ shall rise again. He replied, "Christ will no more rise again than this cock which has been boiled," Immediately the cock flew up and crowed. This was the cock which St. Peter heard.

When Longinus, the blind soldier, pierced Christ with the spear, the holy blood flowed down and restored his sight. The Blessed Mother, at the Cross, stood on tiptoe, stretching upward. She had no hold whereby to climb up, but she kissed the Tree, and after the Burial, she lay upon the tomb, kissing the stone. The Jews put Joseph of Arimathea in prison without food, and set a guard over him; but he escaped marvellously, for the seal and lock were found fast. Jesus Himself had come to him and set him free. There is a long account of the discussions and enquiries of the Jews when they heard that Christ was risen. These legends in connection with the Resurrection are taken from the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. Then follows a long

imaginative account of the harrowing of hell, too long to recapitulate here. But one thing cannot be omitted, the description of the Person of Our Lord—"He was of middle height and shapely, stern and yet loving was His look, nutbrown His hair and reached to His shoulders, His forehead fair without a wrinkle, His complexion fresh, a perfect nose and mouth, a thick forked beard, His gaze steadfast and sincere, His eyes clear and grey. His voice was clear, but awful was his rebuke. We know that He wept, but He never laughed. From the vernicle, that is, the napkin of St. Veronica with which she wiped His face as He carried His Cross, we see that He resembled His mother,"

The Acts of the Apostles are narrated briefly as far as the vision of Cornelius, and then the writer tells of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Sixteen years after His Ascension, Our Lord sent an Angel to comfort her, and to tell her she was to come to heaven in three days. The angel presented her with a palm which her Son had sent, and warned the Apostles to be ready on the third day. Mary took the palm to her room, put on new clothes, and called her friends to tell them of her approaching departure. But they were not to weep, for Christ would not let her suffer. She promised St. John that her Son would repay him for all his goodness to her, and would call him also soon. He must prevent the Jews from approaching her body to do her shame. He said, with tears, "How can I live, I have lost my Lord, and now thee?". All the Apostles are gathered together miraculously, not knowing how or why they have come.

Sey me brother, quod petur to Ion,
Whi art thou so sorry mon?
Whi wepestou, what is the?
For alle loves telle now me.

St. John told them they have come to bid farewell to Mary. They must not be sorrowful, but cheerful in her presence. They knelt down before her and saluted her as Queen of Heaven, and she kissed them all, and praised her Son for sending them to her. At midday she lay down on her bed and the apostles and her maidens sat round her. They heard a song of paradise which lulled all of them except Mary to sleep. When the time came she aroused them, and the Lord came with angels singing round Him. She knew Him, and blessed Him, saying, "No mother ever had such a Son." "Mother," said He, "come with Me, where I am King thou shalt be Queen," and He promised her that in her departing she should see none but angels, and should feel no pain. And so she gave up the ghost, and departed in the care of St. Michael, and all the dwellers in heaven sang with merry voice when she came and was crowned therein as Queen.

At Our Lord's command to St. Peter, her body was buried in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The funeral procession passed through the city of Jerusalem with bells and candles and torches, while four Apostles bore the bier. The Jews tried to interfere,

but were struck blind and lame, and a priest who touched the bier found his hand fast bound to it and his arm withered. But at St. Peter's exhortation he was healed. The Prince of the Apostles gave him a palm, and he went forth and healed the sick. Thus they buried Mary, but some say that Christ came from His palace and took her body home, and that in her tomb men found nothing but sweet flowers ever freshly growing. One thing is certain, that she is "Emperice" of heaven, and prays unceasingly for sinful men. So by her prayers are men converted, even as 4000 were converted at her death. She had lived in this world for three and sixty years, and is now in heaven, with her body, her flesh and her bones.

We proceed next to the work and death of each of the Apostles. Except in the cases of SS. Peter and Paul, the legendary rather than the Biblical account is followed. St. James the Great died in Spain (at Compostella we may be sure, though the writer does not say). St. John dug his own grave and lay in it. But men say he is not dead, but lies there preaching still. Philip, amongst other nations, preached to the *French*. We have an interesting note of the liturgical ideas of the time in the statement that when St. Peter sang the first Mass there was no long Canon, only the Paternoster; but men have eked it out from time to time since then.

We must now retrace our steps, and follow up what I described as a kind of secondary theme of the book—the Story of the Cross. This begins in the Book of Genesis. When Adam lay a-dying he sent Seth to Paradise along the track left by Eve and himself. He was to ask the angel at the gate for the Oil of Mercy which God had promised. He was permitted to put his head inside the gate, and saw a great tree reaching up to the sky, with roots that went down to hell. Its branches were bare because of Adam's sin: an adder was coiled round it, and a new born child lay crying at the top. This was the Christ-child weeping for Adam's sin. He is the promised Oil of Mercy. As Seth left the gate three pips were given him, which were to be placed under Adam's tongue. After Adam was buried these grew into three wands. Each was an ell long, and they grew no more till the days of Moses. When the children of Israel came out of Egypt, they suffered from thirst. Moses three times saw in a dream, while he was sleeping in a forest, three rods of cypress, cedar, and pine growing together. When he awoke the third time, he saw three rods exactly similar to those of his dream, and recognised a sign from heaven. When he took them up water gushed forth. It was exceedingly bitter, however, but when he dipped the rods into it, it became fresh and sweet. Henceforth he always carried them with him. They never withered, but were in perpetual leaf and flower. They were kept for a long time in the ark in the Tabernacle, but before his death he buried them in a secret place, where they remained till the reign of David. The latter discovered them

all three growing on one stem, and suffused with wondrous light. As the procession was returning home with them, they met four black mishapen Saracens, who had their mouths in their breasts, their brows hanging about their ears, their eyes in their foreheads, and their arms all hairy. Begging the King to heal them with the saving Tree, they were allowed to kiss the wands, and immediately became white and shapely, and went on their way to Ethiopia rejoicing. The waters of Jordan opened hither and thither to let the procession pass through. At Jerusalem the rods were placed in a cistern and guards were set to protect them. There they struck root, and David built a wall round the tree which grew therefrom. For thirty years it grew and put forth leaves and fruit and flowers in wondrous wise. Each year David fitted round the stem a silver circlet, to measure its growth. Of these thirty circlets were made the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed his Master.

Solomon often sat and meditated under this tree, and thereby gained his wisdom. When he began to build the Temple, it was growing old, and was accordingly hewn down to make the master beam of the House of God, but it was too short, and they had to make another. The holy beam was not destroyed, but kept in the Temple. A priest named Cyril once tried to chop it, but fire burst from it. A lady once came to pray in the Temple, and inadvertently sat upon the beam. Immediately her clothing took fire, and she started up and prophesied that the Jews would hang the Christ upon it. For this saying she was beheaded by the Jews, and thus became the first Christian martyr. The beam was thrown into a pool, and God henceforth sent his angels to trouble the water, and sick men laid in it were made whole. The Jews next took the beam up and placed it across a brook, hoping that the treading of men's feet would destroy its sanctity. The Sibyl came, refused to walk on it, and waded the brook instead. Solomon gave her gifts and she departed. Hereafter the Tree remained in the Temple in readiness for Christ's Passion. When He was condemned, they wanted wood for a cross, so they went to the Temple and cut the "King's Tree" in two. The wood was still quite sound. The Cross was shaped without any difficulty, but when it was made 200 men could not move it, though they put forth all their might. Yet when Jesus came it rose up and rested on His shoulder without help of man. When He was taken down, the Holy Rood blossomed from midday to Compline. The Jews then secretly buried deep in the earth the three crosses on which the Lord and the thieves were hung.

So far in this story of the Cross, the Cursor has followed the Legends of the Holy Rood of which several English versions were extant in his day, and which have been collected in a single volume by the Early English Text Society. But the sources of the rest of the narrative are as yet undiscovered.

Next comes the story of the finding of the Cross. Those who have read Professor Louis Combes' book, "*The Invention*

of the Cross," or the little work of Dr. J. Charles Wall, "*The Relics of the Passion*," will have seen that the groundwork of the story, at least, is not mere legend. (It is a disappointment to us in the North Country, I may say in passing, to be told by modern historians that Helena was not a Yorkshire lady at all, but came from Dalmatia.) The Cursor takes the familiar tale and enlarges upon it considerably, and in this portion in particular his book is full of surprises. With the tale of Constantine's vision, and his sending his mother, Helena, to find the Cross, we find interwoven the story of the Jew who demanded a pound of flesh from a Christian debtor, who in this case is Helena's goldsmith, while the familiar judgment that he shed no blood is given in this case, not by Portia sent from Bellario, but by the two messengers whom Constantine sent to his mother. The Jew cursed them for their judgment, and was condemned by Helena to lose all his goods. He declared that he would rather tell them where the Cross of their Lord was hidden. He went with Helena to Calvary, and there, buried twenty feet down, he unearthed the crosses. He arose and worshipped, and many others were converted. The old tree in the Temple, from which the Cross had been made, gave out a sweet odour. (Our author seems not to have known, or to have forgotten, that the Temple had been destroyed long before!). The Cross, now found, was divided into four parts, for Jerusalem, Rome, Alexandria, and Constantinople, respectively. Judas, the Jew who found it, became a bishop under the name Quiriacus. On the day when it was discovered the devil reproached him, and said that a King should rise against him, which came to pass, for he was ultimately slain by a tyrant.

It is interesting to compare the Cursor's account with Cynewulf's eighth-century "*Elene*." The latter probably based his work on the life of St. Cyriacus¹ in the *Acta Sanctorum*. The main outlines are the same, except for the surprising appearance of this Judas as (shall we say?) Shylock's literary ancestor. But in the course of 500 years the tale has gathered a considerable number of accretions. Now Cynewulf was a Northerner, and so was the author of the *Cursor Mundi*. The thought instantly occurs, did the latter know of his predecessor's work? In all probability he did not. There is very little likelihood that he could have read it if it had been put before him.

The Seventh and last Age begins with the approach of Doom. When it shall be, no man knows, but Christ gave us signs by which we can tell its coming. Signs, such as the rising of the sea, warfare, and woe, appear daily to warn us, but we take no heed. We would rather hear "how Roland fought and Oliver" than the Passion of the King. Before Christ comes Anti-Christ will arise. "I tell you nothing but what I find in true books." He will war against our Lord and the Gospel, and will be a Jew of the

¹ There was a Cyriacus sometimes called S. Cyriac, who was patriarch of Constantinople 595-606, nearly two hundred years after. There are several persons of that name in the martyrologies.

tribe of Dan, for is it not written, that "Dan shall be as an adder"? His father will be a shameful person, his mother a "foul scabby glutton." It is not true, as some say, that he will be offspring of a bishop and a nun. As the Holy Ghost descended on Mary, so Satan will descend on Anti-Christ's mother. He shall be born in Babylon, the city of pride and idolatry, brought up in Chorazin and Bethsaida, shall reign for a time in Capernaum, and finally set up his throne in Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. Enchanters, necromancers, and jugglers shall fill him with falsehood. Emperors and Kings will bow down before him. He will persecute and slay Christians, and will work such miracles, even raising the dead, that good men will be puzzled as to whether he be the Christ or no. This will last for two years and a half. A King of France will be the lord of the Roman Empire in the last days, but will bring his reign, and the Empire, to an end at Jerusalem by giving up his crown and sceptre to Christ. Then Anti-Christ will come and pretend to be Christ until St. Michael slays him in Babylon. The whole of this part of the poem is a confused medley of the prophecies of Daniel, Revelation, and the Sibyl, and of mediaeval imaginings in such works as Adso's *Libellus de Anti-christo*. But for all that, it would be well worth while for some student to work out the development of the beliefs of the Middle Ages about Anti-Christ.

Next we have the signs of the fifteen days before the Day of Judgment. This legend was very common in the Middle Ages. It seems to have attained its complete form in the eleventh century. In a paper in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* for 1915, Canon Fowler of Hatfield Hall *magnum et venerabile nomen*, formerly Vice-President of this Society, gives a long list of instances ranging from perhaps 700 A.D. to Bishop Jeremy Taylor in the seventeenth century. It is found in many languages. Amongst others there are three Irish versions, all apparently independent. The origin of this account of the end of the world is generally ascribed to St. Jerome, though nothing of the kind can be found in those of his writings which remain to us. Some of the details come, of course, in substance, from the prophetic books of the Old and New Testaments, some are in 2 Esdras, the Book of Jubilees, the Sibylline verses, and the Talmud. A mediaeval three-light window at the east end of the north aisle of All Saints' church, North Street, York, gives pictures of the fifteen days with couplet inscriptions. The couplets are, however, taken, not from the Cursor Mundi, but from the "Prick of Conscience" the long mediaeval poem wrongly ascribed to Richard Rolle of Hampole, and the subjects differ. The date of this window is about 1350. It is, I believe, quite unique. The only other mediaeval pictorial illustration of the Last Fifteen Days is a triptych dating from 1504 at the Frauenkirche at Oberesel in Germany. Some of the Fifteen Signs given in the Cursor Mundi are in the eleventh century writings of Peter Damien, and are also in Comestor. But as a series they are quite different. The following is the Cursor's list :

On the first day there will be a rain of blood, and unborn children will cry for mercy. On the second the stars will fall from heaven, and will lose their light. On the third the moon will become as red as blood, and will descend to earth and will hide in the sea. On the fourth the sun will turn black at midday. On the fifth all dumb beasts will look up to heaven and cry to God, as if for mercy. On the sixth the valleys will rise and the hills fall, the earth shall be made level, there shall be earthquakes, and towers and towns will be laid low. On the seventh all the trees that were cast down shall try to rise again, but they will turn upside down and no leaf will remain. On the eighth the sea will rise and burst over dale and down, and then return to its place. On the ninth all things shall cry to God for mercy, as St. Austin writes, and say :

“Have mercy on us for Thy might,
Lord God that lasteth aye,
Thou shalt us make to pass away
To turn again, as nought we were,
Lord, let us not forfare.”

On the tenth angels and cherubim and seraphim will quake, and St. Peter will be dumb with fear. The heavens will part asunder. Fiends will come out of hell. On the eleventh the winds will rise and lift the earth out of its place, the rainbow will fall, the devils will be driven back into hell, and will cry to be let out. On the twelfth heaven will be locked up, and toward eventide even the angels will cry for mercy. On the thirteenth all the stones above the earth and beneath it will smite together like thunder, and break. Men will hide under the mountains. On the fourteenth there will be storms of hail, snow, and thunder, and the clouds will hide in the sea. On the fifteenth the earth will burn away, and heaven and earth be made new. Then will be heard the blast of the trumpet and then breaks the Day of Doom.

A hundred thousand knights will follow the Judge, and angels will bear His banner, the Cross on which He died. St. Paul says that all men will rise as though they had been thirty years old at their departing. The chosen of God, who were maimed in this life, will rise whole, but suicides shall not do so. Some say that the Great Assize will take place in the valley of Jehoshaphat; but this is to be understood in the spirit, not in the letter. None can tell how long the Judgment will last.

With a description of hell and its nine pains, and of heaven with its fourteen blessed gifts, seven for the body and seven for the soul, the poem appears originally to have ended. But the writer seems to have kept on making additions. The first of these is a long poem in six-line stanzas on the Sorrows of Mary. This is followed by a quite unhistorical explanation of the origin of the Festival of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin. After William the Conqueror had slain Harold, the King of Denmark, angry at the loss of his friend, prepared to invade England. William

thereupon sent Elsey, Abbot of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, as an ambassador to make peace. On his return journey, he was overtaken by a great storm, and when those on board cried to Christ and Mary for aid, an angel appeared, who stilled the storm, and bade Elsey institute in England on that day, December 8th, the Feast of the Conception, and it was made a rule ever after in the Abbey of Ramsey. As a matter of historical fact, the Festival was known in the East in the seventh century, and was kept in England before William the Conqueror came at all.

The remaining additions to the poem, found in great part only in the Cotton MS., form in reality a verse treatise, 4000 lines long, on Moral Theology.

In reading the *Cursor Mundi* one is reminded of mediaeval paintings like Ghirlandaios' "Adoration of the Shepherds," or some of the dainty little paintings on early MSS, with their wonderful blending of mediaeval life with scripture. There is no striving after antiquarian correctness, such as so often seems to kill the real spirit in the art of to-day. To our author, the people of whom he read in the Bible were just like the people he saw around him daily. Mary and Lazarus live in a castle. Joseph of Arimathea was "a rich baron." The Apostles address one another as "lordings." Isaac is to be King and "caysere." Nimrod fell into "Maumetrie" which the Saracens still keep up, and the Egyptians were of the Saracens' religion. In fact, to the *Cursor*, every Oriental is a Saracen, and Saul died fighting with them like a Crusader. Solomon learns in his youth the lore of clergy and knighthood. Joseph is sold for 20 besants. He knows the seven crafts, that is, the seven arts, which, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, formed the curriculum of the Universities of Oxford and Paris. The great men of the Bible were all knights, Sir Abraham, Sir Isaac, Sir Moses, Sir Potiphar, Sir Augustus the Emperor, Sir Lazarus, Sir Pilate, Sir Nicodemus the dutiful knight, though it comes as a shock to find Sir Judas Iscariot on the roll of knighthood. He appears as the Almoner in the apostolic company. The governor of the feast at Cana was Sir Architricline. The writer thought this a proper name. In Noah's flood were to be seen swimming together wolf and man, lion and hart, sparrow-hawk and starling, lady and page. Pharaoh bids clerk and knight, earl and baron, to come and interpret his dreams. Adam had seisin of all in earth and paradise. Man's fault cast him out of his seisin as the law would in a court. His sin made him the thrall of Satan, and no thrall can ask a heritage. The Jewish High Priest is a Bishop, and the Temple, as often as not, is called a church. The burgesses of the town sat about Pilate. The latter led our Lord into the parlour. After Christ's Ascension, Mary dwells in the Temple with the nuns. It was two false pardoners who said Our Lord would destroy the Temple and raise it again in three days. A sergeant smote Our Lord and knights guarded the tomb. Cyrenius Governor of Syria was the Emperor's "bailey."

He follows the usual methods of mystical interpretation. Thus, the Burning Bush, mystically understood, signifies the Incarnation; Aaron's rod our Lady, the fruit of it Jesus. Some of it shows deep spiritual insight, though, of course, at times there seems a straining after the far-fetched and fanciful. The poem is not to be judged as a whole by the childlike stories. Perhaps it is unfair to give them so fully as I have done. It may lead those who have not read the book to carry away a false impression that after all the writer did not know the Bible, but only a mass of legends. The knowledge of the scriptures is there, but it is hardly necessary for me to do more than say so. He is so anxious to press home the lesson of Holy Writ that a great portion of the work is taken up with sermonising and pious reflections. And there is everywhere a spirit of warm devotion, especially in the parts which deal with Our Lord's Passion.

The poem is very long, but it is not wearisome. Some quaint fancy or beautiful thought, something surprising or even startling constantly rewards the steadfast reader. And there are passages full of genuine poetic feeling. Here and there we find the strain of sadness amounting almost to the pessimism which is so characteristic of much of later mediaeval poetry. There is little, indeed, hardly any humour. He is too full of the seriousness and the all importance of his subject for that. But he has a homely directness often. Take for instance this passage on old age. (I have modernised it somewhat) :

"When that he becometh old
His blood it waxes dry and cold,
His head beginneth for to shake,
His hands unpleasantly to quake,
With creeping crawlings in his back,
And his bones begin to crack,
His lovely hair to fall off him,
And his sight to wax full dim.

There is a passage bearing a striking resemblance to this in the unknown writer's¹ *Prick of Conscience*. The *Cursor Mundi* is generally written in this short metre, imitated from the French eight-syllabled line. There are four stressed syllables in each line, and generally no caesura. Neither the quantity nor the quality of the rhyme is quite correct at times. A long stretch of the Cursor's verse is liable to become monotonous. At its very worst it becomes the "right butterwomen's rank to market." But in fairness it must be said that it is generally easy, fluent, and well-constructed. Occasionally he gives us, by way of variation, couplets of alternate lines of four and three stressed syllables, or even stanzas of from four to ten alternately rhyming lines.

Ten MSS. are known. The four which contain the whole work are the Cotton, in the British Museum, the most complete of all, and written in the Northumbrian dialect, the Göttingen, already

¹ See H. E. Allen "Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole" 1927, pp. 394-7.

mentioned (also Northern, with some changes), the Fairfax in the Bodleian Library (Northern with Midland peculiarities), and the Trinity, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the East Midland dialect. The other six represent only parts of the work. The text of the Cotton closely resembles the Göttingen text, while the Fairfax and the Trinity MSS. have close resemblance. The two former MSS. have a Discourse between Christ and Man found only in those two while the Cotton has peculiar to itself an insertion dealing with the Resurrection.

In an essay prefixed to the E.E.T.S. edition, Dr. Hupe attempted to decide the pedigree of these MSS., and in what way they were related to each other. But the information which we have is too small, and the texts at our disposal too few, for any sound conclusions. There is far too much in literary criticism in the way of hazardous conjectures and reasonings, based on imperfect data. Similarly, Dr. Hupe probably ventures too far when he attempts to assign each MS. not merely to the broad divisions of the dialects, Northern or Midland, as the case may be, but to definite localities within the range of these. It is enough to say here that the *Cursor Mundi* was written in the Northern speech, with a considerable sprinkling of French, Scandinavian and archaic words, and that the MSS. show a striking line for line, and even word for word, resemblance, even in the case of those which have been modified for the sake of readers farther south. Those MSS. written in forms of the Midland dialect sometimes mis-translated the northern terms, but on the whole, the differences are in vocabulary rather than in grammar.

Do we know anything of the Author? We can say in the first place that he was a *priest*, and a learned one. It is hardly probable that a layman, indeed, would have been scholar enough. He knew Latin, French, and Southern English as well as Northern. He had a wide knowledge of the literature of the first half of the thirteenth century, and many other books as well. Beside those to which I have already referred, he numbered amongst his authorities St. Augustine, the pseudo-St. Chrysostom who wrote the Book of Balaam, "Peris major, the good clerk," and many others. He used some portions of the Golden Legend, Isidore of Seville's Lives of the Saints, and he tells us that as for the story of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, he translated it into the northern dialect from a Southern English poem of Edmund of Pontenay. And there are portions of which the source is as yet undiscovered. He tells us himself that he was a cleric. In the little sermon at what seems to have been the original end of the work, he says: (I have again modernised somewhat).

"We are all brethren, young and old,
For us was Christ both bought and sold,
He has us in His number told,
As His sheep for His own fold,
Through shepherds that the Lord has set

That he will his folk beget.
 He has us chosen for our mede,
 His holy folk all for to feed,
 Among these shepherds am I one,
 Wretch so unworthy know I none."

Still, God has given him a besant (a talent) which must not be allowed to "rot in hoard," but must be spent in work and word.

It has been suggested that inasmuch as while he tells the origin of the Feast of the Conception, he says nothing about the *Immaculate* Conception, therefore he was not an orthodox Franciscan. But one might as well say that inasmuch as he does not attack the doctrine, therefore he was not an orthodox Dominican, the two Orders being the great protagonists on the subject. Speculation of this kind is not very profitable.

But can we trace him any further? If he was not a genius, he was at least a man of no ordinary ability, and it seems a pity that having such power, and having left such a work and influence behind him, his name should nevertheless be utterly lost.

Now, we certainly know the names of the *owners* of some of the MSS. In the Cotton, at the foot of page 56, there is an inscription, upside down, *William Cosyn*, owns this book. A certain William Cosin held lands at Quarrington and Marton in Lincolnshire in 1276, and there are other records of the family during the reign of Edward I. Another William Cosin, nephew of the first, died in 1342, and he had a grandson also called William. Either of the two last may have been the owner. A writer in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* expresses the opinion that the MS. belongs to the latter part of the fourteenth century. If so, William Cosin the third was the possessor. Hupe, however, says it belongs to the first half of the century. In that case it must have been William Cosin the second. (I wonder if these Cosins, by the way, were at all connected with the ancestors of Bishop Cosin, the seventeenth century Bishop of Durham, who came from the neighbouring county of Norfolk? It would be another interesting link between the Cursor and the Palatinate if it were so).

The Trinity Codex ends with a signature in a later hand, *John Digby*. Was he the scribe or the owner? Probably the latter. The Fairfax has a note at the end, *Iste liber restat Domino Johanni de Croft*, apparently Croft in the county of Durham.

The relationship of William Cosin, John Digby, and John Croft to the respective MSS. presents little doubt. Not so in the case of the Göttingen Codex. In this, in the middle of the text is a note, "and specially do ye pray for me that caused this book to be dight—John of Lindbergh. I say to you that is my name full right. If it be lost or taken away, truly I pledge my troth, whoever brings it to me without delay I shall reward him that very night. And whosoever shall hide and with-hold it from me,

truly I tell you cursed in church shall he be with candle, book, and bell." Now, what is the force of "caused me to be dight"? *Dihtan* meant to arrange, direct, dictate, impose, compose, write.¹ *Caused me* to be dight can hardly bear the sense of *composed me*, or *wrote me*. Then John of Lindbergh would be the person who caused the scribes to *make* the copy. Hupe thought he was the *author*, that he lived and wrote in Lincolnshire, near the borders of Yorkshire at Lindbergh, now called Limber Magna near Ulceby. He also suggested, partly basing his argument on some supposed anti-Franciscan views on the part of the author, that he was an inmate of the Cistercian Abbey of Lindbergh. I venture to remark that Lindbergh was an alien Priory, and therefore hardly the place where we should expect to find such an ardent Englishman as the Cursor.

Moreover, the lines quoted above seem to imply ownership rather than authorship. Again, *caused me to be dight*" is a curious way for the author to refer to his own work, and lastly, the evidence is against the Göttingen MS. being the archetype. It is manifestly copied from a northern source with some necessary alterations, and seems at times to have difficulties both with the vocabulary and the rime.

On the other hand, it might be asked, why should his name be retained in the body of the work, where Cosin and the rest are not, if he were merely the scribe or the person who caused the copy to be made? I would reply with another question. If he were the author, why do not these lines occur in the other MSS., especially if the Göttingen could in any way be shown to represent the archetypal text, which, as I said, it certainly does not seem to be?

So the place where the owner lived does not help us. It is a curious fact, indeed, that the Göttingen MS., which is Northern, belonged to a man in Lincolnshire, while the Trinity, which is Midland, was the property of a man in the county of Durham.

There is another Lindbergh in the North Riding of Yorkshire, seven miles from Whitby, and now called Limber Hill. If John of Lindbergh came from there, and was the author, it would account better for the Northern dialect of the poem. But then the MSS. which are in the Northern speech (as all the others are but one) do not mention him. The Cotton, which is generally accepted as the best text, came, as Hupe, the chief supporter of the Lincolnshire theory, admits, from the neighbourhood of Durham.

The problem at present cannot be solved. But the evidence seems absolutely against John being the author. I would suggest, however, that Lindbergh may be merely the place of his origin, and was kind of embryo surname. Dr. J. A. H. Murray in 1868, in his book on the Dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland, expressed the opinion that the *Cursor Mundi* was written near

¹ Clark Hall. *Concise A-S Dictionary*.

Durham. With this Ten Brink agrees, and says it was written within the territories of the Bishopric.

Can we fare any better as regards the *date*? The E.E.T.S. edition is entitled "Cursor Mundi, a Northumbrian Poem of the Fourteenth Century," though the introductory essays argue for the second half of the thirteenth century. Dr. Fowler says about 1300, Murray between 1275 and 1300, Stopford Brooke, and Morris and Skeat about 1320, Saintsbury 1320 to 1340. Hupe argued that the dialect shows that the work is older than that of Robert Manning of Brunne (1260-1340). With the philological argument I am not competent to give a judgment. I will only say that the philological authorities show woeful disagreement. But there are several historical considerations :

(1) In telling the story of the Assumption, the Cursor says he used a Southern English poem by St. Edmund of Pontenay, and turned it into the language of the Northern "folk that could no other English read." Now Edmund of Pontenay was Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1240, and was canonized in 1246. (He was not Edmund of Pontigny, by the way. That was where he *died*). It is probable that the poem in question was not written by him, but the date 1246 will at any rate give us a backward limit.

(2) The Cursor speaks of the "Castel d'Amour" as "St. Robert's Book." Robert Grossetete, Bishop of Lincoln, died in 1253, but was not canonized, if he ever was at all, before 1307, when the Dean and Chapter applied for his canonization. This would seem to tell for a late date for the Cursor Mundi. But in view of the uncertainty of the canonization, and at the same time the high reputation of Grossetete, we may assume that our author was not too strict in examining his claims to saintship. So the expression *Saint* Robert need not necessarily militate against an earlier date than 1307.

(3) Hupe thinks that since the author speaks so much of the people whom he calls the "felon Jews," he would have referred to their expulsion in 1290 had he known of it. I see no particular reason why he should have done so, and though the argument is ingenious, it is after all only the dangerous *argumentum e silentio*. Similarly, it is suggested that as in 1279 Edward I issued a new silver coin, the groat or great penny (worth fourpence), considering the eagerness with which clerks caught at new expressions, one would expect that the Cursor might use this new term, for instance, in speaking of the "thirty pennies of Judas," but he does not. This takes us back before 1279. It seems very inconclusive to me. But as our evidence is simply cumulative, those who wish may throw this and the last argument into the scale for what they are worth.

(4) The story of the institution of the Feast of the Conception may or may not throw light on the date. The Festival

had been declared optional in England by Archbishop Langton's Council of Oxford in 1222, and made compulsory by the Council of Exeter in 1287. The Cursor mentions neither. The first, of course, is of no particular importance, and it seems to me that it is open to any one to argue with regard to the second, that he wrote before 1287 and so did not know of it, or after 1287 and did not mention it, because he thought everyone knew of it. But I confess to a preference for the former alternative.

(5) His sources seem none of them later than the first half of the thirteenth century. This seems important.

(6) Palaeographical evidence does not help us much. But Hupe definitely assigns one MS. in the Cambridge University Library to the latter half of the thirteenth century. If this is true, it is, of course, conclusive. The Edinburgh fragment in the possession of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh *may* be the same period, or somewhat later. The other MSS. are all later.

I have mentioned a number of books from which the stories told in the *Cursor Mundi* may have ultimately been derived, perhaps in many cases directly derived, and others might have been mentioned. An examination of the ancient catalogues of the various monastic libraries like these of Durham Abbey, might show that the writer would probably find his sources close at hand. One does not think of the Cursor as writing with his authorities all round him ready for use. Such references as he gives are always vague. It was not that he did not use books, he did, and many of them, but I think he wrote a good deal of his work from memory, perhaps, of things he had read years before. When books were scarce students read them carefully and remembered much of what they read, though no doubt their memories played tricks at times. The Cursor was not always seeking for pedantic accuracy. In telling the story of the Lord's Passion he showed himself either ignorant or careless of the strict sequence of events, but that was not important to him : he was writing for edification. In many cases he filled up the brief Bible story with additions from books and legends he had read or heard, and perhaps some strokes from his own imagination. The historical novelist of modern times does the same and teachers say that the historical novel is not without its value.

We should like to know the writer's name and place of abode, but all we can say is that his book was written late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century and probably in the northern part of Northumbria. At any rate he was one of that line of Northerners beginning with Bede, who kept alive the flame of religion and learning in the North Country throughout the Middle Ages.

DILAPIDATIONS IN PARSONAGE PROPERTY.

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The scope of this note is restricted almost entirely to the subject of dilapidations in parsonage property, that is, houses and buildings as distinct from churches, and mainly to one aspect of this subject, but some observations relating to the matter of dilapidations in general may be useful. The existing law relating to the dilapidations of benefice buildings in its present form dates only from 1871, although the Acts of 1776 (the well-known "Gilbert's Act") and 1780 and that of 1 & 2 Victoria c. 23 are evidently its near ancestors: this present law limits the liability of the incumbent for all dilapidations to an annual payment. The result of this is that an incumbent has the assurance that on his vacating the benefice no claims for dilapidations can be made against him or his estate except for those annual payments or parts of them up to the date of his vacating the benefice, or for wilful dilapidations, that is, those caused by his wilful action or gross neglect. The buildings of the benefice are liable to inspection every five years, after which inspection repairs can be ordered to put and keep the buildings into good condition, for which repairs payments can be made out of the accumulated annual payments.

The origins of this system are by no means clear, and few primitive examples have been noticed; but the main lines of descent may be traced plainly enough. At the risk of being too tedious and adust at the beginning of our study, it may be well to note that from the view of the Common Law the situation is that "every ecclesiastic in succession in an ecclesiastical corporation sole is a quasi-tenant for life, having the freehold and an estate for life in his benefice or preferment but no more." "Every tenant for life, unless restrained by covenant or agreement, has the common right of all tenants to cut wood for fuel . . . , for the making and repairing of all instruments of husbandry, and for repairing the house . . . But he is not allowed to cut timber or to commit any other kind of waste; either by voluntary destruction of any part of the premises, which is called Voluntary waste, or by permitting the buildings to go to ruin, which is called Permissive waste." Amongst the examples of such waste here given is that which sets out that a tenant for life cannot open new mines for coal or other minerals . . . But to continue the work of existing mines . . . is not waste, and the tenant may accordingly carry on such mine . . . for his own profit"¹—an example which does much to explain the action at Whitkirk in 1683, which is No. VIII below.

¹ *Principles of Law of Real Property*, Joshua Williams; 7 edn., p. 73.

More from the side of the ecclesiastical lawyer, we find dilapidation defined by the "Parson's Counsellor" as "the pulling down or destroying in any manner, any of the houses or buildings belonging to a spiritual living, or suffering them to run into ruin or decay." As a remedy, it is suggested that "an action for damages by the succeeding incumbent against his predecessor or the personal representatives of his predecessor, will in some cases lie." This is close to the sense of the Canon of Ottobon, *De domibus ecclesiarum reficiendis*, where Godolphin comments:¹ "By a gloss on that Canon it is inferred That a parson may be guilty of dilapidations or of a neglect in that kind two waies viz., by not keeping the Edifices in good repair, or by not repairing them being gone to decay," although the remedy which he suggests differs, and can refer only to the living incumbent who is still in occupation of the benefice: "And such as neglect the Reparations may be accused and convicted thereof before the Diocesan, who hath power to sequester the fruits of such benefice for the Reparations aforesaid." This seems plain and practical enough, but there were obvious omissions or loopholes through which an unworthy incumbent might make his escape. There was, for instance, the question whether the offender's ecclesiastical goods only were concerned in such provision for reparations, or whether his personal estate might be involved also. This exercised Lindwood, who laid down to the effect that if the incumbent had not "ecclesiastical goods sufficient; if he has employed his ecclesiastical goods in the improving of this patrimony, or if by too much attention to his worldly affairs he has neglected his ecclesiastical; in such case he is bound to make satisfaction out of his patrimonial goods."² On this, the comment is made that "The portion (to pay dilapidations) . . . ought to be reckoned amongst his debts . . . and therefore to be preferred before legacies." "Of late years it has been in terms decided that the executor of a deceased incumbent is bound to satisfy simple contract debts before paying for dilapidations by the testator."

This is all still far from any system of regular annual payments to a cumulative fund securing the means for repairs. The system after Ottobon had some foreshadowing of such an arrangement, where it was laid down that after two months neglect to carry out repairs, and after monition by the Bishop or Archdeacon, the Bishop shall cause the same effectually to be done, at the costs and charges of such clerk, out of the profits of his church and benefice, causing so much thereof to be received as shall be sufficient for such reparation. Here it was interpreted definitely that the term "clerk" included both curates and Prebendaries. Previous inspection by or on behalf of the Archdeacon, as a result presumably of information from the churchwardens or some other responsible person, may no doubt be assumed here. The first

¹ *Repertorium Canonicum*, by J. Godolphin. London 1678.

² *The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England*; J. Phillimore; edn. 1873; vol. II; sub. cap. Dilapidations, for all references.

definite move towards the modern system was made by the Injunctions of Edward VI in 1547, where it was plainly enjoined:

“Also that the Proprietories, Parsons, Vicars and Clerks having Churches, Chappels or Mansions within this Deanery shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same Mansions or Chancells of their Churches being in decay, the fifth part of their Benefices, till the same be fully repaired; and the same so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good estate.”

This was repeated almost verbatim by Queen Elizabeth in her Injunctions of 1559. Her Canons of 1571 do not specifically notice reparations at all, but the Constitutions and Canons of 1603 ordered three-yearly inspection of Churches and report of defects to the King's Commissioners; nothing was said about parsonage houses. The Canons of 1640 have nothing at all on the subject of dilapidations.

From what has been said already it will be seen that the object of any legislation concerning dilapidations is to prevent waste, especially “permissive” waste, of benefice property, and that any regular system for dealing with the financial aspects of the matter was of slow and hesitating progress, whether in dealing with an incumbent actually in possession or with the results of his “waste” after he had left the benefice, whether by resignation, deprivation or death. The diocesan authority had a natural duty of supervision, especially as it was regarded as more permanent and less subject to change of tenure than any rights of the incumbent; in this connection, the existence of something like a permanent diocesan “civil service” no doubt had its effect. From the XIII Century at least it was realised that the central authority had two weapons against the living incumbent during his incumbency—those of inspection, compulsory if necessary, and of sequestration; after the incumbency, the remedies were less clearly systematised, against the late incumbent while he lived. The incumbent, on his side, might of his own accord invite inspection, if he desired to alter or to rebuild any part of his benefice houses or buildings, and also cause an inspection to be made immediately on taking up his benefice, as a measure of self-protection against possible charges of liability for defects due to the neglect of his predecessor. In all cases, it was evidently taken for granted that the money to pay for such repairs as from time to time might become necessary must come out of the stipend or other profits of the benefice, on which indeed they were a first charge. The fundamental assumption was that of the personal responsibility of the incumbent as tenant. The injunction of Edward VI, by ordering a fixed yearly payment of a definite part of the stipend, laid the foundation of the modern system, even though that injunction concerned itself only with payments for decays actually in existence. It was the problem of financial provision after the incumbent had left the benefice and ceased to be incumbent there which earlier times found difficult of solution; the predominant idea was that the new incumbent must

recover for the cost of repairs by suit against his predecessor in person if alive, or through his executors after his death; this clumsy and uncertain method was retained unchanged down to the beginning of the XIX Century. This remedy was open to him, and definitely advised by those learned in the law, even though "the dilapidations or ruines happened not in their times, but in the times of their predecessors" of the predecessors. "The reason is because those executors and administrators have the like action against the executors and administrators of their testator's predecessors, and may recover the value of the repairs against them; and if this action be not thus commenced, they cannot recover repairs otherways,"¹ and so, presumably, *ad infinitum*. The same work illustrates copiously the great variety of complications which might ensue in the course of this hunting for the person primarily responsible. For example, the actual person against whom the cause of dilapidation was moved might shew that the dilapidations did not happen in the time of his being incumbent, and that during such time he himself had laid out a sufficient sum about repairing (considering the yearly value, and the charges, as for hospitality, necessary upon his incumbency) . . . and that he who was incumbent before him, by whom the premises were suffered to come to ruin, died so in debt that he had not goods . . . sufficient to repair the dilapidations; or that the last incumbent did institute an action against his predecessor in whose time the dilapidations did happen, and that while this suit did depend this incumbent died, leaving no executors, being so much in debt as none durst or would administer . . . Or that he did commence a suit against the executors of the last incumbent, and that they were freed by the sentence of the Judge upon their plea of insufficiency of the goods; or that he obtained sentence against the executors . . . and that they were imprisoned . . . and died there, leaving no goods . . . sufficient to pay the dilapidations . . . and so forth.

There was some action which the incumbent might take by way of securing himself against possible trouble later :

"So soon as the . . . Rector or Vicar is inducted, he may procure Workmen, as House carpenters, Brick-layers, and the like, to inspect and view all the buildings which are fallen, or those which want repair, and they may write down for what sum, every Work-man may and will re-edifie and repair the same; and then the Workmen may put their hands to this paper, that they may remember the same, when they come to be produced as witnesses." The writer goes on to discuss the possible action of these witnesses, and of the witnesses who may be brought against them in evidence by the defendants, in great variety and detail, but sufficient has been given here already to elucidate the main points in the examples below. It is interesting to note that any specific provision

¹ *The Practice of the Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Courts*; by H. C. London, 1700, 2nd edn. p. 362 and foll.

for dilapidations in the will of an incumbent is of great rarity; such an entry might perhaps be expected after the Injunction of Edward VI, but the only case hitherto noted occurs in the will of John Rodger, Vicar of Brodsworth, made on the 13 of February, 1549/50, who orders :

“Item I will Mr. Vicar of Hutton Sir Peres of Adwicke Sir Robert Parkyn Sir Robert Scooleye and Sir Henry Caydbie shall meyte one daye and looke one my bookes: yt is my mynde everye one of them take ii of my bookes of the lest wollome The residew to be sold for the dilapidacions and also my too horses and kynne.”

But this seems to have been a man of unusually good memory or tender conscience, for he goes on to bequeath 8d. to “the balif wiefe” for a stewed capon, and 3d. for “a pott with ale,” formerly enjoyed and not paid for. The entry gives no explanation of the “dilapidations” to which the word refers, but it appears likely that the term is used in the sense of damage to benefice property.

The examples given below are not arranged in strict chronological order, but this is of less moment since common forms are found to prevail over a long period without variation, and little development can be traced between 1347 and 1547, nor is there much distinction between forms issued in relation to a living incumbent and those which refer to the situation after the death of an incumbent. No case has yet been noted where it is stated clearly that the whole process for dilapidations was set in motion as a result of a Visitation presentment, but the frequency of presentments of this nature renders such a step generally probable. For example, the entry for North Newbald in a Visitation Book for 1586, “Prebend house and chancell in decay,” has an evident connection with the North Newbald papers given below (No. X), and the presentments in R. VI. D. I., the earliest Visitation Book of the Archdeaconry of York in 1598, are frequently such as might have led to a cause for dilapidations :

f.48v. “Kirkesmeaton. Our Chauncell and parsonaidge houses are in decay ;”

f.58v. “Maultbye. Our vicaraidge house is in decaye.”

Though any claim to have searched the archiepiscopal Registers of York at all exhaustively cannot easily be made, it is permissible to say that references in the Registers to the whole subject of dilapidations are astonishingly scanty. The writer has found no instance where any reference is made in an Institution or Collation, except in the vaguest and most general terms; as we have already noted above, a mention of dilapidations in the will of any incumbent is of no less rarity, and usually nothing is found there beyond the most conventional and indefinite injunction to discharge the debts of the testator, amongst which dilapidations are presumably included. Even in the places where some reference more or less clear might naturally be expected, in

the documents for the establishment and endowment of a new incumbency, the same lack of precision is found. It may be that a considerable knowledge in detail is assumed in such an entry as the following, which is one of the plainest found, but certainly little is explicit. This example comes from the Register of Alexander Neville, f. 51, in a settlement with Hull Charterhouse for the "Dotacio et ordinacio vicarie de Sculcotes"; the date is 13 July 1381.

... "Ordinamus insuper quod vicarius qui pro tempore fuerit habeat illam partem situs Rectorie ad habitationem suam imperpetuum sicut se extendit a quadam venella ex parte australi usque ad cimiterium dicte ecclesie de Sculcotes ex parte boreali in latitudine et longitudine ab aqua de Hull sicut nunc est ex parte orientali secundum longitudinem cimiterii predicti cum aula et cameris eidem aule annexis pro mansione sua sumptibus ipsius vicarii sustendendam temporibus futuris. Ordinamus insuper quod vicarius qui pro tempore erit synodalia solvat ac panem et vinum pro celebracione divinorum in dicta ecclesia suis sumptibus inveniatis Religiosi vero onera ordinaria et extraordinaria dicti Prior et fratres suis sumptibus et expensis subeant et supportent."

We turn now to one of the best of the examples of the earlier method of dealing with ascertained dilapidations, due in this case to the late incumbent. The use of inquisition, inspection and sequestration are particularly to be noted; these all apparently conformed to well-established usage.

I.

Register Sede Vacante. f. 204.

York, 1 Feb. 1396/7.

Johannes de Neuton legum doctor Thesaurarius ecclesie Cathedralis beati Petri Ebor. Custos spiritualitatis et diocesis Ebor. sede archiepiscopali vacante dilectis nobis in Christo Magistro Johanni de Schefford baccalario in decretis ac decano Christianitatis Ebor. et domino Willelmo de Burton perpetuo vicario ecclesie parochialis beate Marie Episcopi Ebor. salutem in auctore salutis Quia super defectibus domorum mansi ecclesie parochialis beate Marie veteris Ebor. qui defectus tempore domini Roberti Savage ultimi Rectoris medietatis ecclesie predicte defuncti contingebant ad quorum reparacionem et emendacionem prefatus dominus Robertus dum vixit tenebatur inquirendum fore decrevimus justicia exigente vobis mandamus et alteri vestrum quatenus ad ipsam ecclesiam parochialem et mansum rectorie ejusdem pertinentem personaliter accedentes vel accedens per viros fidedignos tam clericos quam laicos ad hoc juratos hujus rei noticiam plenius optinentes vocatis primitus vocandis in hac parte inquisitionem faciatis per omnia diligenter qui quales et quot defectus in choro libris vestimentis et aliis ornamentis ipsius ecclesie necnon in manso domibus edificiis et aliis rebus ad dictam ecclesiam et Rectoriam pertinentibus invenient in presenti et pro quanta

summa pecunie singuli defectus hujusmodi reparari poterunt et refici competenter quorum eciam vel cujus temporibus defectus hujusmodi reparandi contingebant et si sic quid quantum quisque recepit et apposuit tempore suo pro refeccione eorundem necnon de omnibus et singulis circumstanciis in hujusmodi inquisicione necessariis et fieri consuetis Arcius sequestrantes auctoritate nostra omnia et singula bona dicti domini Roberti Rectoris defuncti in quorumcumque manibus vel manu possessionibus seu possessione in quibuscumque rebus vel facultatibus consistant ad summam videlicet quam dicti jurati in negocio inquisicionis per vos vel alterum vestrum ut permittitur capienda taxaverint seu limitaverint—

(Threat of major excommunication against those presuming to contravene this order or to lay hands on the above goods, and order to certify of proceedings on commission, with names of jury).

Our next example is that of the earliest and fullest file relating to dilapidations which is found amongst the Cause Papers in the Diocesan Registry, that numbered R. VII. F. 125, of the year 1411, dealing with recovery after the death of an incumbent. The first piece on the file is a certificate by Dr. Brian Fayrfax as special Commissary to Archbishop Henry Bowet, stating that he has received by the hands of Mr. John Bosham the Rector of Midleton the Archbishop's letters ordering—

II. “Quia super defectibus domorum cancelli librorum et aliorum ornamentorum ecclesie parochialis de Midleton nostre diocesis de tempore quo ds. Willelmus Fawdon nuper Rector ejusdem extiterat inquirendum fore decrevimus justicia id poscente vobis conjunctim et divisim mandamus quatenus vocatis coram vobis executoribus dicti defuncti sive occupatoribus bonorum . . . et aliis quorum interest in hac parte ad certos diem et locum quos ad hoc duxeritis statuendum ut inquisicioni super dictis defectibus intersint . . .”

Next comes the Archbishop's mandate to the Archdeacon :

“Henricus permissione divina (etc.) . . . Dilectis in Christo filiis Magistris Ricardo Pittes Archidiacono nostro Clyveland et Willelmo Cawod canonico residenciario in ecclesia nostro Ebor. salutem gratiam et benedictionem Ad cognoscendum procedendum statuendum et fine debito terminandum in negocio inquisicionis super reparacione defectuum cancelli ornamentorum et domorum Rectorie de Midleton juxta Pikeryng nostre diocesis tempore mortis domini Willelmi Fawdon ultimi Rectoris ejusdem ecclesie defuncti notorie contingencium juxta formam mandati et citacionis auctoritate vicarii nostri generalis nobis in remotis agente in hac parte factorum cum suis emergentibus incidentibus dependentibus et connexis vobis de quorum consciencie puritate ac industria circumscripta (? *for* circumspecta) plenam in domino fiduciam reportamus conjunctim et divisim harum serie committimus vices nostras cum cujusibet coercicionis canonice pot-

estate. Datum in castro nostro de Cawod secundo die mensis Octobris A.D. millesimo cccc. undecimo Et nostre translacionis quarto."

This is followed by a lengthy certificate by Richard Wetwang, clerk to the Archbishop, stating that he has received letters from Mr. Richard Pittes, which he quotes in full, ordering him to cite ds. Richard Hephill and Elizabeth Hephill, executors of the will of William Fawdon late Rector of Middleton, to appear at York on Friday after Michaelmas next, to show cause—

"quare in summa triginta sex librarum sex solidorum et octo denariorum sterlingorum per inquisitores in negocio inquisitionis super reparacione defectuum cancelli ornamentorum et domorum Rectorie dicte ecclesie de Middleton tempore mortis domini Willelmi nuper Rectoris notorie contingencium auctoritate Reverendi patris legitime receptos juratos et examinatos taxatos et sufficienter probatos non debeant condemnari . . ."

He proceeds to state that he has so cited the parties. This is followed by an allegation by the executor Richard Hephill, priest, that he is—

"liber et immunis ab omni et omnimoda obligacione negligencia seu incuria ex persona dicti defuncti et mea racione seu pretextu aliquorum defectuum . . ."

he complains that Brian Fayrfax and John Carleton, the Official of the Archdeacon of Cleveland have refused to admit his plea or to allow him to have copies of the various mandates, citations and certificates, and enters formal notice of his appeal to Rome. Then we have two lengthy and detailed documents giving the day to day procedure of a cause before Mr. Pittes, from 9 October to 4 December 1411, throughout which the defendant party contumaciously refused to appear. Finally, there is a roll of attestations, apparently those taken in Middleton Church during the inquisition. The evidence has many features which are of interest for our present study. The first witness was Mr. Gibson, Rector of Slyngesby, aged 40 and over, who attested on oath—

"quod credit quod Willelmus Fawdon tempore institutionis sue invenit domos cancellum et edificia ecclesie parochialis de Middleton aliquialiter ruinosam et quod plures defectus tunc temporis circa premissa inveniebat . . . dicit eciam quod idem ds. W.F. nichil recepit a predecessoribus suis vel executoribus predecessorum suorum pro hujusmodi defectibus reparandis et dicit ultra quod idem ds. W. habuit eandem ecclesiam de Middleton ex permutacione et eciam . . . quod idem ds. W. nichil apposuit ut iste testis credit circa reparacionem dictorum defectuum per septem annos in quibus fuit Rector ibidem excepto quod solomodo fecit tecturam mansi camerarum . . . pertinencium punctari Anglice Poynted cum calce et sabulo Item dicit . . . quod finis orientalis ecclesie parochialis de Middleton est valde ruinosus et defectivus in pariete et quod defectus hujusmodi non reparari possunt com-

petenter pro minori summa quam pro centum solidis sterlingorum Et quod domus vocata Pistrinum et pandoxatorium et alie domus ex parte australi dicte Aule paciuntur plures defectus in trabibus parietibus meremio reparacione necessaria . . . defectus non possunt reparari citra summam xxvi solidorum et octo denariorum sterlingorum Et dicit . . . quod Aula ac camere ac duo camina anglice Chymneys earundem camerarum et coquina . . . in parietibus coopertura tectura et meremio paciuntur quamplures defectus qui defectus non possunt sufficienter supleri et reparari pro minori summa quam pro decem libris sterlingorum Item . . . orreum et domus vocata le Fehows ac stabulum et alie diverse domus ex parte boreali dicte Aule ac columbare et parietes ad domum mansum et clausuram ejusdem pertinencia ac due fores sive porte in clausura . . . paciuntur plures defectus qui non possunt sufficienter reparari pro minori summa quam pro triginta libris Et dicit ultra quod dictum magnum orreum est ita defectivum quod ad terram proici et de novo (? aedificari) oportebit."

The following also attested at the same time :—

The Rector of Barton in Rydall (name torn away) aged 40;
 ds. Simon Smyth Rector of Nonnyngton, aged 50;
 ds. John Story Rector of Levesham aged 32;
 ds. John Walas Vicar of Pikeryng, aged 50;
 ds. John Vescy Chaplain of Allerston, aged 50;
 ds. John Cropton Chaplain of Cropton, aged 54;
 and John Newton of Pikeryng aged 50, John Kilby of Middleton aged 40, Wm. Smale of Middleton aged 40, with John Scott of Lokton aged 40. Their evidence was almost word by word the same as that recorded for the first witness. The sentence or finding is not found on the file; the appeal to Rome perhaps made the cause inconclusive.

Amongst the clearest and most explicit of the pre-Edward VI references, which are far from numerous, is the following from a libel of Articles in a cause, R.As.4.12, of date 1528. The defendant was William Murton, Vicar of Warthill, against whom a long and varied list of charges was brought; towards the end of them come these :

"Item (articulamus et tibi obicimus) quod tu habuisti de Willelmo Wedderell et Johanne Johnson executoribus domini Roberti York predecessoris tui xxs. pro dilapidacionibus vicarie tue de Warthill. Item quod duo orria pertinencia ad dictam vicariam de Warthill sunt fundotenus devastata quorum meremia partem Willelmo Aclum vendidisti et aliam partem combussisti."

The later record of the cause does not make it apparent whether these charges were supported by any evidence, or whether there were any further proceedings concerning them, but the clauses quoted show that there was a well-established practice regarding dilapidations, for that is implicit in the form of the articles, and from what has been set forth already we may make a

fairly coherent idea of the nature and scope of that practice in the days before the Royal Injunction of A.D. 1547.

Later examples of a Commission to view, followed by a licence to pull down, to alter, and to rebuild, are numerous. The machinery might be set in motion by the Churchwardens, presumably by their Presentment in Visitation, or more usually by the petition of the Incumbent himself.

III.

“Commission, Girton, to view the vicaridge house.

Henry Watkinson Doctor of Lawes Vicar Generall and Officiall Principal to the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas (etc.) To our welbeloved Mr. William Maulton Rector of Collingham Mr. William Clerke Rector of North Scarle and Mr. Thomas Andrews Vicar of Sutton upon Trent Greeting Whereas wee are credibly informed by a Certificate under the hands of the Churchwardens and Inhabitants of Girton in the County of Nottingham and Dioces of York that the vicaridge house of the same, containeing three small bays of building . . . may be taken away without any detriment or damage to the Vicaridge, it being rather an incumbrance and charge then any advantage to the Vicaridge, Wee therefore taking the premises into consideration have thought fitt and do by these presents give full power and authority to you (names) to see and view the Vicaridge house of Girton and to certifie . . . (Etc.) 16 June 1689.”

IV. “A Commission to view a vicaridge house in decay.

John by divine providence etc. To our well beloved Robt. Thornton clerk Rector of Birkin *blank* Strood Clerk Vicar of Monck Friston *blank* Jefferson Clerk Vicar of Wistow M. Beake Curate of Carlton John Ashton Esq. Humfrey Brooks Esq. John Tomlinson Gent. and Peter Tomlinson Gent. Greeting. Whereas Wee are credibly informed by the present Vicar of Brayton and divers considerable parishioners there, that the dwelling house and other buildings belonging to the Vicarage of Brayton are through the neglect of the late Incumbent who dyed indigent soe very ruinous and soe much decayed that they are past repairing and therefore the present Incumbent has prayed our licence to pull downe the dwelling house and other buildings promising he will erect a new house with convenient out houses suitable to the aforesaid Vicaridge and fitt and convenient for the Vicar there and his successors to reside in; in order to the effecting of which these are to give full power and authority to you the said (names) or any six or more of you whereof three to be of the Clergie and two of the layetie to see and view the Vicaridge house and other buildings belonging to it dilapidated as aforesaid and to certifie under your hands if the same can conveniently be repaired and amended; if not what in your judgments you think fitting to be done, if a new house and outhouses necessary to be built and erected and the old buildings pulled downe, then to signifie the dimensions of such new buildings

and of what extent they must be, that wee may grant our further order therein as shall be thought fitt and to justice appertaines And this you are desired to do with all convenient speed. Given under the seale of our office the 4th day of Febr. 1684/5."

In the case of Kirk Bramwith in 1730 the Commission to view has a clause stating definitely that it is issued

"To the end therefore that no Damage or Detriment may accrew to the Successors of the Rectory of Kirk-Bramwith either by building too Large or too Little a parsonage House or upon a worse or more Inconvenient Scituation."

The Licence to rebuild at Kirk Bramwith was in the following terms :

V. "A Licence to build the new Parsonage of Kirk Bramwith.

Lancelot by divine providence etc. To . . . John Bird Clerk Rector of Kirkbramwith . . . Greeting Whereas we lawfully proceeding have lately issued our Commission to take a View of the ruinous Parsonage house of the Rectory of Kirkbramwith and likewise of the place where a new one is proposed to be built by you to the rebuilding whereof upon the place by you proposed and very nigh unto the place where the old one now stands His Grace John Duke of Rutland Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster and as such patron of the Rectory of Kirkbramwith hath given his consent under his hand and seal And whereas it hath been made appear unto us by a Certificate under the hands of four severall persons nominated in our Commission that a new Parsonage house built according to the plan annext to these presents instead of the old ruinous decayed house both with respect to its dimensions and scituation will be a most commodious Habitation not only for you the present Rector but likewise for your Successors the Rectors of Kirkbramwith and their families inhabiting the same We therefore taking the premises into our serious consideration and being fully satisfied that the building of a new Parsonage House upon the place proposed in the manner and according to the dimension specified and set forth in the plan hereunto annext will be no detriment but on the contrary very beneficiall to your Successors Have upon your petition to us made thought fit to grant and do by these presents grant to you John Bird our full leave licence and authority to take and pull down the old ruined Parsonage House of the Rectory of Kirkbramwith or so much thereof as shall be thought necessary and instead thereof to build or cause to be built a new convenient and well built Parsonage House . . . (and to certify proceedings) . . . under the hands of the Church wardens and four of the principall inhabitants of the parish of Kirkbramwith on or before the Feast of St. Michael the Arch Angel next . . . At York under the seal of our Consistory Court the **last day of September** in the year of our Lord 1731."

The Certificates sent in by the Commissioners to view are generally no more than brief and formal statements that the house, or barn or other building concerned, can be taken down, or rebuilt, without damage to the present Incumbent or to his successors, and that the work proposed will be to the convenience of the Incumbent. These papers often contain details which are useful as giving an idea of the size and arrangements of clergy houses. For instance, at Hawnby in 1732, the Rector in his petition stated that he proposed to rebuild the parsonage house to contain "51 foot in length, 15 in breadth and 18 foot in the front thereof in height with a To-fall about 22 foot long and 7 foot broad on the North side such new house for offices," or at Harthill in 1718, where the new house was to be "three stories high to contain forty six foot in front and to be thirty six foot deep likewise to pull down the old pidgeon house and to fitt up another upon the old foundations of an outbuilding belonging to the parsonage And also to pull down the old Brewhouse and to convert a vacant room under the Grainery of the parsonage into a Brewhouse in such sort and manner as you shall be thereunto advised by able and skilfull workmen haveing due regard to the convenience and advantage of your Successors as well in the commodiousness and decencye of the buildings as in the duration thereof"; or most fully of all at South Ottrington in 1717, where licence was issued to William Pullen as Rector of two medieties there "to rebuild the parsonage house twentytwo inches North from the front of the old parsonage house, to containe in length 47 foot and in breadth 23 foot and in height 24 foot to the square, to consist of the several roomes and offices following viz., a fore kitchen to contain 12 foot square a Hall thirteen foot and a halfe square a Dining room 13 foot and a half square a Dairy and Pantry 13 foot long and 7 broad a stair case 10 foot long and 7 broad a back kitchen six yards long and 7 foot broad and a pair of stairs there a kitchen chamber 12 foot square a Hall chamber 13 foot square a chamber over the dining room 13 foot and a half square a Study 7 foot square a chamber over the dairy 13 foot and a half long and 7 foot broad a chamber over the back kitchen 18 foot long and 7 foot broad."

A licence to rebuild at Methley in 1690 states that the decays are "through the neglect and by reason of the long non-residence of the late Incumbent there," and gives as an additional reason that the old house is "very incommodiously built and scituated."

The attestations in causes where the incumbent was forced to sue for recovery often show how the personal responsibility of the incumbent for the good state of his parsonage buildings might involve him in heavy expenditure, but also make it clear that there was no lack of incumbents who were not disposed to shirk that responsibility. To take an early example, in a cause at Wharram Percy in 1555 the attestation is for the defence of a Vicar who had resigned and was being sued by his successor. The witness quoted is William Holme of Raistroke in the parish of Wharomepercy, husbandman, aged about 60; he said :

VI.

"There belongeth but two oxgangs of arable lande, and scarce two acre of medowe to the vicaraig of Wharompercye, over and besids his pencion in money which he recevyth at the king and quenes majesties hands, and that there haith not growne upon the two oxgangs of lande for this xii yeres by past above two or thre lods of corne in one yere, so farre as he could exteme yt. And that by his estimacion there did not growe upon the said meadowe above two lode of haye For he saieth that he helpte to occupie and mawe the arable lande and medowe belonging to a Chauntrey which one Sir William Burneby this examine's uncle had at Wharompercye, and haith even as much arable lande and medowe belonging to it as the vicaraig haith, xii yeres or thereabouts before he died and yt is xiiii yeres sence he died And by all that tyme he had not in the best yere of his arable lande above thre lodes of corne and of his medowe above two lods of haie And yt was better then then yt is nowe.

Super octavo articulo . . . dicit that he haith seen at divers tymes before the Vicaraige was brent by chaunce of fyer many warkmen at the Vicaraige And did see many things were maid about the house which he beleveth cost Sir Marmaduke (the late Vicar) above xx li.

Super undecimo . . . that he haieth vewed the house at Wharompercye And that there is a sufficient rume to lye all the corne and haie belonging the vicaraige in And asmuche buylding and better buildyng nowe then where was whan Sir Marmaduke came unto yt."

Other witnesses confirmed this evidence in similar terms; "the Vicaraig and houses about it were newe buylded by Sir Marmaduke sence they were brent which cost him as the witness beleveth by his estimacion xxli. or more . . . The Vicaraig was in better reparacions and better buylded when he left yt than when he came unto yt of this deponent's certyn knowlege."

There is, of course, ample evidence to show that the ecclesiastical authorities realised that they were not in law remote from all action to bring a negligent incumbent to a sense of his responsibility, and that they had in their hands sufficient machinery to provide the funds required for the making good of any dilapidations which his negligence might have caused. The chief immediate source was by sequestration of the benefice income. A good example of this method in operation comes from Womersley in 1685.

VII.

"Johannes providencia divinia Ebor. Archiepiscopus etc. Dilectis nobis in Christo etc. Willelmo Ellin Robt. Brogden Joh. Thorley & Geo. Jackson de Womersley (and five others) Salutem in Domino. Cum nobis ex relatione virorum fidedignorum necnon de confessione vicarii moderni (liquet) ecclesia parochialis de

Womersley nostre Ebor. diocesis aliaque edificia ad vicariam et ecclesiam parochialem de Womersley pertinentes per negligenciam Vicarii moderni ibidem adeo ruinosa et defectuosa in presenti existunt ita ut reparacione et confessione cum omni celeritate qua poterit fienda indigent Cumque hujusmodi decasus ad Johannem Slater clericum Vicarium modernum . . . de Womersley spectant et pertinent ac per eum refici debent Et quia Johannes Slater decasus et ruinas reparare et reficere non curaverit seu saltem neglexerit Nos igitur volentes quod decasus et defectus reparari poterint omnes et singulos fructus redditus proventus et obventiones ipsius Vicarie porcione competente pro sustentacione Vicarii excepta et reservata ad et in reparacionem domus mansionalis aliorumque edificiorum sequestrandum fore duximus ita ut fructus et redditus excepta porcione competenti predicta in reparacionem decasuum indilate erogentur et allocentur ac custodiam hujusmodi sequestri nostri vobis conjunctim et divisim sic ut premittiture committendum fore duximus prout tenore presentium committimus . . . (with order to publish the sequestration, and to levy and receive the moneys sequestered) . . . ac sub tuto at arcto sequestro ad effectum predictum custodiendum donec nobis de reparacione ruinarum et decasuum sufficienter constat computumque de et super receptis collectis et expositis in hac parte fiendum cum ad id congrue fueritis requisiti debite reddendum Vos conjunctim et divisim sequestratores nostros in hac parte ordinamus facimus et constituimus per presentes quousque duxerimus revocandum. Emanavit 14 Febr. 1684/5."

But the instances where action was taken to prevent the incumbent from permitting or causing dilapidation of his Vicarage property are not numerous in the records. A striking example, with curious features, is the prosecution in 1683 of the then Vicar of Whitkirk, Jonathan Dade. In this well documented cause it is not clear who promoted the action; the probability seems to be that the cause was "ex officio" by the mere office of the Judge, or Official, at the request of one or more of the Churchwardens of Whitkirk. The dilapidation at issue was the misuse of the vicarage glebe land; as follows :

VIII.

By the Laws Canons & Constitutions ecclesiasticall . . . no Parson or Vicar . . . ought to commit any manner of wast delapidation or destruccion in any of the houses edifices woods trees inclosures gleablands or grounds belonging to any parsonage or Vicarage within this Realme and particularly ought not to digg any manner of coalpitts within any of the said gleab lands or grounds to the disherison prejudice and injury of his successor . . . nor ought to pull downe any house cottage or other manner of building upon pain of deprivation suspension or other ecclesiasticall censure to be inflicted upon him according to the severity of his offence. Item tibi objicimus that you Jonathan Dade (have been for eight years and still are Vicar of Whitkirk duly instituted)

. . . within the space of two years last past or thereabouts hast broken the ground and sunck severall Coal pitts in the Gleab lands and grounds belonging to your Vicarage . . . and have digged and undermined the grounds and have gott vast quantities of Coals in the same, to witt 600, 700, 800, 900, or 1000 wain loads of Coales in each of the said years, and have sold and made merchandize of the same, over and above what you have expended as fuel for the necessary use of your house, and have divers and sundry times confessed that you have made 30 li. or 40 li. per annum or thereabouts cleare out of the Coales digged out of the severall Coalpitts or Collyery . . . and particularly you . . . have digged seven severall distinct Coal pitt holes in a certain Close called the Lower Park containing by estimacion seven acres or thereabouts, heretofore usually lett for about £4 per annum, As also three Coal pitt holes in two Closes called the Viccar or Upper Parks containing by estimacion seven acres or thereabouts and heretofore usually lett for about £4 per annum, All which Closes are part and parcell of the gleab lands . . . and have digged and undermined the said Closes, and have come very nigh the Churchyard, and have severall times declared that you intend to digg into and undermine the same, As also the Church itself, because the Seem or Veine of Coale where you have caused to be digged goes directly underneath it.

In case you . . . do make up or fill the Coalpitts the ground where the pitts are digged will sinck or fall in so far that little or no profitt can ever hereafter be made of the same or the sale thereof And the reall damage or prejudice accrewing to the benefice or vicarage of Whitkirk and the gleab lands or grounds by the digging of the Coalpitts and getting the Coale did and doth amount to £7 per annum or thereabouts, And in case you shall be permitted to go on and sinck Coalpitts and digg for coales in the rest of the gleab lands . . . the vicarage of Whitkirk will be very much impoverished . . . and those Closes will not in all probability be worth 40s. per annum which are now worth the summe of 12li. per annum." There is a further charge of pulling down a cottage belonging to the Vicarage, selling the timber, and converting the proceeds to his own use. The prosecution alleged that on Dade's institution in 1674 the Vicarage property was not much in need of repair, so that the necessary work might have been done for about forty shillings, but Dade had spent too little on repairs during his incumbency, while through his negligence the damage was becoming greater; Richard Wright, the immediate predecessor of Dade, "did not dye insolvent but left at the time of his death an estate capable and sufficient to discharge all his debts and to repair all and singular the dilapidations . . ." It was further stated that of the money which had actually been spent by Dade some was "the voluntary contribution of some of the parishioners of Whitkirk, and not the proper money of Jonathan Dade," so introducing a new feature into the dilapidations system; Dade in his defence did not attempt to deny this form of contribution,

but only alleged that it was "small and inconsiderable." One of the witnesses for the prosecution, who declared that he had been employed by Mr. Dade to sink coal pits for him, supported the allegation that the Vicar intended to follow the seam under the Church and come up in another glebe field on the other side, and added "Should Mr. Dade now fill up the Coal pitt holes, yet the grounds are so shaken and spoyled by the undermining thereof and by the Coal slack and rubbish that lye upon the same that little or no profitt can ever be made of the soile thereof hereafter." Another witness agreed, because "the grounds, when the puncheons lett in to the pitts by the Collyers to support the roof of the work are removed, will sink and fall in and be sore shaken, and in case the puncheons bee nott removed yet ordinarily in a few monthes the same will rott and break and the grounds fall in and sink."

To turn now to examples of causes where the incumbent had found it necessary to proceed for recovery against the executors of his predecessor. Recent legislation has excluded Canonries from the operation of the Dilapidations system, but it is evident from the records that in earlier times these were treated exactly as any other incumbency. Where a Prebendary was responsible for the upkeep of the prebend house in York and of the parsonage house in the parish belonging to his prebend, it was necessary for the incoming prebendary to obtain satisfaction for dilapidations caused during the occupation of his predecessor by proceeding against the estate of that predecessor. Two clear cases of this may be quoted; in neither case is the document precisely dated, but there is no reason to question that each falls within the decade 1580-1590 or nearly so, and both give useful details of the character and appearance of the houses concerned, as well as of contemporary wages and prices.

IX.

Joh. Dakyns clerk contra Hen. Hawarden executor of Mast. Tho. Howghton dum vixit prebendarious de Fenton.

The Articles show that Tho. Howghton entered on the resignation of Willm. Willifed and held the prebend for upwards of ten years, during which he received all the fruits and profits for the "competentem et sufficientem reparacionem et reedificacionem domorum et edificiorum ruinosorum et dirutorum;" he appointed Hen. Hawarden and Hen. Howghton as his executors, of whom Hen. Howghton died after Tho. Howghton but before the payment of the debts of Thomas.

"Prebenda de Fenton ab antiquo habuit et habet in presenti duas domus principales . . . unam infra precinctum et ambitum ecclesie metropolitane . . . et alteram apud Fenton viz. Rectoria ecclesie parochialis ibidem. . . . due domus principales ab antiquo habebant domos et edificia competentia pro hospitalitate canonici residentiarii . . . separatim fovenda et manutenenda viz. aulas parluras coquinas promptuaria cameras pistrinas stabula horea et alias domos necessarias et decentes . . . (quae) culpa seu

negligencia Thome Howghton graves passe sunt et habuerunt ruinas et dilapidaciones. Joh. Dakyns est immediatus successor Mag. Howghton in prebenda predicta," and sues Hawarden for the amounts necessary to make good the dilapidations, which are according to a schedule annexed :

"The ruynes and dekayes of the bribendarie house of Fenton within the precincte of the churcye of Yorke, and the parsonage mansion of Fenton belonging to the same pribende with the edifices to the same belonging do folowe.

The hall at Yorke.

In primis for timbre and workemanshipe	vili.
Item for tile late naylls lime sande workemanshipe	vili. xiiis. iiid.
Item in fourmes byncks and boordes	xxvis. viiid.

The chambres over the buttrey

In primis in tymbre and workemanshipe	vili.
Item in tile lathe (etc.)	vli.

The housse betwyxt the buttrey and the kytching.

Item in tyle lathe (etc.)	xxvis. viiid.
Item for making of a range in the same	iiili. vis. viiid.

The stable

Item tymbre & workemanshipe	vli.
Item in lathe naylles (etc.)	xls.

The woodehowse and chambre over it

Item in tymbre boordes and workemanshipe	iiili.
Item in tyle lathe nayles lyme plaster sand & workemanshipe	xxvis. viiid.
Item for mendyng the well	vs.

The gate howse

Item for tymbre workemanshipe and other necessities for the same	vli. vis. viiid.
Item for mendyng the lodgyngs towardes the screne	

Summa xlviili. vis. viiid.

The parsonage of Fenton.

Fyrste for setting up chambres and lodgyng that be cleane } taken a waye in Mr. Howghtons tyme wythe the botrey } and pantrie	xli.
Item for makyng up the stable	vili. xiiis. iiid.
Item for repayring the hall and other howses } yet remayning and sore decayed }	vili. xiiis. iiid.
Item for glasing and repayring the qweres at } Sherborne and Fenton }	iiili.

Summa lviili. vis. viiid.

Item quod cancella sancti Moritii in suburbiis civitatis } Ebor. ad dictam prebendam spectantis et pertinentis } est ruinoso ad valorem	viili.
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Summa totalis cxiili. xviiis. iiid."

In the next case, we have the matter from the side of the defendants, Miles Sandes, as Prebendary of North Newbald, sued Christopher, Abraham and Magdalene Asheburne, "executors" of Christopher Asheburne, late Prebendary of the same, who held the prebend for twelve years before his death, and died intestate. The defendants admitted that "the administratoures were sworne to paie his debtes and to do and perfourme other thinges so fare as the goods of Christopher wold extende and as the lawe wolde bynde them," and they stated "that the Ruynes decaies and dilapidacions of the houses and buyldings belonging to the prebende of Northnewbalde and the Chauncell of the same church at the tyme of the death of Christopher Asheburne mentioned in the schedule annexed to the libell were in decaie to the somme of C. markes of lawfull Englishe money, and could be repaired with no lesse . . . and there came sufficient goods of Chris. Asheburne deceased to the hands of Magdaleyne Asheburne deceased and to Christopher and Abraham the administrators to paie the somme of C markes for the decaies . . . and the Administrators have bene and yet are all redie save Magdalene who is departed this life to give the somme of C markes to the reparacions and redifying of the Ruynes and decaies . . . being thereunto required by the partie of Mr. Sands or otherwise to geve the somme of C. marks to Mr. Sands to repaire the premisses with all."

X.

"A Schedule conteyninge the ruynes and decaies in and abowte the prebende of Northnewbalde and other howses belonging to the same at Northnewbalde as foloweth viz.

Timber worke

The hall kitchin and a litle howse adjoyninge xl

okes	xxvili. xiiis. iiid.
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The chambers one over the parlior and ii other adjoyninge

xxty okes	xiiili. vis. viiid.
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The Garner Chamber with a Stable xii okes	viili.
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The barne standinge fyve okes	iiili. vis. viiid.
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The barne downe xxty okes	xxli.
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A lesse barne and an oxe howse xxty okes	xiiili. vis. viiid.
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A kilne standinge of forkes xii okes	viili.
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The Dove Cote two okes	xxvis. viiid.
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The milln for wheles bayes water workes and roofe xx okes

	xiiili. vis. viiid.
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Summa Cviili. vis. viiid.

The Cariadge of the okes after xxli. the hundred	xxxiiili. iiis.
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The workmanshippe of all savinge the mill	xviili.
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The workmanshippe of the mill	xli.
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Stone worke

The hall kitchin and litle howse viii score lode of stone }

everie lode at vid. with the cariadge	iiili.
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The workmanshippe of these	vli.
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The walls of the parlor and other litle Rowmes xl lode	}	xxs.
of stones		
Workmanshapp of the same		xls.
for plaisteringe for the garner chamber vi tonn of	}	xvis.
plaister at xxd. the tonne, and iis. caryinge of everye		
lode		xliis.
A thowsande bricke for a Chimney there		xliis.
Caryinge of the same iis. a lode		liiis.
Workmanshippe		vli.
For the great barne lxxx lode of stone		xls.
Workmanshapp for xii roode every roode vs. beinge	}	liili.
higher walls		
Stone for the kilne xl lodes		liiis. liiid.
Workmanshapp		liiis. liiid.
For flooring of two chambers over the parlor iiii tonn	}	xliis. viiid.
of plaister xxd. a tonne everye lode iis. cariage		
Workmanshippe for the same		vliis.
Repairinge the Cancell		xxs.
Summa xxvili. ix.		

The decaies of the mansion howse of the Prebend of Northnewbald in the Citie of Yorke in Bryan Darragons possession, viz.

Timber worke

Three roomes decayed of xxxiiii foote longe for x trees		
after xs. an oke for ix and one other at xliis. liiid.	vli. liis. liiid.	
The wrights workmanshapp for the same roome		vliis.
A thowsand and a half of thacke tile		xlvs.
The cariage of the tile		liis. liiid.
Latts half a thowsand		vs.
Latt nailes ii thowsand		liis.
A chawder of lyme		vliis.
A chawder of plaister	xliis. liiid.	
Half a thowsand of bricke		vs.
Sand to the same rome		xs.

Timber worke

For the Tyler's workmanshippe		ls.
Other decayes in the same howse for iiii oks at xliis. liiid.	liiis. liiid.	
Workmanshippe of the wrights to the same	liiis. liiid.	
Stuffe and workmanshippe of the tiler abowte the same		
tenemente	liili. vis. viiid.	

Summa xxiili. xixs. liiid." [not dated, but about 1590].

There is also a schedule of £26. 8s. 6d. for repairs to "William Drinkills howse," making a sum total of £240 and an illegible fraction.

One of the most fully documented of these Executor causes is that relating to Kirkby Misperton Rectory in 1581-82. The newly instituted Rector, Christopher Gregorie, brought the

action against the executors of Francis Ellerker the late Rector, whose incumbency, as we know from other records at York, had been somewhat stormy. The prosecution described Kirkby Misperton Rectory as "A Mansion house with a hall and certaine parlors and chambers adjoyninge to the same, a kytchinge a buttrye a portor lodge a portche to the sayd hall a tenemente and a barne yett standinge and an other barne pulled downe and caryed away and a house latelye adjoyning to a stable lykewise taken downe and caryed away and a stable and other houses"; he claimed that the dilapidations could not be repaired and made good for less than £96. 6s. 8d. The first witness for the prosecution, John Gell of York, bricklayer, made it clear that Mr. Gregory had been prompt after his institution to have the necessary survey of the Rectory house and buildings made by workmen "accordinge to their knowledge and experience in their sciences whereby they have longe time gotten their livings," with their estimate of the minimum cost at which they would be prepared to undertake the rebuilding or repairs. These technical witnesses, as bricklayers and carpenters, were all drawn from York, and the defence made this a strong point against them in challenging Mr. Gregory's figures, on the ground that :

XI.

"for the moste parte they have wrought in the Cyttie of Yorke or in the countrie nighe adjoyninge to the same Cyttie and not in the countrie . . . and by reason (thereof they) have estimated the decaies verrie unreasonable and excessivelie accordinge as perhaps they woulde have esteemed the same if they had bene within the Cittie of Yorke or thereabouts and not after such reasonable rate and price as (might be) verrie well made at Kyrkby Misperton and in the country nexte adjoyninge rounde aboute thereto.

. . . that all manner of tymber and all manner of other stuffe necessarie for buildings or the reparacyon of buildinges by the space of tenn yeres last past hath bene and yett is better cheape and for lesse price by and after the rate of vs. in everie xxs., xxd. in everie noble, and iid. in everie shillinge at the least at Kirkby Misperton and the country thereabouts then by all the saide tyme or anie parte of it the like tymber or other stuffe can or coulde have bene bought within the Cittye of Yorke or in the countrie within v myles of the same. And . . . that meate and drinke for workemen maie be had better cheape for buildinge workemen at Kirkby Misperton . . . then it can or maie be had or maide in Yorke by the some of iid or iiid in everie meale at the leaste.

. . . that by the custome of the Cittie of Yorke bricklayers and carpenters have not usuallie wrought dayetale worke anie longer then from vi of the clocke in the morninge till vi at night Or from v in the morninge untill vii at night at the furthiest But bricklayers and carpenters of the countrie usuallie have wrought and worke from sonne rysinge till sonne settinge there dayetale

worke and sometymes longer, And the waiges of the bricklayers of Yorke ar much more then the wages of the bricklayers and carpenters of Kirkby Misperton and other places thereabouts . . . the Maister bricklayers and the maister carpenters of Yorke have usuallie taiken and do taike vid. of the daye and everie under workeman . . . (illegible) with meate and everie maister bricklayer and everie maister carpenter xd. in the daye and everie under workman viiid. in the daye (without) meate and drinke But aswell the maister bricklayer and carpenter as the under bricklayers and carpenters at Kirkby Misperton be well contented with vid. a daye without meate and drinke and iiid. a daye with meate and drinke."

The effect of this protest by the defence against the witnesses for the prosecution is somewhat weakened by the fact that all the technical witnesses for the defence, whether carpenters, thatchers or tilers, were from Alne, Tollerton, Yowton or Flawith.

A slightly unusual variation is introduced in the case of Welton Vicarage in 1685, which otherwise follows the forme exemplified. Here Richard Bravile as Vicar was suing the widow and executor of John Dove his predecessor, and pleaded as usual that she had received sufficient estate to discharge the debts of the deceased and also to pay the dilapidations required. She in reply proposed to remove the responsibility not once but twice :

XII.

"All the dilapidations . . . and more particularly the falling downe of the barne . . . which was occasioned by a violent storme or tempest, happened in the late time of usurpacion or rebellion dureing the time that one John Haines clerk was in possession of the vicaridge by vertue of a pretended authority derived from the power then in being and before the happy Restauracion of the late King Charles the Second of blessed memory and especially before the 24th day of June 1660, and neither the same nor any part thereof happened duing the incumbency of Dr. Johnson who was inducted into the Vicaridge immediately after the happy Restauracion . . . the immediate successor of John Haines, nor during the incumbency of John Dove the immediate successor of Dr. Johnson."

The main complication here was that by virtue of the Act of pardon indemnity and oblivion all debts incurred before 24 June 1660 were cancelled, and that there was "another Act of Parliament for a generall and free pardon from all . . . things not particularly expressed and forprized before and to 25 March 1673 . . . and no manner of dilapidations are excepted out of the acts of pardon unless such for which any suite was depending at the time of the making of the Act or the first day of the sessions of the Parliament." Anne Dove evidently had no redress against John Haines, for he "in the time of whose pretended incumbency the old barne fell down or was demolished was removed or turned out from the possession of the vicaridge of Welton upon the Res-

tauracion of the late King Charles II, and that at the time of his leaving the same and ever after till he died he was altogether poore insolvent and not in any capacity or condicion to make any reparacion . . . and that immediately after his removall he went into some remote parts of this kingdome and there did skulk or abscond himselfe for fear of being arrested or clapt up for debt and could not be found or heard of ever after till he dyed." The widow seems to have gone far to satisfy the Court that Mr. Dove discharged all his duties in putting the vicarage property into good repair, and that any defects since were due to the neglect of Mr. Bravile himself.

The documents hitherto quoted may serve to illustrate the usual practice in relation to dilapidations previous to recent legislation, at least in their main features. Our final example is of a somewhat more unusual nature, although probably not unique, and will enable us to end on a more pleasant note.

XIII.

"To the Gentlemen and Inhabitants of St. Mary's Parish in Nottingham.

WHEREAS upon the death of your late Minister Mr. Masterman there was a Parish meeting call'd according to the usuall manner And it was then proposed and consented to by all that were present That the Vicaridge house being much decay'd and out of repaire (as appear'd upon a view then taken) should be repair'd at the parish charge out of respect to Mr. Masterman's memory and in kindnesse to his daughter who otherwise had been left very destitute and in a meane condicion. I make it my humble request to the Gentlemen and Inhabitants of the parish who are concern'd to pay Church-assessments That they would be pleas'd to signifie their approbacion or dislike of the said charge (that is) onely of the necessary repaires of the building and noe more (I myself having been at above 35 li. charge as I am ready to make appeare by the severall workmen's bills) I am, Gentlemen, your most obliged and faithfull servant,

Sam. Crobrow.

Wee whose names are subscribed doe hereby signifie our approbation of the said charge, Onely for this time and declare it to be our owne voluntary contribucion and not to be drawne into a precedent."

Attested by 182 names.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO BEVERLEY AND DISTRICT.

BY J. R. WITTY, B.A., F.R.G.S.

INTRODUCTORY.

Moving some papers during the air-raids over the Metropolitan area, I came across a thin calf-bound volume containing about 60 leaves together with the papers which formed the original binding. Inscribed on the title-page is, "This volume was part of the collection of the late Thomas Duesbury of Beverley, Alderman (Mayor in 1810) and given to me by Mr. Thomas, Solicitor, Beverley (his son) on October 26th, 1858 . . . G. Sumner, Woodmansey."

It is evidently the private hand-book of William Nelson, Common (or Town) Clerk of Beverley from 1719 to 1730, since his autograph appears many times, with the date 1728. The contents concern his office as Clerk of Record and comprise extracts and notes, in various hands, relating to the duties of that office.

As the entries add materially to the information relating to Beverley contained in Vol. LXXXIV Record Series Y.A.S. (J. Dennett) some are extracted and appended herewith. On p. 108 of the Beverley Borough Records (Vol. LXXXIV above) is a summary of the Rules of the local Court of Record dated 12th December, 1681, but in this small volume these 1681 Orders and Rules are given in full (pp. 18-24) whilst it also contains in full the Rules and Orders for the Court published on 20th August, 1660 (12 Chas. II) and a comparison is of interest to students of local government (Extract 1).

For centuries, a principal event in Beverley was the great annual Fair for the London Merchants held in Highgate or Londiner Street, known as Cross Fair, whilst the Fair for horses and cattle held in "Without North Barre" was based on an ancient privilege and re-established under Charter of James II. Many details relating to these Fairs have been published but I have never seen the actual wording of the "Proclamation for the Cross Fair" or of the "Horse Fair" so frequently mentioned in the Town Records. They are therefore transcribed from pp. 52-53 (Extracts 2 and 3). An apposite extract from the Borough Records is dated 25th May 1691 "If any Alderman or Burgess of the Chamber be absent from the Town's Hall upon summons for crying the fair on fair days and do not go with the Mayor to cry the fair . . . penalty for Aldermen 2/-; Burgesses 1/-."

Other contents relate to the Conventicle Acts (ff. 4-9) and some of these are printed below; others to matters affecting the Clerk's vocation, e.g., copies of specimen cases (ff. 9-13) and the

various Oaths to be administered by him to those attaining the dignity of Alderman or Capital Burgess. From the latter I select the Subscription of 1666 and the Oath of a Capital Burgess because this differs materially from that given by Poulson for 1536 and the later one printed on p. 414 of Beverlac, Vol. I.

The original binding of 14 leaves, consists of two leaves of hand-made brown paper, a portion of a parchment (temp. James I) relating to Jane Lodge of the City of London, daughter of Christopher Lodge, late of Beverley, who acquits Robert Manby (Mayor of Beverley in 1626) of a messuage and (*inter alia*) halfe of one kitchinge and Brewhouse, two stables and a garth adjoining; then a well preserved parchment (p. 342 below) concerning an action between Wm. Robinson and Robert Fotherby for unlawful imprisonment. (Fotherby was a Governor of Beverley and Mayor in 1649 and both he and Robinson are mentioned in the Beverley Borough Records aforesaid); by part of a parchment (Roll 2576) 1658 Plea at Westminster relating to Isobell Johnson, late of Ulrome in East Riding, widow, deft. (This document is cut) and a paper on which is written a list of the Sessors for the North Bailiwick of Holderness (not dated but before 1629 as the George Acklam of Nunkeeling (sessor for Bewholme) died in Dec. 1629, aged 64). This is appended (p. 343).

Next are four pages of printed matter, evidently from some Law book whilst folio 9 is a blank except for the phrase, "MAN, WHAT SAYST THOU TO MEE" in beautifully executed O.E. script. The remaining leaves should be blanks, but they are 'adorned' with 'doodlings' and with unfinished pencil sketches of people in Elizabethan or Jacobean dress, cartoons probably of Governors or local dignitaries wearing civic robes.

BEV'LEY. Rules and Orders made & published for the Court of record of the Towne aforesaid the 20th day of August in the 12th yeare of the Raiyne of o^s sov'ainye Lord Charles the second by the grace of God of England &c Kinge Defender of the faith etc. Anno Dom. 1660.

1. That noe arreast be made by any Serjant untill the action be first entered with the Clarke of the Court or his deputy thereunto lawfully authorized.

2. That upon any arreast the Serjant doe forthwith carry the deft to the Goale unless the defendt arreasted doe immediately enter two sufficient sureties to be answerable for the debt costs & damages and by noate under his hand appoint his Attorney & pay the Attorneys fee into the Serjante hand that makes the

arreast or else immediately to the Attorney himselfe in the Serjantes presence, except the said deft arreasted doe immediately agree wt the plaintiffe in the Serjantes presence that makes the arreast.

3. That the Serjante shall duly execute all warr^{ts} precepts to them directed and make due Retorne thereof and pay attorneys fees by them received also all such other moneys as they receive by vertue of any warr^t or precept to them directed upon the retorne thereof.

4. That the Serjantes of this Court for the time being shall take of every plt not dwellinge wthin the Liberty & Jurisdiction & or not being sufficient, a sufficient pledge ad p'sequend' and shall retorne the name of the same pledge to the Clarke of this Court upon retorne of the action.

5. That the Serjant doe upon the Retorne of any action where the partyes plt & deft are by him retorned agreed pay unto the Clarke of the Court the fee due for the Concord.

6. That noe p'son bee arreasted by any Serjant on suite of a stranger before the plaintiffe finde pledge to prosecute and retaine his attorney.

7. That if any defendt bee arreasted and lye in Goale and noe declaracion agst the said deft the next Court after the arreast made, then the plt to be nonsuite If the deft have been in Goale two nights unless the Court upon motion and good cause showne to grante longer time

8. That obligacions or bills wth forfeitures, covenants or other agreements whereby they or the condicion thereof, the payment, thinge to be delivered or other Act to be done is without the jurisdiction of this Court, the attorney shall plead the payment, delivery or Act done wthin the Jurisdiction of this Court But if the partye will plead in proper person and be sworne his plea is true the attorney may draw his plea for him without offence & the Clarke of the Court receive itt, but if such plea be not brought in by the Deft. upon oath the Courtday after the declaracion brought in then the said plea not to be received by the Clarke of the Court.

9. That the plt. declare upon the next Courtday after the retorne of the accion or els the plaintiffs attorney give the substance of the declaracion unto the defts attorney under his hand & not allow the same & within three dayes draw itt up in writeinge els a nonsuite to be entred unless a peremptory day be given by the Court to declare

10. That the deft have a weeke time to put in his answer after the plt declare or a fortnight upon rule granted by the Court & no longer except good cause appeare to the Court upon oath then (ex gratia Curioe) to have, which time the Court will peremptorily sett downe, and the plt after answer putt in att next Court to reply and the like time for rejoynder & the puttinge of other pleas and noe longer except peremptory day be given by the Court.

11. That after Imparlance noe plea in disabillitye of the person, misnome of either partye that the plt is a villan, utlawed, excommunicated or any other plea in abatement to be admitted except the Imp^e given be a spetiall Imparlance.

A PROCLAMATION TO BE MADE FOR THE CROSS FAIRE
IN HIGHGATE :—

The Right Worshipfull the Maior of this Towne of Beverley and the Governours & Burgesses of the same in the name of the Kinges Excellent Majesty doe straightly charge & comãd all manner of persons comeing & resorting to this present Crosse Faire that they and any of them doe use and behave themselves quietly and honestly during the time of the said Faire. And also do keepe and perform the publique peace And further that neither they nor any of them do buy, sell or exchange any manner of Wares or merchandise in any place or places whatsoever openly or privately to or with any manner of person or persons or make any show thereof openly before Monday in the morning next comeing upon paine to forfitt all such wares and merchandise so brought, sold or exchanged. And further that no person or persons duringe the time of the said Faire doe breake any pavement or pitch any stower powles or staves in or without any Gutter or channell in any place of the same Faire to the intent to erect or sett upp any stall or booth thereuppon upon such paine as by the said Maior, Gov'nors and burgesses of this Towne of Bev'ley shall be assessed and appointed.

And the said Maior Gov'ns and Burgesses of this towne doe further signifie and declare unto all and every person & persons whatsoever (whome itt may in any wise concerne) that notwithstanding any former orders decrees, ratificates or other proceedings heretofore had or made for or touching the keeping of the said ffaire called Crosse Faire to the contrary thereof, the said Faire is now to be kept in this street called Highgate from the Lower end thereof towards the Minster upp to Ingleberd Hall on the west syde and to the third shopp from Wednesday markett on the east side And that noe shopp shall be letten or wares showne in any other place or shopp untill all the said shoppes within the said Compasse shall be letten and also that noe shopp within ye (the) said Compasse during the said Faire time shall be letten to above one person & that one person to be a shopp keeper & to keep the said shopp in his owne hands during the time of the said Faire without letting or disposing the same shopp or any parte thereof to any other more shop-keepers, and lastly that the upholsters may erect booths or tents in the Old Wast (as form^{ly} of late they have done) or in any other place to stand in during the Faire time between the Wednesday Markett Place and the Minster.

God Save the Kinge.

A PROCLAMATION TO BE MADE WITHOUT THE NORTHBARRE
IN EVERY CROSSE DAYES

The Right Worshipfull the Maior of this Towne of Beverley & the Govⁿors of the same in His Ma'ties name doe straightly charge & comãd all and any person & persons which are come or shall come to the Cross Faire to be holden att this Towne of Bev'ley for any kind of busines whatsoever that they and any of them doe use and behave themselves peaceably and quietly during the continuance of the said Faire And forasmuch as att the Sessions of Parliam^t holden att Westminster in the second & third yeares of the Reignes of Kinge & Queen Phillip & Mary amongst other Acts there was one Act or Statute made for the buying & selling of horses, mares, gueldings & Colts in open places as in Faires certainly to be appointed & used & not else where and for the taking of tolle for any horse, mare guelding or colt soe bought & sold. Therefore the maior & Govⁿors of this towne by virtue of the same Act or statute doe in the name of the Kings most excellent Majesty charge and comãd all and any person & persons that shall buy or sell any horses, mares, gueldings or colts during the time of this present Faire that they & any of them doe buy & sell the same horses, mares, gueldings or colts in open Faire & place for that purpose appointed & heretofore used.

And the Faire to be betwixt the houres of tenn of the clock in the forenoon & the sunsetting of any of the same dayes and not before or after to buy & sell the said horses, mare, gueldings & colts neither in houses, stables, backsides or other secrett or other private places And that the said horses, mares, gueldings & Colts shall be openly rid, ledd, walked, driven or kept in the said open Faire & place by the space of one whole houre att the least; and that both the buyer & the seller; giver or exchanger shall have one honest man knowne to the Clerk according to the Stattute made in the xxxth yeare of the Reigne of the late Queen Elizabeth for that purpose.

And likewise shall bring the horses, mares, gueldings & colts and present the names, surnames & dwelling places of all the said partyes and the colour with one espetiall marke att the least of any such horse, mare, guelding or colt to be writt in the booke for that purpose appointed & presently to pay the Tolle and other dutyes for any horse, mare, guelding or colt so bought and sold.

God save the Kinge.

Yorkshire: Pleas at Westminster before Oliver S. John and his fellows, Justices of the Common Bench of the Term of the Holy Trinity in the year of our Lord 1651. Rolle 594

Deft. Robert Fotherbie, late of Beverley in the county aforesaid, was attached to answer unto William Robinson, gent. of a plea wherefore with force of arms, upon him at Beverley, he made an assault and him did beat, wound, imprison and evil entreat

so that of his life it was despaired, and him there in prison against the law and custom of England, a long time did detain, and there harms to him did, to the great damage of the said William and against the public peace.

And whereupon the said William, by Samuel Lawson, his attorney complaineth that the said Robert, gent, the last day of December, in the year of our Lord 1649 with force of arms, that is to say with swords and staves and knives upon him, the said William, of Beverley, did make an assault and him did beat, wound imprison and evil entreat so that of his life it was despaired and him there did imprison against the law and custom of England a long time, that is to say by the space of four hours then next following did detain, and other harms thus to the great damage, etc. and against the peace. Whereupon he saith that he is the worse and hath damage to the value of forty pounds and thereupon he brings his suit.

And the said Robert, by Robert Bethell, his attorney, cometh and defendeth the force and wrong when etc. and saith that he is not guilty of the trespass, assault, and imprisonment aforesaid as the said William above complaineth against him: and of this he putteth himself upon the country, and the said William likewise.

Therefore it is commanded the Sheriff that he cause to come here from the day of the Holy Trinity in three weeks at twelve o'clock. By whom etc. And who neither etc. To recognise etc. for that as well etc.

The Jury between Wm. Robinson, gent. plaintiff, and Robt. Fotherby, gent. late of Beverley in the County of York aforesaid, in a plea of trespass, assault and imprisonment, is respited here until the day of S. Michael in three weeks, unless the Justices of the Assizes in the County aforesaid here assigned according to the form of the Statute, on Tuesday the nine and twentieth day of July, at the Castle of York, in the County aforesaid, shall first come for want of the Jurors, because none came, therefore let the Sheriff have their bodies.

And it is to be known that the Justices here in Court of the present Term have delivered the writ therof to the Deputy Sheriff of the County aforesaid in form of law to be executed according etc.

North Bailiwick
Holderness

Sessers.

Barmstone
Lissitt
Ulam
Skipsey
Bonwicke & Dunnington
Bewholme cum membris
Atwicke & Skirlington

John Winter & Francis Norton
John Ruston & John Barnby
George Harker & Robert Lister
John Wilkinson & Edward Cooke
Tho. Wilkinson & Tho. Dighton
John Caley & George Acklam
Willm Hastings & Henry Weatherall

Hornsey & Burton	John Bonfield & Edw. Foster
Mapleton & Rowlston	Mr. Truslove & Chr. Shut
Cowden Ambo	Fran. Collison & Thos. Collison
Withernweeke	Richd. North & Fran. Beebell
Hattfield Ambo	Fran. Walker & John Woodmansey
Goxhill	Thos. Battie & John Holmes
Seaton & Washolme	Henry Blashill & John Taylor
Siglesthorne	Robt. Mercer & Roger Ramshaw
Catfos & Catweeke	Mich. Aike & Robert Linsley
Leven	Willm. Brown & John Cooper
Beeforth	Thos. Doffenby & Richd. Naylor
Frodingham	John Taylor & Robt. Tilson
Hempholme cum membris	Willm Jackson & John Stephenson
Bransburton cum membris	Tho. Johnson & Thos Rotsey
Routh & Eske	Jarvas Owbridge & Jas Bell
Riston	Mr. Surdenold & Robt. Atkinson
Arnold, Rowton & North Skirley	Whaite Foster & Thos Stephenson
Rise	Thos Leake & David Tanton
Upton, Dringhoe & Brough	Robt. Stephenson & John Ombler

Michael Crosse of Dringhoe

Cheife Collector for North Hold.

Leaves 4—9. In Latin and in English.

(Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670).

E.R. Forasmuch as wee are sufficiently informed upon oath of two Witnesses that one Mr. Salter hath been present att a Conventicle kept in the Barne of G. W. and Christopher W. att N . . . and within the East Rid' of the County aforesaid the 10 of Ja . . . last past contrary to the Liturgy of the Church of Engld and that the said Mr. S. did then and there alsoe preach and teach to the people then mett together att the same Conventicle or unlawfull assembly contrary to an Act of Parliamt in that case made & provided, he is convict of the fact by us and therefore for his said offence (as the Act directs) ffined the sume of xx£, these are therefore in his Majties name 21^o reg: that imēdiately after receipt hereof you levy upon the goods & chattells of the said Mr. S . . . by distresse and sale thereof the said sume or fine of xx£ rendring him the overplus if any bee and that you pay the same to Sir R. W. . . . Kt att his house so that the same may be disposed of according as the Act directs and for default of such distress to be had to certifie the same unto us; and hereof you are not to fail. Given etc.

To the Churchwardens & Overseers of the poore of the Parish of C . . . and to the Constable of N . . . within the same parish and to any of you.

Bev. Forasmuch as we are informed upon oath of two witnesses that A. & B. . . . were unlawfully assembled & mett together with divers att a Conventicle or unlawfull meeting under Colour or pretence of religion but not according to the liturgy & practice of the Church of England att or in the Mansion house of . . . upon the . . . contrary to an Act of Parliam^t in that case made & provided they are convict thereof by us and therefore for their offence as the Act directs every one of them is fined the sum of 5£. These are therefore both to charge and comãd you that imediately after the receipt hereof you or some of you doe levy upon the respective goods and chattells of A, B, etc. by distresse and sale thereof the said all sums for fines of 5£ apiece rendring the overplus if any be to the respective owners, and to pay the same unto Mr. C. C. . . . so that the said sumes may be desposed of according as the Act directs. And for default of such distresse or distresses to be had to certifye the same unto us. And etc. etc.

3. Forasmuch as wee have been informed upon oath of two Witnesses that R. S. & M . . . were present att a conventicle or unlawfull assembly or meeting kept in the house of R.A. . . . upon . . . die & anno . . . contrary to an Act of Parliam^t in that case made & provided, these are therefore in his Ma's name in pursueance & according to the direccions of the said Act to certifye . . . his Ma'ties Justices of Peace of and for the partes of the East Riding in the County of Yorke that the said R. S. & M. are convict of the fact by us whose names are here subscribed, Justices of Peace of and for the aforesaid Towne of Beverley & that any one of them for said offence is fined the sum of 5£ apiece as the Act directs. And further that the aforesaid R. S. & M. are fled and removed out of the Liberty of the Towne of Beverley aforesaid to a place called D . . . within the parts of the County aforesaid by reason whereof that they have noe goods to be found within the Liberty of the aforesaid Towne of B. the fines or sumes of money cannot be levyed by us all which matters and things wee humbly certify to the end that the aforesaid fines may be levyed by your warr^{ts} and afterwards may be disposed of as the Act directs.

(Addendum—in another hand).

Roy and Wagstaff Quakers. (Similar entry in French).

Folios 7 and 8 contain the Rules and Orders of the Court of Record of Beverley in 1660.¹ The Rules and Orders of 12th Dec. 1681 are written on ff. 9-10, 11 and 12 and are signed by Edward Grey, Mayor, Edw^d Barnard Kt (Recorder) Willm Dunne, Thomas Johnson, Willm Nelson, Edm. Howson, Christo Chappelow, Tho Johnson Jun., Will. Coulson Sen.; Willi Wilberforce, John Dymocke, John Fotherby, John Sugden, William Coulson. (These later Rules are printed on pp. 108-11, Y.A.S. Vol. LXXXIV. Record Series, but the names of the XII Governors are there not stated).

¹ Re 1661 Corporation Act. Cf. *Bev. Boro. Records*, p. 104.

f. 8a. Whereas J. J.¹ etc. have this day appeared before us and taken as well the oathes of Supremacy & allegiance as also the oath and subscribed the decl. mencioned and sett downe to be taken & subscribed in and by a certaine Act of this present Parliamt intituled An Act for the well gov'ning & regulating corporacons; itt is therefore by virtue of the Kings Maties Couñsers to us & others directed in pursuance of the aforesaid Act orderd that the aforesaid J. J. etc. shall stand, remayne & continue in ther severall offices & places of gov'ment trust & employmt afores^d and further that J. R. and M. shall bee and are hereby constituted and appointed to execute & are invested in their offices and places of Aldermen in & for the aforesaid towne in the place & stead of N.R. and R.R. late aldermen there In Witness etc.

f. 9. Full entry of the item relating to Christopher Tadman *B.B.R.*, p. 106).

Capt. Edw. Grey, Mayor—Mr. Tadman chosen Coñon Clarke etc. 30th of September 1682.

At a meeting of the said Mayor and all the twelve Gov'nors present Mr. Christopher Tadman is now by the said Mayor & the greater number of the same Gov'nors present elected and chosen Coñon Clerk of this Towne & Clerk of Record for this yeare ensueing That is to say untill Monday next before the feast of St Michael the Archangell next ensueing the date hereof, the said office or offices being now vacant att the tyme of this Eleccion and sworne 2 October 1682.

f. 13. Condition to save Bail harmless :—

The condition of this obligation is such that whereas the abovenamed A . . . B . . . at the special instance and request of the abounden C . . . D . . . hath mainprized and become bail for the said C . . . D . . . as Executrix of the last Will & Testament of Edw D . . . in the Court of Record holden for the Town of Beverley in an action of Trespass upon the case and damages xxx£ at the suit of Margt Taylor, widow, as by the Records of the same Court may appear—if therefore the said C . . . D . . . her executors and administrators and every of them do from time to time and at all times hereafter, acquit exonerate & discharge or otherwise well & sufficiently safe-keep harmless and indemnified the said A . . . B . . . his heirs, executors and administrators & every of them & every of their goods and Chattells of & from all judgments, executions, citations & demands whatsoever which at any time hereafter shall or may happen to arise, come or grow to or against the said A . . . B . . . his Exors, Admins or lessees—then this obligation is to void or else to be cancelled

f. 14. Beverley :—Wee etc. that is to say W . . . J complaines agst F. M. widow of a plea that shee should pay unto him 20£ which she owes him & unjustly deteynes and that the said W. J. in the same Court did then & there declare against the

¹ J. J. is apparently John Jackson, Clerk.

said F. upon the said plea in these words (that is to say) F. M. so recite the declⁿ and the aforesaid F by Jos A her Attorney soe recite the plea whereupon 12 honest & lawfull men of the towne aforesaid upon the last day of February in the yeare of our Lord 1652 in the Court then holden before me the aforesaid Jno Chappelow, mayor, Willm Wise Esq Recorder & two governors of the aforesaid Towne being chosen tryed & sworne to say the trueth in the premisses found for the plaintiffe and thereupon in the Court here holden upon the 7th of March itt was ordered that Judgmt should be entered agst the said F for the said W for his costs of suite herein disbursed & layd out viz for 16£ which was done accordingly. And as yet the said Costs are unpayd unto the plt. And further then ordered in the Court that the said F upon the 29 May should putt in what other plea in barre to the decl aforesaid she But instead of any plea the writt aforesaid was delivered here in Court upon the 21 day of M . . . and the said F for not paying the said Costs and alsoe for not entring bayle to answere the action and suite is in prison under the custody of me—the said J . . . C . . . Mayor & keeper of the same And further wee doe certifie that before the coming of the said writt (vizt upon the 24th of May aforesaid) in the Court then holden att Beverley F. W. one other of the Serjants at mace in the same towne retorned etc. & so proceed to the dec^l whereupon the said F. M. for not paying the Costs & alsoe for not entring bayle and mainprize to answer to the sevrall actions & suits aforesaid is in prison & whose body after her satisfyeing the costs and att the Costs & charges of her the said F for the money of one whome we shall appoynte herein, etc.

49b. The Subscription ye 1 day of Oc 1666.

Memorandum that the day and yeare abovesaid those persons whose names are hereunder written tooke the oathes of Obedience & Supremacy and the other oathe appointed by Act of Parliam^t intituled an Act for the well gov'ning and regulating of Corporacions & likewise publiqly subscribed this following declaracion according to the said Act

I doe declare that I hold that there lyes noe obligacion upon me or any other person from the oath coñonly called the Solemn League & Covenant And that the same was in ittselfe an unlawfull oath and imposed upon the subjects of this Realme against the knowne lawes & lib'yes of this Kingdome.

I, A . . . B . . . doe declare & believe that it is not lawfull upon any pretence whatsoever to take armes agst^t the Kinge and that I abhor that traitrous position of taking Armes by his Authority agst his person or agst^t those that are comissioned by him

Soe God etc.

f. 50. The Oath of a Burgess.

You shall sweare y^t you well and truely serve o' sov'aigne Lord y^e Kinge his heires & lawfull successo' and the Inhabitants of this Towne & Borough of Beverley as one of y^e Burgesses of this Towne & shall minister equall Justice to poore & rich after y^e best of yo' cunning, witt & power—and also shall well & truely observe performe fullfill and keepe all such good orders, rules and composiçōns as are or shall be made ordered or established by the Coñon Councill of this Towne for its good government thereof in all things to you apperteyning and you shall not utter or disclose any counsell or secret thinge or matter touching the fellowship or Corporaçōn of this Towne whereby any prejudice, losse, hinderance or slander shall or may arise growe or be to the same Corporaçōn but you shall in all things belonging to the fellowship & Corporaçōn of this Towne faithfully honestly & indefferently behave yo^rselfe for ye most benifitt, worshipp and honesty of this Towne and the Inhabitants thereof.

Soe God you helpe

Mr. Mayor, Recorder & the Aldermen in Assembly doe straitly charge and coñmand all men to keepe the Peace & be of the good behaviour dureing the tyme of eleccion of the now Mayor & Burgesses & other officers for the ensueing yeare & all unfree men to depart dureinge the tyme of the eleccion.

BEAKHEAD ORNAMENT IN NORMAN ARCHITECTURE.

BY JOHN SALMON, B.A.

Certain features of Norman decorative carving such as the chevron or "zigzag" are to be found in most parts of England, others are mainly confined to definite localities. Such is the beakhead. In England there are over 120 examples of this form of Norman decoration and it is very largely confined to two districts, York and Oxford, with a minor concentration in between in the Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire district. But before we consider its geographical distribution we may devote a few lines to the different types of beakhead.

A good example of 'true' beakhead is the central order of the west doorway at Etton (Yorks.)¹, which consists of a series of 16 beakheads, each the face of an animal with the top of the head on the outer side while the acutely pointed beak curves slightly round an inner roll moulding. Siddington (Glos.) is an example of the first variation from 'true' beakhead. Here no two beakheads are alike. The shapes of the majority are approximately the same, but the details vary considerably and the beak is much less acute, so that it isn't really a beak at all but rather a head. One head is that of a man, while two other heads diverge considerably from the normal, one having two 'beaks.' The chancel arch at Avington (Berks.) shows both the 'true' and what, for want of a better term, we may call the 'wide' beakhead. The extreme example of variation from true beakhead is at Kilpeck (Hereford)². The middle order of the arch has 14 carvings but only four of these bear any resemblance to beakheads. In other words an occasional beakhead is interspersed with an angel, dragons and other grotesque carvings typical of the extravagance of the late Norman work of this district of which the fonts at Eardisley and Castle Frome and the tympana at Fownhope and Stretton Sugwas are well known examples. A Yorkshire example almost as extravagant as Kilpeck is the south doorway of Healaugh. There are four orders, the outer consisting of chevron, the third of true beakheads similar to Etton, the innermost plain, while the second order consists of a variety of carvings grasping a roll moulding varying from a true beakhead to one, two or even three figures. Finally there is what may be called conventional beakhead. In general shape and in its purpose of grasping a roll moulding it is similar to true beakhead but it is not carved with a face or other figure. The outer order on the west doorway at Etton is

¹ This and several other Yorkshire examples are illustrated in *Memorials of Old Yorkshire* (1909), ed. T. M. Fallow.

² Illus. in Royal Com. Hist. Mons., Herefordshire, vol. 1 (1931), plate 169.

the only Yorkshire example. So we may divide beakhead into four types (1) true beakhead, e.g., Etton (first order), (2) wide beakhead, e.g., Wighill, (3) grotesque beakhead, e.g., Healaugh, (4) conventional beakhead, e.g., Etton (second order). In addition there are certain carvings such as those on two capitals in the nave at Melbourne (Derby) and on doorways at Charney Bassett (Berks.) and Mixbury (Oxon.) which bear some resemblance to beakhead but not sufficient to warrant their inclusion.

We will consider examples of conventional beakhead first. At Etton (Yorks.) and at Spaldwick (Hunts.)¹ the surface of each 'beakhead' is carved into a number of horizontal grooves and the beak is stepped. At Hanslope (Bucks.)² the edge is decorated with half balls in relief. This example has been described as a 'form of horseshoe ornament.'³ Its classification as an example of conventional beakhead would be more accurate. In the south doorway at Quennington (Glos.) the same half ball carving occurs, the outer edges in relief. Here conventional beakhead occurs below the abaci, while above, conventional and true alternate except near the apex where are four beakheads together. Attempts have been made in the Quennington beakheads to depict different types of heads including a man, a woman, an ox, a fox and a horse. The conventional beakhead is commonest in the Huntingdonshire area where it occurs at Spaldwick, Stukeley and Toseland. At Chirton (Wilts.) one or two conventional beakheads occur among true beakheads.⁴ Another variation occurs in the north transept at St. Cross, Winchester, where the beak is that of a bird whose outspread wings fill the angles formed by an outer order of chevron.⁵

The question arises, was the conventional a predecessor, a contemporary or a successor of true beakhead? Hanslope and the three Huntingdonshire examples of conventional are all mid or late twelfth century,⁶ while Chirton (Wilts.) cannot ante-date 1180 as it occurs on a pointed arch.⁷ The north and south doorways at Bishop Sutton (Hants.) have the same capitals, detached pillars and bases and in fact are identical in every respect (and therefore almost certainly contemporary) except that the roll moulding of the south doorway is grasped by true beakhead and the north by conventional, here in the form of slightly tapering wedges. At Iffley (Oxon.) the restored north and south doorways have rather more tapering wedge shaped conventional beakhead while the west doorway and the three windows in the gable have true beakhead. At Etton (Yorks.) true and conventional beak-

¹ Illus., *ibid.*, Hunts (1926), plate 169.

² Illus., *ibid.*, Bucks, vol. 2 (1913), plate 136.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

⁴ A complete list of conventional beakheads is given in the appendix.

⁵ Illus. F. Bond's *English Church Architecture*, vol. 2 (1913), p. 720.

⁶ Report Royal Com. Hist. Mons., Bucks., vol. 2 (1913), pp. 133-134, Hunts. (1926), pp. 242, 268, 276.

⁷ Bletchley is also a pointed arch, but this is due to resetting c. 1300. Illus., *ibid.*, Bucks., vol. 2 (1913), p. 64.

head occur on the same doorway. These examples leave no doubt that conventional beakhead was contemporary with the more perfected forms.

As regards the date of beakhead in general, it would probably be true to say that almost all examples may be placed in the latter half of the twelfth century.¹ The earliest of twelve examples² recorded in the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments are Brough (Westmoreland) mid twelfth century, St. Peters-in-the-East, Oxford, *c.* 1140-1150 and Stantonbury (Bucks.) *c.* 1150. Iffley is known to have been built between 1175 and 1182.³

Beakhead is not confined to this country. There is a solitary example in Scotland at Kelso Abbey, while it spread across the Channel to Normandy, where it is found in several places, *e.g.*, Bayeux, and it is occasionally found elsewhere in France.⁴ But not even in Normandy is it nearly as prolific as in England, which is undoubtedly its place of origin. The late F. E. Howard considered that beakhead may have been "a development of the geometrical species of zig-zag, the triangles of which irresistably suggest the idea of adding eyes and ears."⁵ The form of beakhead may certainly have been suggested by the common chevron, which is found at a much earlier date. It is noteworthy that beakhead never occurs unless there is a roll moulding for the beak to grasp, except in a few late debased examples where it is only used for ornament, *e.g.*, St. Bees (Cumberland), where it is intermingled with chevron. An acute triangle with its apex grasping the roll moulding would be the natural shape for such relief work and the Norman carver, with his wealth of imagination, was not content to leave such space undecorated. On the other hand A. W. Clapham considers "there is little doubt that the ultimate origin of the ornament is Scandinavian."⁶ Similarly Mrs. Marcousé has tried to trace its Nordic element and origin and, in a letter to the writer, suggested that the pre-Conquest 'gripping Brarl' ornament so frequent in Scandinavian decoration may well have served as a source of inspiration to the Norman carver,

¹ Since writing the above I find that in *English Romanesque Architecture—After the Conquest* (1934), p. 131, A. W. Clapham states that "the general character of the buildings in which it (beakhead) occurs indicates a central date of about 1150 for its employment, but an example on the north doorway at Southwell is perhaps earlier." Among datable examples Clapham mentions the inserted west doorway at Lincoln *c.* 1140-1150 and Easby Abbey (Yorks.) which was not founded till 1152. Kenilworth must date from after the abbey's foundation *c.* 1125, and Kelso after its foundation in 1128.

² Brough (Westmoreland), Bletchley, Stantonbury, Stewkley and Twyford (Bucks.) Kilpeck (Hereford), Harlington and Harmondsworth (Middlesex) and Iffley, St. Peters-in-the-East, St. Peter-in-the-Bailey and St. Ebbes at Oxford. All except the last two are illustrated in the Commission's Reports.

³ Report Royal Com. Hist. Mon., City of Oxford (1939), p. 151.

⁴ E. Lefèvre Pontalis in *Bull. Mon.*, lxx, p. 3.

⁵ *Mediaeval Styles of the English Parish Church* (1936), p. 151.

⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 130.

thus producing the pure gripping beakhead. I do not myself consider that there is sufficient evidence to support a Scandinavian origin, but I am not personally familiar with the type of ornament found in Scandinavian churches.

The majority of examples of beakhead occur on doorways, e.g., Adel, Brayton, St. Denis Walmgate at York and Wighill. But it sometimes occurs in other positions, for example on the unfinished quadripartite vaulting (two bays) of the chancel at Avington (Berks.), on the chancel arch of the same church and at Tortington (Sussex), on an arch of the nave arcade at Morwenstow (Cornwall), on the western arch of the central crossing at Ault Hucknall (Derby) and at Stewkley (Bucks.), on a capital at Barton-le-Street (Yorks.), and at Birkin (Yorks.) on the exterior of a Norman window which was subsequently widened and filled with Decorated tracery, a feature paralleled (though with later tracery) at Bloxham (Oxon.) and Tutbury (Staffs.).

A glance at the map at the end of this paper will show that, although beakhead is to be found elsewhere in England, there are two comparatively small areas within whose bounds over sixty per cent. of the examples occur.¹ The first of these is Yorkshire which contains forty-three or just over a third of all the examples in England. This dense concentration in one county and its sparseness in the adjacent counties suggests that these examples must have emanated from a local school of craftsmen centred at York. The York school definitely shows two forms of beakhead occurring at the same period. Several of the Norman doorways, e.g., Etton, Heaulagh, Ricall, and Wighill, bear a very striking resemblance to each other. Three orders generally occur round each arch,² the exact order of which varies, but they consist of (1) chevron or carved medallions, (2) true beakhead, very acutely pointed, (3) various forms of beakhead intermingled with figures, etc., and more resembling Kilpeck. Etton is an exception where the third order is conventional beakhead. Similarly at Tickencote (Rutland),³ which may be considered as geographically midway between the York and Oxford areas, the chancel arch has one order of true beakhead similar to Iffley and another order that rivals Kilpeck in its extravagance. Prof. Hamilton Thompson dates the chancel at Tickencote as 'about 1130-1150.'⁴ It has been compared with the west doorway at Tutbury (Staffs.) which may have been the work of the same masons.⁵ Where single orders

¹ The map does not include certain examples apparently boosted for beakhead but never completed, e.g., Mundham and Thwaite (Norfolk).

² At Ricall there are four, and at York (St. Denis Walmgate) five orders. The latter has other differences from the rest of this group, but it is obviously the work of the same school.

³ Illus. Vic. County Hist., Rutland, vol. 2 (1935), pp. 276, 280, also (a portion only) by A. W. Clapham, *op. cit.*, plate 29.

⁴ Probably nearer 1150 than 1130.

⁵ There is an authoritative account of Tutbury in a pamphlet by Rev. A. H. Collins, entitled *A Supplement to the Story of St. Mary the Virgin, Tutbury*.

of beakhead occur in Yorkshire they are generally acutely pointed true beakhead, e.g., Adel (the south doorway but not the chancel arch), Birkin, Brayton, Stillingfleet and York St. Denis. Thus in the north at any rate all forms of beakhead occur at the same period. In the south and south-east true and wide beakhead (apart from the few conventional examples) are the general rule and extravagance of the Kilpeck type is unknown. St. Peters-in-the-East at Oxford, Iffley and Pitsford (Northants.) show very acutely pointed beaks,¹ but wide beaks are found more often, e.g., Avington (Berks.) Lullington (Somerset), Elkstone (Glos.) and Siddington (Glos.).

The map also clearly shows that the southern area centres at Oxford and that, in comparison with the York school, it covers a larger area and contains fewer examples (there are actually 33 within a 40 mile radius of Oxford). Outside Oxfordshire itself examples are to be found in several of the adjacent counties, particularly Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire and west Berkshire. The Sussex examples may be connected with the Oxford school, but, as already stated, Kilpeck bears every mark of the rich late Norman work of the Herefordshire school rather than the much simpler Norman work of the Oxford district.

Nineteen of the remaining examples lie in the area between York and Oxford, but nearer the former, to which school they may be considered to owe their origin. These examples are almost all to be found in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, but also just across the border at Lincoln on the east and at Swynnerton, Tutbury and Stafford (just over 80 miles from York) in the south-west. This leaves 39 examples scattered over the rest of England, including all the examples of the stepped conventional beakhead except Etton (Yorks.) and Hanslope (Bucks.). It is noteworthy that neither Kent nor Essex (both counties prolific in Norman work) have any examples. These two counties are on the far side of London from Oxford and this suggests that the Middlesex examples at Harmondsworth and Harlington were the work of Oxford rather than of London masons. In the extreme south-west beakhead occurs in Devon at Bishops Teignton, Buckland Brewer and Shebbear, and just across the Cornish border at Kilkhampton and Morwenstow, while in the extreme north it is found at St. Bees in Cumberland, at Brinkburn Priory in Northumberland and at Kelso across the border.

The list appended is, I believe, fairly complete, but I should be glad to hear of any additions (address—95, Crescent Road, Reading). In conclusion I should like to thank Mrs. Marousé, Mr. Arthur Gardener, Rev. A. H. Collins and Rev. H. Poole for kindly assistance.

¹ Bradbourne (Derby) is the most acutely pointed of all. Illus. A. Gardener *English Figure Sculpture*.

APPENDIX ONE.

Table showing geographical distribution of beakhead.

AREA	No. of examples	Approx. area in sq. miles	Approx. no. of examples per 1000 sq. miles
Within 40 mile radius of York	40	2,514	16·0
Within 40 mile radius of Oxford	33	2,514	13·0
Rest of England	53	45,309	1·1

APPENDIX TWO.

A list of examples of beakhead arranged under counties. A star denotes an example with conventional beakhead only, a dagger an example with conventional and ordinary beakhead.

BEDFORDSHIRE—	105 Bradbourne
85 Flitwick	106 Hognaston
BERKSHIRE—	107 Long Eaton
86 Avington†	108 Steetley
87 Catmore ¹	109 Wirksworth
88 Compton Beauchamp	DEVON—
89 Reading Abbey ²	110 Bishops Teignton
90 Shillingford	111 Buckland Brewer
91 Wantage Grammar School	112 Shebbear
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE—	DURHAM—
92 Bletchley	113 Elton
93 Hanslope*	GLOUCESTERSHIRE—
94 Stantonbury	114 Elkstone
95 Stewkley	115 Quennington†
96 Twyford	116 Sherborne ³
CAMBRIDGESHIRE—	117 Siddington
97 Downham	118 South Cerney
CHESHIRE—	119 Windrush
98 Bruera	HAMPSHIRE—
CORNWALL—	120 Bishops Sutton
99 Kilkhampton	121 Hurstbourne Tarrant
100 Morwenstow	122 Winchester (St. Cross)
CUMBERLAND—	HEREFORDSHIRE—
101 St. Bees	23 Kilpeck
DERBYSHIRE—	HUNTINGDONSHIRE—
102 Allestree	124 Little Stukeley*
103 Ault Hucknall	125 Spaldwick*
104 Bakewell	126 Toseland*

¹ A single beakhead only.² Too worn to identify with certainty.³ Now in a cottage.

LANCASHIRE—

127 Overton

LEICESTERSHIRE—

44 Market Harborough

LINCOLNSHIRE—

45 Lincoln Cathedral

MIDDLESEX—

46 Harlington

47 Harmondsworth

NORFOLK—

48 Barton St. Mary

49 Wimbotsham¹

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE—

50 Earls Barton

51 Peterborough Cathedral

52 Pitsford

NORTHUMBERLAND—

53 Brinkburn Priory

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE—

54 Balderton

55 Southwell

56 Winkburn

OXFORDSHIRE—

57 Asthall

58 Bloxham

59 Burford

60 Great Barford

61 Great Rollright

62 Iffley

63 Oxford (St. Ebbes)²

64 Oxford (St. Peters-in-the-East)

65 Oxford (St. Peter-le-Bailey)

RUTLAND—

66 Tickencote

SHROPSHIRE—

67 Holgate

SOMERSET—

68 Lullington

STAFFORDSHIRE—

69 Stafford (St. Chads)

70 Swynnerton

71 Tutbury

SUFFOLK—

72 Bury St. Edmunds (abbey tower)

73 Westhall

74 Wissett

SUSSEX—

75 Buncton Chapel*

76 New Shoreham*

77 Steyning

78 Tortington

WARWICKSHIRE—

79 Kenilworth

80 Stoneleigh*

WESTMORELAND—

81 Brough

WILTSHIRE—

82 Chirton†

WORCESTERSHIRE—

83 Northfield

84 Romsley

YORKSHIRE—

1 Adel

2 Alne

3 Amotherby

4 Amleforth

5 Aughton

6 Austerfield

7 Bardsey

8 Barton-le-Street

9 Birkin

10 Bishop Wilton

11 Brayton

12 Burnby

13 Doncaster³

14 Easby Abbey

15 Easington

16 East Ayton

17 Edlington

18 Etton†

19 Fangfoss

20 Fishlake

21 Goldsborough

22 Healaugh

24 Kilnwick-on-the-Wolds

¹ A single beakhead only.² A modern copy of the original.³ Destroyed by fire in 1853, *vide* Rev. J. E. Jackson in *Ruined Church of St. Mary, Doncaster*, p. 17 (note).

25 Kirby Wiske
26 Kirk Branwith
27 Kirkburn
28 Old Malton
29 Osmotherley
30 Riccall
31 Rossington
32 Salton
33 Shipton
34 Snainton
35 Sowerby

36 Spofforth
37 Stillingfleet
38 Swinton
39 Thorparch
40 Wighill
41 York (St. Denis)
42 York (St. Margaret)
43 York (St. Maurice)

SCOTLAND—

23 Kelso



CAPTAIN HENRY APPLETON.

By F. W. BROOKS, M.A.

The recent publication of the First Order Book of the Hull Trinity House has thrown a little more light on a Hull man who was one of the obscurer characters in the seventeenth century Navy.

It is well known that whilst Blake was defeating the Dutch in the North Sea and the Narrows, an English squadron was having a hard time in the Mediterranean, and that Captains Appleton and Badiley played a leading part in a not-too-successful campaign and subsequently gained a doubtful notoriety by engaging in a heated and rather clumsy pamphlet war in which each accused the other of dereliction of duty; thus setting a precedent which naval men have followed, to the great profit of historians, till modern times. But though the main facts of the Mediterranean campaign of 1652-4 are fairly well known, little enough is known of the personalities of the commanders. The late Sir John Laughton's article on Appleton in the *Dictionary of National Biography* tells us nothing of him, before his appearance in the Mediterranean in 1651, except that he was a Hull man,¹ and ends his story by saying "he returned into the obscurity from which he had emerged." which is not too complimentary to Hull.

Though as we have said, the story of the Mediterranean operations of 1652-4 is well known to naval historians, it is not by any means familiar to non-specialists, and is, in any case, essential to an understanding of the character and career of Appleton.²

In 1651, although there was as yet no war with Holland, there was trouble with France, and a small English Fleet was on convoy duty in the Mediterranean. In fact there were probably two fleets, for Mediterranean convoys in those days had no port of assembly, and the practice seems to have been that the commander of the escorting squadron would send a ship to one port to pick up and convoy a couple of merchantmen whilst other ships were doing the same thing elsewhere. Then the various units assembled at some rendezvous in the western Mediterranean and made for home.

On November 17th, 1651, Appleton reported to the Council that he had arrived in Leghorn from Genoa in command of a

¹ This information comes from Appleton's exculpatory letter to an M.P. for Hull. *C.S.P. Dom.*, 1652-3, p. 234.

² The best account of the events is in D. Hanway's *History of the Royal Navy* (London 1912), I, p. 267 *et seq.* The following account is chiefly based on this and the *Calendar of State Papers*.

squadron consisting of the *Leopard* and the *Constant Warwick*, and was waiting in the hope of picking up a French prize bound from Alexandria. Contrary winds delayed him and he only reached Naples by the end of the year. The *Constant Warwick* had taken a French prize off Leghorn. This had considerably annoyed the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who plays an important part in the subsequent story. No one needs telling to-day that the way of the neutral is hard, and it was no easier in the seventeenth century. The Grand Duke had no fleet, and could hardly take effective action against a naval power. As we shall see, he managed later to hold the balance fairly well between the English and the Dutch. But the French could attack his landward frontier, and so he seems to have thought it well to placate them. He therefore complained against Appleton and went so far as to ask Charles Langland, the English Consul in Leghorn, to sign the protest. Langland, however, refused and the storm blew over; but quite probably the Grand Duke bore Appleton a grudge thereafter. Nor was the subsequent conduct of the latter likely to endear him.

Meanwhile Appleton went to the Levant, picked up his convoy and was back at Messina in May, 1652, with a squadron now consisting of the *Leopard*, *Sampson*, *Constant Warwick* and probably the *Bonadventure*, though the latter had been detached for Zante and Scanderoon and might not yet have rejoined. He reached Leghorn in June, whilst another squadron under Badiley was still in the Levant. Hitherto the main concern of the English in the Mediterranean had been with the French, but the Dutch war had begun in May and it was not long before Appleton and Badiley had a new and more serious set of problems to face.

At the end of June, a fleet of fourteen Dutch warships appeared off Leghorn under Vice-Admiral Katz. To these Appleton could only oppose the *Leopard* and *Sampson* for he had rather foolishly sent the *Constant Warwick* to Genoa to careen. The Dutch promptly threatened to attack if the English merchantmen unloaded their cargoes, but the Grand Duke, having now no fears for his land-ward frontier, was prepared to act the honest neutral between two exclusively naval powers. Appleton moved out his ships to seaward in case the Dutch did attack and the merchantmen unloaded their cargoes under the protection of the guns of the fort.

Then began a long and wearisome blockade. It was obvious that Appleton could do nothing against a force so superior in numbers. His only chance was to stay ingloriously in harbour, and hope for the best. Even if Badiley succeeded in joining him, their combined fleet would be no match for the Dutch. The one hope was that the Commonwealth would send a strong force to the Mediterranean, a course which Appleton, Badiley and Langland never ceased to urge on the home government. But the situation in home waters was far too critical in the early stages of the Dutch war to permit any dissipation of forces.

The only other hope was to take over and arm as many merchantmen as possible. But, as we shall see, the majority of them were very reluctant to serve, and even if they had been more willing, they were short-handed and had little armament. Appleton, therefore, *faute de mieux*, had to remain at Leghorn. He remained there in point of fact until June, 1653, when he left as a prisoner of war bound overland for Holland.

To follow in minute detail the story of Appleton's misfortunes at Leghorn would be tedious, but fortunately the story falls into three well defined phases. The first runs to the attempt of Badiley to join forces with Appleton at the end of August, 1652, and his brush with the Dutch and the loss of the *Phoenix*. The second phase sees Appleton still at Leghorn and Badiley at Porto Longone. About this time Badiley is put in command of the combined fleets. The phase ends with the recapture of the *Phoenix* in November. In the third phase occurs the arrest of Appleton by the Grand Duke, and it ends with his attack on the Dutch which led to his defeat and capture in March 1653.

With these sailing directions it is fairly easy to reconstruct the story of Appleton at Leghorn.

The blockade was clamped down on him in July, and he also expected that a second Dutch squadron would be sent to meet Badiley, either at Messina or Zante. As an offset to much bad news, the *Constant Warwick* managed to elude the Dutch and rejoined Appleton's squadron at Leghorn in July. Appleton now began to think of ways and means. If the Dutch divided their fleet to tackle Badiley there might be some hope, it seemed, of breaking out. Appleton therefore asked the Council for permission to impress merchantmen who would join, he thought, if they had assurance of compensation for damage. The trouble was manning them. It was true that English sailors might be impressed at Venice and sent overland to Leghorn, but Appleton suggested to the Council an even stranger stratagem. This was to entice about two hundred English and Scots from the Dutch service. They were fifteen months in arrear with their pay and badly fed into the bargain.¹

Towards the end of August, Katz, the Dutch Commander was replaced by Van Gall. He had fourteen sail and expected to have twenty-five. One rather peculiar feature of the situation at Leghorn was the ease with which news seems to have reached each belligerent of the others' doings. Appleton, too, was often perturbed by the activities of Englishmen of royalist sympathies who were quite ready to help the Dutch, poison the mind of the Grand Duke against him, and would have helped Prince Rupert if he had turned up at Leghorn, as Appleton at one time feared he might.

¹ The contrast with conditions twelve years later is interesting. Cf. Pepys Diary, June 14th, 1667.

Van Gall lost little time in dividing his fleet. Leaving six vessels off Leghorn, he took the rest to meet Badiley at Messina. Appleton had sent the *Constant Warwick* to warn Badiley, and he decided to make direct for Leghorn, not calling at Messina and Naples. The result was that on August 27th, eleven Dutch ships met Badiley between Corsica and Lilboa and a two days' battle took place. Badiley flew his flag in the *Paragon* and had with him the *Elizabeth*, *Phoenix* and *Constant Warwick*, with four merchantmen in convoy. It was a hot action. Badiley seems to have fought with four Dutch ships at the same time, and at the end of the action he was reduced to ten rounds of ammunition per gun, whilst the *Elizabeth* had only two barrels of powder left and the *Constant Warwick*, four. The casualties on the *Paragon* were 26 killed and 57 wounded. Badiley praises the work of the *Constant Warwick* which came to his assistance, but the merchantmen, he says, did nothing to help. Though rather badly hulled, Badiley gave a good account of himself, dismasted one Dutchman and set another on fire.

The most serious matter was the loss of the *Phoenix*. This, according to Badiley was due to an error of judgement, if not worse, on the part of her commander, who did not fall astern to help the *Paragon* and allowed himself to be boarded by a large Dutch ship, and for want of a forecastle was unable to beat off the attackers. Altogether Badiley did well to save seven of his eight ships, considering the odds against him.

Meanwhile Appleton in Leghorn had his ships ready for action, but did nothing. True he was just recovering from fever, and the odds were against him. But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he might have materially altered the situation if he had acted with more resolution. Langland in a private letter to Colonel Thompson accused Appleton of cowardice. It seems there were only five Dutch ships left to contain him, and there were two merchantmen, the *Peregrine* and the *Levant Merchant* who were prepared to help. Appleton's version was that the merchantmen were so undermanned as to be valueless. Even so, the odds were no greater than those which Badiley had to face.

On September 17th, probably before they received news of the battle, the Council issued orders to Badiley to take command when he met Appleton.

The Dutch, meanwhile, had made for Leghorn, taking the *Phoenix* with them, and to add insult to injury, trailing the English flag astern in the water. Meanwhile the effective strength at Appleton's disposal had been slightly augmented; the *Levant Merchant* and *Peregrine* were willing to serve, though the *Sampson* and *May* refused to do so without specific orders from the Council. The trouble was that they had not seventy men between them, though twenty had arrived from Venice.

This influx caused Langland a good deal of trouble. As consul he was expected to supply the needs of both Appleton's squadron at Leghorn and Badiley's at Porto Longone as well

as to prepare for possible reinforcements if the Government could spare any. This strained his resources to the uttermost and he suggested that the Government should send spice or pepper to put him in credit. He repeated the suggestion of sending pepper at intervals, but never seems to have got any. The main problem was still to effect a junction of the two fleets and the attitude of the two commanders reminds one of the old rhyme about Lord Chatham and Sir Richard Straughan. At the end of September Badiley reports that he had been expecting Appleton and would have attacked if he had sighted him. Appleton, on the following day writes that he would have attacked if all the merchantmen had helped him. Not that the spirit of his men was good. They complained "for want of clothes" and he had had to let them have some money, a course to which he was much averse, "lest they should disorder themselves." Throughout October the Dutch were busy repairing the *Phoenix*, greatly to Appleton's annoyance. It seems to have affected his temper. At any rate, Langland writes to England complaining of the affronts put upon him by Appleton. Perhaps he had heard rumours of his supersession by Badiley, who had received instructions to take over the command of Appleton's squadron, as well as his own, in September. The brutal fact seems to have been that Appleton was afraid of offending the Grand Duke by retaking the *Phoenix*, and some of his officers wanted to try to do so. It was this that was behind the curious episode of November 1st when Appleton put Captain Cox of the *Bonaventure* under arrest and promoted Lieut. Lyons to the command. His command did not last long. On November 5th Badiley came overland to Leghorn for a conference. He promptly reinstated Cox whose real offence was a stratagem to recapture the *Phoenix* out of range of the port batteries. He naively says that he thinks the Grand Duke would commend the zeal of the English to come by their own again, an optimistic estimate which was falsified by subsequent events. It was probably at this time that Appleton first heard that he had been superseded. On November 5th he acknowledges his instructions to act under Badiley's command, and admits that Cox perhaps had some reason.

Probably a plan to recapture the *Phoenix* was worked out at this meeting. Appleton hints on November 19th that a scheme was afoot. On November 30th, the eve of St. Andrew, a cutting out expedition was planned. Three boats' crews under the command of Captain Cox were to take part. After one or two false starts and losing one another, they reached the *Phoenix*, boarded her, cut her cables and went off to sea "at the time of the morning star," as Appleton, with an unusual and probably unintentional flash of poetry put it in his report. She was pursued by two of the Dutch ships, but had the heels of them and went off with some crackling of small arms. Young Van Tromp who had been dining aboard her, escaped through a gun port, speeded by a shrewd blow from an English seamen, who told him "it was for wearing the English colours under his stern." On the whole a very success-

ful little cutting out expedition. Well might Appleton say that "the Lord had shown himself gracious unto them."

A week later Cox reported the *Phoenix* safe at Naples. The Dutch had resisted for two hours after they sailed. The casualties had been, however, slight, only three killed and five wounded, and the Dutch had lost more heavily. At first the Grand Duke seems to have been rather amused by the recapture of the *Phoenix*, but later, whether incited by the Dutch or Royalists, came to regard it as an insult and a breach of his neutrality. Both Badiley and Langland seem to have been anxious to justify themselves to the Council, and in their reports put forward some curious arguments. One of Badiley's best efforts is an analogy between the circumstances at Leghorn and the case of two persons who meet in a friend's chamber, and one takes the other's weapons. Surely, argues Badiley, the aggrieved party has the right to resort to stratagem to recover his arms.

It was, however, on the head of the unfortunate Appleton, that the storm burst. He was arrested a few days after the recapture of the *Phoenix* and clapped in gaol at Pisa. The actual charge against him was of forcibly attempting to seize a deserter and suspected spy who had escaped from the *Leopard* and put himself under the protection of a sentry on the Mole. Appleton had, of course, a convincing story, but that there was some sort of fracas is certain. In order to placate the Grand Duke Badiley deprived Appleton of his command, but told the Council (and probably Appleton) that he should reinstate him as soon as they were out of territorial waters.

However the Council seems to have decided that Appleton was causing too much trouble, and on January 10th, 1653, sent letters to Badiley instructing him to send Appleton home to answer the complaints made by the Grand Duke. Badiley passed on the orders to Appleton, who was now at liberty again, but pathetically remarks that he failed to see why it was wrong to recapture the *Phoenix*.

But the matter was not destined to end thus. On February 27th the Grand Duke gave Appleton a week in which to clear out of Leghorn with six warships. (This must have included converted merchantmen). Badiley at once instructed some of the merchantmen to hand over ammunition, men and officers to the ships which were going to make a break for it. He himself moved his squadron from Porte Ferrara back to Pambino whence on March 1st he sent fighting orders to Appleton. He suggested he should warp his ships out of the Mole, and he, Badiley, would bring his squadron to seaward of the Dutch. If the wind were offshore the Dutch would probably attack Badiley, otherwise Appleton. In either case, the fleet to windward was to go to the help of its consorts.

In spite of these preparations, things went badly for Appleton. Five of his ships were either sunk or captured, and only one succeeded in getting through to Badiley. Appleton himself was taken prisoner, the *Leopard* being one of the captured ships. The *Bonaventure* was blown up by an explosion in the magazine and the *Sampson* set on fire by a Dutch fireship. The Dutch at once took their prisoners into Leghorn, where the seamen were set at liberty; and the indefatigable Langland at once gave them conduct money to get them to Venice. Most of them, to his indignation, went to Genoa or anywhere but Venice. The captains, Appleton, Marsh and Seaman¹ were detained in the lazaretto, but later released when Langland and other English merchants entered bond to deliver them in Holland within two months.

Appleton at once began to defend himself. On March 25th he wrote to the Council and to the M.P. for Hull. He hints that Badiley might have given him more effective help and blames Cox for the disaster. It seems hardly likely. Cox was no coward. In fact throughout the whole episode Cox seems to have been the bolder of the two. Appleton talks rather grandiloquently of desiring to blow up the *Leopard* rather than surrender and claims that his crew forcibly restrained him from doing so; but one is inclined to wonder. Nothing in the story of the previous eight months indicates that Appleton was a man of that calibre.

The remainder of the story is soon told. The captured captains, after a violent quarrel with Langland, at whom one of them, Seaman, hurled large stones, went overland to Holland.

By the fortunes of war, the Dutch gained nothing by their victory, for within a few days of the defeat of Appleton's squadron, occurred the battle off Portland in which the main Dutch fleet was entirely defeated. This led in May to the recall of the Dutch squadron from the Mediterranean and so pessimistic was its commander that he took the precaution of getting a certificate from Appleton that he had treated him well, as he thought it would come in useful when he was in turn taken prisoner, as he fully expected to be on his return journey to Holland.

Appleton went to Holland and thence back to England and then began his pamphlet war with Badiley. By his showing, Badiley had let him down badly and Langland, who had never got on well with Appleton, comes in for several knocks. Badiley responded with vigour. He alleged that Appleton was cautious to the point of timidity and that a more enterprising commander would have got his fleet out of Leghorn and joined Badiley at the time of his first engagement with the Dutch. It is not worth following the controversy between the two indignant mariners. As Appleton was never employed again by the Admiralty, it would seem they were not satisfied with his conduct and Badiley certainly seems to have been the more resolute character of the two.

¹ It is possible that Seaman, like Appleton was a Hull man.

The recent publication of the first Order Book of the Hull Trinity House throws, as we have said, considerable new light on Appleton. A Hull man, he was admitted a Younger Brother of the House in 1632. This means he had qualified as a pilot and ship master, the admission to the guild being something between a master's certificate and a pilot's licence. Unfortunately it was not until a few years later that the practice began of stating for what ports the newly admitted Brother was a competent pilot. Probably Appleton was licensed for the Mediterranean. In 1638 and again in the following year he appeared before the House in disputes over the hiring of a ships' carpenter. In 1640 he was elected an assistant¹. The likelihood of his being interested in the Mediterranean is shown in 1641 when he charged a seaman with failure to join ship for a voyage to Spain, and in 1647 he was master of the *Spanish Merchant* when he had to pay fifteen shillings damages in a collision case².

In 1643 he was promoted Elder Brother and (after a surprisingly short interval) stood unsuccessfully for the Wardenship in 1645. Appleton seems to have been a man of substance and in 1650 he advanced sums of money, amounting to about £200, to Trinity House for the purchase of some lands.³ Possibly as a reward for his services, he was elected Warden in September of that year. As we have seen, before his term of office had expired he was on service in the Mediterranean, but there was nothing unusual in the Warden being absent on a voyage. In 1652 his wife received eight shillings due to him on his year's accounts; and he disappears from the House's records until 1655, when he was one of two Brethren deputed to go to London to appear before the Council on business connected with the seizure of a ship for breach of the Navigation Act. In the same year he was elected Warden for the second time, probably a mark of esteem by the Brethren, as the office of Warden was not, at that period, held in rotation.⁴ In the following year he went to London to discuss the Houses' Charters with a sub-committee of the Committee for Trade and Navigation. He probably died towards the end of February 1657, for his successor as Elder Brother was elected on March 2nd of that year.

The career of Appleton is of some interest to naval historians because it throws some light on a question hitherto rather obscure; the type of man selected for command by the Commonwealth Governments. The controversy aroused by the appointment of "gentleman captains" and the new rules for the employment of midshipmen issued by James, Duke of York in 1661, are well

¹ The governing body of Trinity House consisted of the Wardens, Elder Brethren, and assistants.

² *Order Book of Trinity House, Hull.* (Yorks. Archaeological Society Record Series, CVI, 1942, p. 83).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 99, *et seq.*

⁴ Even if it had been, Appleton was not due for the office in 1655.

known¹. It is also known that until 1664 naval officers seem to have been examined in navigation by the London Trinity House, and there are hints that the practice was unsatisfactory. So far as the Hull Trinity House was concerned, their examination of pilots was certainly no formality,² but they do not appear to have examined naval officers. Appleton, it is obvious, was a skilled master mariner, with numerous Mediterranean voyages to his credit. He was already known to the Commonwealth Government, for he had assessed the value of a prize taken by Parliament in 1642. Nor was he quite the obscure person imagined by Sir John Laughton. He was obviously a man of standing and consideration in shipping circles in Hull. His speedy promotion in the Trinity House proves so much. Nor can he have fallen so completely out of favour with the Government as might have been imagined, otherwise the House would probably not have elected him Warden in 1655 and certainly not have entrusted him with negotiations with the Government on its behalf.

That Appleton was not a great success as a Commander is, I think, obvious. He had a difficult job, almost an impossible one, but he seems to have been lacking in tact and undecided in character. His faults were probably those of his type, a certain caution and unwillingness to take a risk, natural enough attributes in a man whose training had been that of a master of a merchantman. Of his skill as a seaman there can be little doubt, but as a diplomatist and fleet commander he fell short.

Was it, one wonders, because the "tarpaulin" was too often of this type, (as Appleton and Badiley's relations with the masters of the merchantmen in their fleets tend to show) that James turned to a different type for the officers of the Restoration Navy?

The question is an interesting one, and one that can hardly be answered without a detailed study of the careers of a number of the lesser commanders of the Commonwealth period. It is, however, something to have learned a little of the training and qualifications which the Council sought in their junior commanders.

F. W. BROOKS.

¹ For a discussion see Tedder A., *Navy of the Restoration* (Cambridge 1916), p. 57, *et seq.*

² I have given reasons for this statement in the introduction to the *Trinity House Order Book*. They are too long to repeat here.

WILLIAM SLINGSBY AND THE SLINGSBY MONUMENTS IN KNARESBOROUGH CHURCH.

By W. A. ATKINSON.

Mrs. Esdaile's illustrated account of the memorial to Sir William Slingsby in Knaresborough Church¹ offers an opportunity of paying a tribute to the interest and industry of the late Mr. W. J. Kaye in archaeology, and of clearing up some of the great confusion of dates and titles in which the local history of Harrogate and Knaresborough has become involved, an object of great concern to Mr. Kaye in his later years.

It is now generally known and admitted that Sir William was not "the discoverer of the Harrogate waters" or even of the medicinal virtues of the Tewit Well, but that the credit of this discovery belongs to one of Sir William's uncles, generally identified as "William Slingsby, gentleman." This result is in a great measure due to an independent discovery made by Mr. Kaye, and assiduously insisted upon by him as an historical correction. Some further account of this matter may perhaps prove interesting.

So far as I am aware, no member of the Slingsby family, and none of the family papers, has ever claimed the discovery of the Tewit Well for a Slingsby. When, therefore, the Rev. Daniel Parsons edited in 1836 Sir Henry Slingsby's Diary, to which he added an appendix of family papers and genealogical notes, he made no reference to this event. This silence is the more remarkable seeing that he was well acquainted with Hargrove's "*History of Knaresborough*," and had a good opinion of it.²

In the second edition of this work, published in 1775, p. 45, Hargrove says that the well—

"was discovered by Capt. William Slingsby, about the year 1571. This Gentleman, in the early part of his life, had travelled in Germany, where he made himself acquainted with the Spaws of that country. He lived sometime at Grange House, near the Old Spaw, from whence he removed to Bilton Park, where he spent the remainder of his days. He made severall trials of this water, and finding it like the German, he walled it about, and paved it at the bottom, leaving a small opening for the free access of the water. Its current is always near the same, and is about the quantity of the Sauvenir, to which Mr. Slingsby thought it preferable."

¹ Y.A.J., XXXVI, 86.

² Cf. an autograph letter of Parsons in the copy of Slingsby's Diary in the Y.A.S. Library, Leeds.

I quote this account from Dr. Alex. Butler's biographical notes,¹ not having seen this edition myself. In his third edition (1782, pp. 76-77), Hargrove identifies this well with the "Old Spaw," near the Granby Inn, and adds that—

"Dr. Bright wrote the first treatise on its virtues and uses; Dr. Dean in 1626; Dr. Stanhope in 1631; Dr. French in 1651; Dr. Neale in 1656; Dr. Simpson in 1668."

A similar account, with a few alterations of spellings and arrangement, is given in the fourth edition (1789, pp. 68-69), and this is probably the most widely known of all the editions.

Though it is anticipating proof, it may be well to get rid of one or two errors at this stage. It was not "the Old Spaw" which Slingsby discovered, but the Tewit Well;² and though Dr. Bright had a great appreciation of the virtues of the waters of the Tewit Well, he did not write a book about them.³ Moreover, Stanhope, mentioned by Hargrove, and described by him and others as a doctor, appears to have had no claim to that professional distinction; but, what is of much more importance, he was the author of a little work, *Newes out of Yorkshire*, published a little later in 1626 than *Spadacrene*, in which he confirms Deane's account of the Tewit Well.⁴

Although Hargrove, in the quotation given above, regarded William Slingsby and Capt. Slingsby as one and the same person, and in subsequent editions dropped the "Mr." and spoke only of "Capt." Slingsby, it does not necessary follow that he regarded the future Sir William as the discoverer of the well.⁵

My own researches dispose me to think that Hargrove had in mind in the use of both the titles the true discoverer, William Slingsby, "gentleman," and that he used the word "captain" with some traditional justification, and to avoid confusion with Sir William. I know of no reference which clearly proves this; but Hargrove seems to have had a closer connection with the Slingsby family and their records than any other purely local historian.

It was Grainge who first clearly and decisively named Sir William as the discoverer of the Tewit Well, in a *Memoir of the Life of Sir William Slingsby, Kt.* which he published in 1862. Grainge took his information from "Dr. Dean, the first writer on the medicinal waters of Harrogate, in his *Spandarine* (sic) *Anglica*, published in 1626," and he quotes from that work as follows:

"It was discovered first about fifty years ago by one Mr. William Slingsby, who had travelled in Germany in his younger years, seen and been acquainted with theirs; and as

¹ Reprint, 1922, of *Spadacrene Anglica* by Edmund Deane, M.D., with Introduction by James Rutherford, L.R.C.P., Ed. and Biographical Notes by Alex. Butler, M.B., p. 38.

² *Spadacrene*, pp. 76, 25, 35.

³ *Spadacrene*, pp. 64-65, 48-50; Kaye, *Records of Harrogate*, XXX.

⁴ *Spadacrene*, pp. 24-26; Kaye, *Records*, XXX.

⁵ *Spadacrene*, pp. 38-39.

he was of an ancient family near the place, so he had fine parts, and was a capable judge. He lived sometime at a Grange house near it; then removed to Bilton Park, where he spent the rest of his days. He used this water yearly, and found it exactly like the German Spaw."¹

Fifty years earlier than 1626, the date of Deane's account, gives the year 1576, five years later than Hargrove's date. Sir William was born in 1562, and would therefore be nine years old in 1571, and fourteen years old in 1576.²

Such a youth could not have made this discovery, and Grainge sought to surmount the difficulty by postulating a serious error in Deane's account.

"From the uncertain expression of the Dr., 'about fifty years ago,' the date of this discovery is generally fixed in the year 1576, though it is probably twenty years or more too early, as at that time Slingsby would only be fourteen years of age, and could not have travelled much in Germany or elsewhere; while the expression, 'in his younger days,' would infer that the discovery was not made before he had attained to middle age at least."³

This theory and these errors in dates and typography are all repeated in Grainge's *History of Harrogate and the Forest of Knaresborough*, published in 1871 (pp. 109-111, p. 127n.); and this became the accepted account of "the discovery of the Harrogate waters" for a generation or more.

The original *Spadacrene Anglica* is an exceedingly scarce book, and though it passed through four editions only about six copies are known.⁴ It is apparent that Grainge had not seen it, and that he took his account from some later transcript, apparently a summary given by Dr. Short, who published a *Medicinal History of Mineral Waters* in 1734. This account does not strictly agree with Deane's original; and in particular it puts the date of the discovery as "fifty years ago," that is before 1626.⁵ Grainge was, therefore, somewhat misled; and he had perhaps the more excuse for his surmise in the fact that he would be acquainted with the date, 1571, given by Hargrove, and would infer from the discrepancy that the actual date was a matter of some uncertainty.

But about 1920 new light was brought to bear upon this subject from several quarters. In October, 1921, Col. Michael Foster, M.D. read a paper before the Harrogate Medical Society on *The Early History of Harrogate Waters*, and Mr. Kaye was allowed to make use of this paper in his *Records of Harrogate* (pp. xxviii-xxx), published in 1922. The labours of these investigators made it clear that Sir William Slingsby could not have been the dis-

¹ Grainge, *Memoir*, p. 16.

² Grainge, *Memoir*, p. 5; Kaye, *Records*, p. xxix.

³ Grainge, *Memoir*, pp. 16-17.

⁴ *Spadacrene*, pp. 6-7.

⁵ *Spadacrene*, pp. 39-41.

coverer of the Tewit Well, and that the discovery was made by his uncle. Even more important was the publication in 1922 of a reprint of the first edition of Deane's *Spadacrene* from a copy in the possession of Dr. Rutherford, of Harrogate. This contains an excellent biographical introduction by Dr. Alexander Butler in which the literature of the discovery of the Tewit Well is fully discussed. These works put the matter beyond dispute, and the reader is referred to them for fuller details. But as Deane's actual account is all-important and brief, it may be excusable to reproduce it here from the reprint (pp. 82-84) :

"The first discoverer of it to have any medicinall quality (so far forth as I can learn) was one Mr. *William Slingsby*, a Gentleman of many good parts, of an ancient, and worthy Family neere thereby; who having travelled in his younger time, was throughly acquainted with the taste, use, and faculties of the two Spaw fountaines.

In his latter time, about 55 yeeres agoe it was his good fortune to live for a little while at a grange house very neare to this fountaine, and afterwards in *Bilton Parke* all his life long. Who drinking of this water, found it in all things to agree with those at the Spaw. Whereupon (greatly rejoycing at so good and fortunate an accident) he made some further triall and assay: That done, he caused the fountaine to be well, and artificially walled about, and paved at the bottome (as it is now at this day) with two faire stone flags, with a fit hole in the side thereof, for the free passage of the water through a little guttered stone. It is open at the top, and walled somewhat higher, then the earth, as well to keepe out filth, as Cattle for comming and approaching to it. It is foure-square, three foot wide, and the water within is about three quarters of a yard deepe,"

I was well acquainted with these results when, about 1924, I first had access to the Slingsby papers, and I kept a close watch for any documents which might throw light upon Mr. William Slingsby's career; but my reward in that quarter was not great. His will, however, was found, and that showed that he was living in *Bilton Park* in his last years—a fact of some importance in his association with the Tewit Well.

In 1927 Major T. W. Slingsby kindly lent me a scrap-book which had once belonged to the Rev. Daniel Parsons, editor of Sir Henry Slingsby's *Diary*. Born in 1811, Parsons received the degree of Master of Arts in 1835, and was tutor to Sir Charles Slingsby in 1836, when the *Diary* was published.¹ He retained his interest in the Slingsby family throughout his life, and collected a number of letters, prints, notes, and cuttings which he incorporated in the scrap-book. He died, probably at Malvern, on the 5th July, 1887, about which time the book seems to have come into the possession of Mrs. Slingsby, sister of Sir Charles.

¹ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, iii, 1075; Slingsby Papers.

Among the cuttings preserved in this book are one or two from *Notes and Queries* which show that as far back as 1873 Parsons had identified the true discoverer of the Tewit Well. As a great part of Grainge's *Memoir* was made up from the letters and notes which Parsons appended to the Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, the latter would in all probability have his attention drawn to Grainge's pamphlet, and later on to his *History of the Forest*. In 1870 a memorial window to Sir William Slingsby and to Sir Charles Slingsby, the last baronet, was placed in the Pump Room at Harrogate, and this also would be of interest to Parsons. Replying to a question in *Notes and Queries* in 1878, Parsons says that he first obtained a sight of Deane's *Spadacrene Anglica* in 1873. He must have seen at once that its statements were too direct and clear to be set aside or altered, and with his intimate acquaintance with the Slingsby genealogy he would at once pick out William Slingsby, "gentleman," as the true discoverer of the waters. He sets out the case very clearly and cogently, making correct quotations from *Spadacrene* as given in Dr. Rutherford's reprint.¹

Parson's interest in the family led him to expand his note and say something about the monument to Sir William Slingsby in the Slingsby Chapel in Knaresborough church. Like all the other writers on the subject, he had originally regarded the date, August, 1634, inscribed upon the memorial, as the date of Sir William's death, the year 1624 given in some later editions of Hargrove's history being an obvious misprint. But he had now discovered that even August, 1634, was not the date of Sir William's death.

"In Sir Henry Spelman's *History and Fate of Sacrilege*, London, 1698, at pp. 291-2," continues Parsons, "he gives an account of the end of two English gentlemen guilty of the sprightly frolic, after the taking of Cales (Cadiz), of burning the cathedral there, and then the Cathedral-church of Pharos in Portugal. This was the expedition mentioned in the inscription which is to follow. At the end of his account he says '(Ex relat. Will. Slingsby Mil. 22, Nov. 1634)'."

Parsons concluded that August, 1634, was the date, within Sir William's life-time, when the monument was erected in the Slingsby Chapel, but he was still unable to give the exact date of Sir William's death. He even ventured a surmise that Sir William might have survived the execution of Charles I in 1649.

This information added interest and zest to the search for correct dates in the life of Sir William, and in a little while I had the good fortune to meet with two deeds which limited the time within which he probably died. Both deeds were connected with Harswell, near Market Weighton, where the Slingsbys had an estate. The first was an

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 5th S., x, Nov. 9, 23, and 30, 1878.

"Indenture made the First day of September in the Thirteenth yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne lord Charles by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland France and Ireland defendor of the faith &c. Annoz doñi 1637 BETWEEN Sr William Slingsbie of the Strand in the County of Middlesex k^t And Henry Slingsbie of Screven Esqr of thone parte And Gilbert Wells of Hareswell . . ."

The Henry Slingsby named in this deed was Sir William's nephew, the diarist, who received a baronetcy in the following year. The second deed was made between Sir Henry Slingsby, baronet, and the vicar of Hareswell, and is dated January in the sixteenth year of Charles I (1640-41), and shows that Sir Henry had then obtained the whole of the estate held jointly by him and Sir William in 1637.

Early in 1932 Mr. Kaye contributed a letter to the Harrogate press on the discovery of the Tewit Well, which he placed to the credit of William Slingsby, "gentleman."¹ I added a letter in support of him, and at the same time I wrote him privately, pointing out that Sir William Slingsby had a town house, Slingsby House in the Strand, and that he probably died there between the dates given above. Within two of three days he replied:

"Armed with your information . . . I tried the Registers of St. Martins-in-the-Fields . . . I found to my delight in the burials, 1638—'Junii 13, Wm' Slingsby, Eques auro'."

He subsequently made further discoveries of the same kind, which he communicated to me; but there are probably others recorded in his unpublished papers. Since that time I have found independently one or two references which prove that Sir William survived the latest date, 1634, inscribed upon his monument.

Having dealt with the discovery of the Tewit Well and the date of Sir William's death, something may yet be added dealing more particularly with the Slingsby monuments. Although their inscriptions are almost obliterated, copies of these have been preserved, and have been printed in the appendix to Sir Henry Slingsby's Diary, in Calvert's *History of Knaresbrough*," and some other works.

Mrs. Esdaile has correctly identified the tomb of Francis and Mary Slingsby as the work of Thomas Browne, probably a Hazelwood mason.² In an account book of the Slingsby family there are two entries in the year 1601, and there may be others:

"To Tho: Browne Tombe maker xl" (£10)

"To Tho: Browne tombe maker iiijli"³ (£3)

The two mural monuments to Sir William and Sir Henry, the sons of Francis, Mrs. Esdaile ascribes to Epiphanius Evesham. She, too, seems to be the first to have noticed as significant that

¹ *The Harrogate Advertiser*, April 26th, 1932.

² *Y.A.J.*, XXXV, pp. 383, 384, 377 and 367.

³ *A Rent Booke of Tenne Years*.

the latest date on both monuments is 1634, though the two brothers did not die in the same year, as she infers.¹

It is probable that Sir William was the chief inspiration of all three monuments and their inscriptions, seeing that he was the first genealogist of the family.² His father, Francis, died August 4, 1600. The heir to the estates, Henry, not then knighted, was one of the "undertakers" for the colonizing of the lands taken from the Earl of Desmond; and in 1586 he had received an allotment of 8,000 acres lying along the River Suir in Tipperary.³ About the time of his father's death the disturbed state of Ireland seems to have called for his services in that country, and in preparation for his departure, he made an interesting will, dated the 7th of January, 1601-2, subsequently annulled by others.⁴ Among the first injunctions expressed in this will are :

"Item my further mind & will is that my fathers Tombe alreadie begunne may be in very decent & good sort pformed att the charge of thexecutors of this my last will by the advise and direction of my brother william Slingsbe to whose care I whollie committ that matter. Item I will that my vnclē will^{am} Slingsbe shall have all that parke called Bilton pke wth all the profitts eysements and comodities whatsoever thereunto belonginge now in the tenure or occupaçon of my said vnclē from the daie of my death for and duringe the terme of the naturall life of him the said willam if the terme nowe in beinge shall so longe contynue yeldinge & paying only such rents as are dew to her Matie her heires & successors."

Henry crossed over to Ireland, and there he was knighted on the 29th April, 1602, in Dublin Castle by Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy of Ireland.⁵ His brothers William and Guilford were knighted along with many others by James I at Whitehall on the 23rd of July, 1603.⁶ A third brother, Francis, was probably already in Ireland when Henry made his will. This one also was subsequently knighted in Dublin Castle on June 5, 1605.⁷

Sir Henry died at Nun Monkton December 17, 1634, and was buried at Knaresborough on the 28th.⁸ His monument had already been erected in the Slingsby chapel. In one of the account books of the family there is the following entry under the date "decr. 1633" at the top of the page:

¹ *Y.A.J.*, XXXVI, pp. 86-88.

² *Diary*, p. 405, *n.* Also a MS. much torn, among the Slingsby papers.

³ *Cal. Carew MSS.*, 1575-88, pp. 446-447, 450, etc.

⁴ Slingsby Papers, now in the custody of the Yorks. Archaeol. Soc.

⁵ Shaw: *Knights of England*, II, p. 100; *Cal. St. P. Dom.* 1601-3, p. 190.

⁶ Baildon: *Baildon and the Baidons*, III, p. 25, *n.*; Inscription on Sir Guilford's portrait; Notes by Rev. D. Parsons.

⁷ *Cal. St. P. Carew*, 1603-24, p. 384.

⁸ Parson's *Diary*, pp. 409, 186; Clay's *Dugdale*, II, 69.

“For ayle & Cakes to those that helpte to gett my tombe
 “Tombe. into the churche & for takinge downe the churche wall &
 makinge it vpp againe . . . xviiijd.”¹

It may be conjectured that some premonition of Sir Henry's death prompted the preparation of his monument, and that Sir William, being then resident in London, was consulted in the matter, chose the sculptor, and at the same time commissioned his own memorial. Sir William was already living in the Strand in 1629, when he bought the capital messuage of the Baildons at Kippax; and on the 14th of April, 1634, he bought a mill at Staynford, Yorkshire, from Gilbert Bayldon, who was then, like himself, living in London.²

The inscription on Sir Henry's memorial was still legible in 1836, and is given by Parsons as follows :³

HIC IACET HENR. SLINGSBIE FILIVS
 ET HÆRES FRANCISCI ET MARIÆ MENSE AP:
 DE A^o XLIIJ ELIZ. RNE MILIT. QVI OBIIT
 DECEM. DIE. 17. A^o. DNI 1634 ÆTAT. SVÆ 74
 ANOS ET 10 MENSES

It has perished a good deal since then, but enough still remains to verify the general correctness of the transcription. The editor regards the word *milit* (which is not now fully legible) as a mistake for *miles*; but it seems more probable that the sculptor had the law Latin *militatus* in mind.⁴ It must, however, refer to Sir Henry. Francis, his father, was only an esquire, but he has often been fictitiously knighted, partly no doubt because of the mistake in this inscription, and partly by confusion with his son, Francis, who, as we have seen, was knighted. The date “mense Ap:de A^o xliiij Eliz. R^{ne},” the year of which is still legible on the monument itself, gives the month and year of his knighting. Unfortunately it has been misprinted as “xliij” in the Diary; but April, 1602,⁵ was the 44th of Elizabeth.

If Sir Henry arrived home again in time to see the erection of his father's tomb, which according to the inscription upon it was completed on the 24th of June, 1602, his stay in Ireland must have been short. He was then 42 years and 5 months old. A collation of this and other dates fixes his birth between the 17th and 24th January, 1560, New Style. He died December 17, 1634, aged 74 years and 10 months, as recorded on his monument.

¹ Account Book, 1628-34.

² *Baildon and the Baildons*, III, 63, 65.

³ *Slingsby's Diary*, p. 409.

⁴ Wright, *Court-Hand*, 9th ed., Glossary, “*Militare*” to be knighted.

⁵ Cf. Shaw, *Knights of England*, II, p. 100; Cal. St. P. Dom. 1601-3, p. 190; Calvert, *Hist. of Knaresbrough* (1844), p. 59, makes the same misprint, probably copying Parsons.

THE KING'S MANOR, YORK.

By J. STUART SYME, F.S.A.

This group of buildings has in the past been thought of too much as the King's Manor, and not enough as the residence of the Lord Abbot of the Monastery of St. Mary at York. Although the style and title of the King's Manor was bestowed on the demesne in the year 1538 its direct association with any of our sovereigns since that date was but short lived and never of a particularly intimate character. On the other hand the buildings in their original form were built by the Abbey for the Abbey and, as may be gathered from what will be shown later, they served as a residence for its Abbot for a period of nearly 300 years. Mediaeval records appear to afford but scanty information as to the story of their erection and we have therefore to supplement them with what the architectural details of the structures have to tell us. Although the building of the Abbey had been commenced at least as early as the year 1089 during the reign of William II, it appears unlikely that a separate and detached lodging for the Abbot was provided until a much later date. Some of those who have written about the house have stated that it was founded by Abbot Sever or Senhouse who ruled the monastery from 1485 to 1502. Among the number is the late Ridsdale Tate who ought to have known better or should at least have been more careful in his choice of expression. At three separate points in the existing buildings are the remains of walling and a moulded stone basecourse which are unquestionably of the period when Simon de Warwick was engaged in the extensive constructional schemes with which his name is associated. They were put in hand about the year 1271 and included the rebuilding of the Abbey Church and the erection of a fortified enclosure wall around the whole of the premises with a guard house near the earlier Norman entrance gateway in Marygate. It is stated that the walls date from the year 1266 but a licence to crenellate was not granted until 1318 and the side or sides facing the city were specifically excluded. Simon must also be credited with the construction of the new dwelling for himself of which the above mentioned remains are the only visible but nevertheless quite conclusive evidence. The lack of recognition of this effort of the Abbot is the more surprising as his work is on a much higher architectural plane than that of any of those who added to the amenities of the building at a later date.

It is unfortunate that these 13th century remains are not sufficient to enable us to draw more than a vague outline of the plan of the house of that period. What we do know would suggest that it was on an even larger scale than the palace which Archbishop Walter de Grey built for himself at Bishopthorpe a few years earlier. It should be remembered however that Simon was one of the mitred abbots and entitled to a seat in the House of Lords with the spiritual peers of the realm.

None of the historians of the King's Manor have referred to any work of any other abbot previous to the days of William Sever. The latter is credited with having done much in the way of improving his house and this statement may be accepted as correct. There is however some evidence of builders having been at work in the abbey some 50 years earlier. The gateway adjoining the Hospitium (so called) is lined with bricks which measure 11 inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, a size which appears to have been in use in the District for a short period about the year 1400. The bricks used for the building of the North Bar at Beverley which was commenced in 1409 measure $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. A window of the oriel type in what is regarded as an Abbot Sever Wing has a traceried head of a type which had gone out of fashion before his day. It is true that there are certain windows not unlike it in the late 15th century courthouse adjoining the Marygate entrance, and these may well be of Sever date. The other has a nicely designed jamb moulding and narrow and refined mullions which seem to speak of earlier days.

What Sever appears to have done was to pull down most of Simon's U shaped building leaving only some of the lower portions of the two wings which project towards the South-west and a unit in one of the internal corners which may have contained a staircase.

The wing which shows the clearest evidence of his activities is that which has a frontage to Exhibition Square on the North-east side of the site which also has associations with the Earl of Sheffield and the Stuart kings. The fact that it is built of brick above a typical late stone basecourse has a definite significance. This material came into favour more and more as the 15th century advanced and the bricks which are 10 in. by 5 in. in size indicate a date slightly after that of the larger ones to which reference has been made. It will of course be noted that Sever was not in a position to draw on the almost unlimited supply of stone from the condemned Abbey buildings as were some of those who followed him.

In this wing and its two South-eastern projections can be seen some fine ceilings with moulded oak ribs, an open timber roof, some complete 15th century mullioned windows with and without arched heads and the brick saving arches over others which were swept away by Lord Sheffield.

Sever's connection with the South-west wing with its two arms is uncertain. There is some structural evidence which may suggest his responsibility for the portion towards the Manor Lane, but less for the remainder of this group of buildings. The stone balustrade of the stair has a late Gothic flavour but the windows of the enclosing walls are undoubtedly of the Stuart period some 150 years later.

In the year 1538 the last of the Abbots surrendered the monastery to the Crown in the person of Henry VIII, who had by that time assigned the house to the Council of the North as a residence and headquarters for that august body. It had been recreated in that year for the easier control of the North where revolts and factional disturbances were of frequent occurrence during the middle ages.

Henry himself was the first for whom any additions were made to the house in its new status of royal manor. The occasion was an intended visit of himself and his Queen Catherine Howard, a visit which actually occurred in the year 1541. To accommodate himself and his court a long and narrow building was constructed on the South-west side of the Manor facing the Abbey and the river Ouse. Ridsdale Tate in a paper on the Abbey stated that Henry's building extended into its grounds as far as the front of the Museum of the Philosophical Society. There is no indication of this on the Charles II map of the city referred to below or on Sharp's beautiful plan of the Abbey made in 1827-8 and the statement must be accepted with reserve. The drawings of the palace made about 1718 by Francis Place and in 1721 by S. Buck do not support it.

To provide a site for the Palace a portion of the monastic buildings had to be demolished. All that remains of it to-day is the vaulted cellarage under the modern class rooms of the School for the Blind which is now located in the Manor. In the cellars are to be seen the remains of a very fine doorway in the decorated Gothic style which formerly occupied some position in the Abbey.

One of the favourite relaxations of the King was the game of tennis, not the modern lawn tennis but a much more ancient and complicated form of sport, played in a court surrounded by walls some of which rose to a height of 30 feet. Such a court was constructed for him at the Manor and it is safe to assume that it was laid out on the same lines as the earlier and still existing one with which he was familiar at his palace of Hampton Court. The tennis court at the Manor though in existence in 1611 has now entirely disappeared, but its size and position may be ascertained with almost absolute certainty from the survey of the city to which reference has been made. The map is in manuscript form and in the possession of the city authorities of York. It was drawn by Captain James Archer "one of His Majesties Ingeniers." It is undated but internal evidence shows that it was made in the early years of the reign of Charles II.

It is on record that certain works were executed to the order of the Earl of Sussex who was President of the Council from 1568 to 1572. There can be little doubt that they included the Wing on the extreme right of the Exhibition Square elevation. It is later than the adjoining Sever wing and earlier than any of the Elizabethan or Stuart work on the site. It is faced with stone from the Abbey then in process of demolition and this is of course an indication of its date. Its chief external feature is an oriel window in the Gothic style then almost defunct.

Henry Hastings Earl of Huntingdon who succeeded Sussex as President reconstructed the North-west Sever block and projected two wings from it on the side towards the orchard or garden. It is here that we find the well known Huntingdon room whose chief features are an elaborately carved stone chimney piece of exceptionally fine quality and a hand-modelled plaster frieze with heraldic decorations. One of the items in the latter is the Hastings crest surrounding the Garter, the emblem of the Order which was conferred on the Earl in 1578. From it we can deduce the date when the work was executed. The Sever ceiling with moulded oak ribs was not entirely destroyed by Huntingdon and can still be seen above a portion of the room.

Between the years 1609 and 1613 further improvements were initiated by the Earl of Sheffield.

His work was confined to the partial reconstruction of the block on the left of the principal front and is chiefly noticeable for the two fine doorways which are among the most attractive features in the whole group of buildings. Though commenced about 1611 and bearing the initials of James I, that on the left cannot have been finished until after 1625 as the initials of Charles I also appear on it. It is not unlikely that the upper feature was added by Lord Wentworth who succeeded to the presidency in 1628. The right hand doorway originally faced the inner court yard and was on a line with the other. It was removed to its present position in the course of some alterations in the entrance hall of the School for the Blind. The brick saving arches over vanished Sever windows should be studied in conjunction with a more complete window in the wall towards the Manor Lane.

The works undertaken by Thomas, Viscount Wentworth during his presidency, took the form of a most ambitious scheme of improvement. He is of course better known by his later title of Earl of Strafford and because of his unfortunate connection with an equally unfortunate master King Charles the First. He constructed the wing on the South-west side of the court yard, and the adjoining unit which unites it with the Huntingdon block to the North-east. He may have built the former on a Sever foundation and if so he almost certainly razed the earlier walls to the ground. His work is faced with stone and not with brick which Sever would have been likely to use. The decorative band with fluted frieze and moulded cornice which divides the walls externally

into two tiers is a very attractive feature and the same must be said of the four fine Stuart doorways in these Wentworth wings. His arms are displayed on one of them, another bears the royal achievement and on a third will be noticed the Scottish thistle badge.

The Manor ceased to be the headquarters of the Council of the North in the year 1640. After the Commonwealth period and until they became the home of the Yorkshire School for the Blind in the year 1833, the buildings were occupied by a succession of favoured individuals who held it on lease or were granted the use of it by the Crown. Between the years 1682 and 1687 the occupant was Sir John Reresby by virtue of his position as Governor of the City. He appears to have settled in the Sussex wing and the adjoining Huntingdon wing and spent the equivalent of from £3,000 to £4,000 of our money in the reconditioning of his residence. In the first mentioned is a nicely designed oak stair which may well be of that date.

A later occupant of the same rooms was Sir Tancred Robinson who was living there in the year 1726. We are not told that he spent any money on them but it may have been he who inserted some of the early Georgian finishings there and the sliding sashes in the Oriel and other of the windows. He was a distinguished citizen of York having been Admiral of the White and Lord Mayor of the City in 1718 and 1738. A fine memorial to him in the Church of St. Crux at York was preserved when that building was demolished in 1885. Sir Tancred sublet some of the rooms in the Manor to a Mr. Lumley who was the proprietor of a boarding school for girls which was established there at that time and there continued for another hundred years. It was to this school that Ralph Thoresby brought his daughter to be educated in the year 1712. It was housed in the Huntingdon block and the names of many of the scholars can still be seen on the glazing quarries of the windows where they were scratched with a diamond.

When the School for the Blind was established in the premises in the year 1833 the buildings were substantially in the condition in which Thoresby found them. Additions and alterations have had to be made to meet the needs of the school but the Governors have seen to it that they were in harmony with their ancient surroundings. There is evidence of this in the Principal's house on the right of the forecourt which was designed in 1900 by the late Walter Brierley. It is in the closest sympathy with its near neighbour the Sheffield wing and no better monument to his sense of the fit and appropriate could be desired.

NOTES ON SADDLEWORTH. LOST TERRITORY.

By A. J. HOWCROFT, O.B.E.

Apart from the major changes which took place in the boundaries of Northumbria and Mercia and had become stable before the Norman Conquest, there has been a number of minor changes in modern times, from one cause or another, in the Saddleworth boundaries and therefore in those of Yorkshire. These changes should be recorded. The upper reaches of the Tame and Medlock form the limits of Quick or Saddleworth on three sides and two small tributaries on the South and West. Mounds or piles of peat or earth mark the line on the hills laid at short distances apart, where no prominent physical feature could serve. Where the present boundaries do not conform to this rule, and documentary evidence supports the rule, we know territory has been lost or alienated from Saddleworth.

There are four districts where territory has been transferred to neighbouring Townships (1) Holm Edge, (2) Mossley, (3) Lees and (4) Wotherhead Hill. Among her neighbours Yorkshire is known as "Yorkshire bite." It is clear, however, that whatever she has bitten and acquired in the mass she has not lived up to her reputation on her borders. The proud legend, "Quod habeo, teneo" has been defied. So voracious have her neighbours become that some openly say Yorkshire's proper place is on the other side of Stanedge. In-bred loyalty to Yorkshire cricket, however, has made Saddleworth impregnable to any further assault. The White Rose seal is deeply impressed upon it.

(1) At the South Eastern corner of the Township, far back on the moors, at Black Hill or Holm Edge (see the 6 in. Ordnance Map) where the altitude is 1909 feet, at the source of the Holm Brook, there is a considerable tract of land draining down Holme Clough, the Ashway and Chew Brook into the Tame, lost to Saddleworth but not to the County. How this large area, a mile and a half long and half a mile wide containing 410 acres, came to be relinquished by one authority and acquired by another is a mystery.

It is contrary to the division of the waters and documentary evidence. The transference serves no purpose and has little value so far as we can foresee.

Two transcripts of a description of "beast gates" and "sheep walks" within the Manor of Saddleworth measured and authorised for the sale of the Manor in 1791 read as follows:—

" . . . to Birchenclough and Sailbark aforesaid, from Wildcat-stones to Blakegate thence by the Boundaries of Marsden and Holmfirth to the *top of Holmedge* thence to Holmclough head thence down the stream to Rimmonds Clough . . ." This takes

in the land on the E. side of the stream to its source. "Greenfield Sheepwalk : Bounding from the corner of Ashway hey to Joshua Wrigley estate by the stream of Sailbark fluid and by Holm Clough to the head, thence to *Holmedge top* and by the *boundary of Cheshire* to Blackchewhead etc." . . . This takes in the remainder on the other side of the stream. Both references allude to *Holmedge* and one also takes us to the boundary of Cheshire. The existing boundary crossing Holm-clough does not reach Holme Edge nor the Cheshire boundary. The whole of the portion etched, therefore, was in Saddleworth in 1791 and is now in Holmfirth. The description of the Manor boundaries (infra) mentions Holmeclough-hede as a limit. There can be only one meaning; in all other cases, e.g., Blackchew *hede*, it refers to the source of the stream.

(2) Within quite recent times one third of the Borough of Mossley was within the Township of Quick, now Saddleworth. In 1864 when Mossley was made a Local Board a portion of Quick was detached and added to Mossley. Three counties, Yorkshire, Cheshire and Lancashire had co-terminous boundaries and focused then at Mossley. On acquiring the status of a Borough in 1885 it was divided into three Wards—Yorkshire Ward, Cheshire Ward and Lancashire Ward according to the territory taken in. It therefore had three members of Parliament, the burgesses voting in one or other of the County divisions. The candidates had joint meetings according to political colour. The Yorkshire part of Mossley was in the Saddleworth Poor Law Union until 1893 and the rest in the Ashton Union. In 1918, the Borough having been considerably extended at the expense of Cheshire, in 1885, the whole Borough became part of the County of Lancaster for all purposes and within the Mossley Parliamentary County Division, for which Mr. Austin Hopkinson, M.P. was the first representative lost his seat at the last election. The portion conceded by Saddleworth and Yorkshire has an area of about 300 acres.

(3) Sometime before 1468 a considerable piece of territory abutting on the Township of Oldham was detached from the Manor of Saddleworth and became part of the Manor of Ashton-ulyne and the County of Lancaster. It has a length of nearly a mile and a half, comprises about 270 acres and was probably a purchase.

The existing Yorkshire County boundary which excludes Lees and Hey has, apart from a short stream, no physical object to define it but seems to have followed in places hedges or walls. This territory came into the possession of the ancestors of the Earls of Stamford and Warrington about the year 1400. Forthwith it slipped into the Parish of Ashton and the County of Lancaster. The value of the solution and identification of Place Names is again demonstrated in regard to this change of boundary. Here two great Counties and Lordships have an irregular, jagged and illogical boundary between them which remained to be solved by the aid of Place Names, only quite recently. The following excerpt is from a deed of 1468 conveying the Manor of Saddleworth from



Scale 1 3/4 1/2 1/4 0 1 mile

Scale

LOST TERRITORY IS HATCHED

Robert Neville, the Lord of the Manor, to William Scargill and his wife, giving a description of its limits and reciting inadvertently its *former* boundary on the West, for at this date the land was already in the possession of the Manor of Ashton.

“Know all men present and to come that I Robert Neville, of Liversege, in Com. Ebor., Esq., have delivered, demised and by this my present Charter confirmed to William Scargill, the younger, Esq., and Margaret his Wife my Manor of Saddleworth Frith or Quicke with the appurtenances which I had together jointly with John Gascoigne and John Mirfield, lately deceased and all the lands and tenements, rents and services, woods, meadows, feedings, pastures, moors, turbaries and pools, with all their appurt^s betwixt the meres and bounds subscribed; that is to say, from Woodwardhill¹ unto Mantelaw as the rainwater descends towards the Eastern parts unto Friarmere and from Mantelaw to Thame-Hede, as the rainwater descends towards the East and from Thame-Hede to Woodwardhill as the rainwater descends towards the South and from Woodwardhill to Coldgreave Hill to Redokyndenehead² as the rainwater descends towards the South and from Redokindhede to Laweme lode³ as the rainwater descends towards the West and thence to Mere Clough and thence to Stanege as the rainwater descends towards the West and thence to Northclough-hede of Dighil to Southclough-hede of Dighil and thence to Rimmon Pit and thence to Swillers hill and thence to *Holmeclogh-hede* and thence to Hawels-hede and thence to Blackchewhede and thence to Ormesrake as the rainwater descends towards the West and thence to Alphenstone as the rainwater descends towards the North and thence to Harlowe,⁴ and thence to Shadworth-Lane-Hede into the Water of Thame and from that water following le Quyck Brook which is one division betwixt the Counties of Lancaster and York, to *Palden Brook*, towards the South, following *Palden-Brook to the Water Gate* and from thence to Woodwardhill as the water runs towards the West and following Palden Brook to Rowtandlode and thence to Woodwardhill aforesaid. To have and to hold the aforesaid Manor, etc. . . .”

It will be observed that from Mossley the boundary runs from the Tame by Quickbrook (which drains both ways) to Palden brook (now known as Less brook) and to Watergate (now corrupted into Waterhead). Palden is a farm and locality on this stream. From the point where Quick Brook joins Palden Brook the stream becomes the Medlock. To follow Palden Brook we come to Watergate. In 1654 we have “All that Water Corn *Mill called Watergate Myll*.” The “gate” for the water was a deep gulley, now culverted to carry the main road to Oldham which runs across it. Palden Brook, therefore, to Watergate (or Waterhead) was the original boundary between the Manors of Oldham and Saddleworth and Lancashire and Yorkshire.

¹ Wotherhead.

² Red-oaken-dean.

³ Loam-in-lode.

⁴ Warlow.

The County of Lancashire has been guilty of attachment and absorption. Further up the stream and boundary the brook becomes "Rotenlode" (Rawtandlode), the red stream, which is caused by red oxide from Robeck brook (the red beck), one of its tributaries. Cabin brook is the head of this stream and was originally the County Boundary referred to as Woodward or Wotherhead hill which it drains.

(4) Here stands a small area lying to the East of Cabin brook, plainly artificial in its arrangement, which has been cut off from Saddleworth and Yorkshire for no apparent reason. Instead of following the stream the boundary takes a sudden turn to the N.E., away from Woodwardhill, to Roebucklow involving an area of about 65 acres now absorbed by Lancashire. Whereas the whole length of Palden Brook, and Cabin Brook on the high ground at Wotherhead hill, for a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles was the natural and ancient division, now the upper reach of the stream (Cabin Brook) is ignored and Roebucklow is substituted for Wotherhead Hill as a landmark and boundary.

There is no doubt local purchases of Yorkshire land have been attached to contiguous Lancashire estates and treated as a whole within the County of Lancaster by the authorities.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE.

EDITED BY MISS D. GREENE.

A ROMAN SHRINE TO SILVANUS ON SCARGILL MOOR, NEAR BOWES.

The discovery of an altar dedicated to Silvanus is important not only for adding a new Celtic name for this god, but still more for its association with an actual shrine.

The exposed top of the altar was first observed about 1936 by Mr. William Wilkinson and Mr. John Hilary who were closely inspecting the area after the discovery by Mr. Wilkinson, the present tenant of Spanham, of an uninscribed Roman tablet at the confluence of the East Black Sike and the Eller Beck. On clearing away the soil they saw that the altar was inscribed. Little significance was at first attached to the discovery, and interest in it was revived only towards the end of the war when Mr. A. E. Peacock, tenant of Spanham until May 1945, informed the Reverend W. S. Oliver, Rector of Rokeby, who visited the site, sketched the altar, and while kindly furnishing full details to the Roman Antiquities Committee of this Society, asked for further investigation.

The site¹ is $1\frac{1}{8}$ miles west-north-west of the farmhouse called Spanham on Scargill Moor in the parish of Barningham, North Riding, and lies two miles due south of the Roman fort at Bowes (*Lavatrac*). It is on the west bank of the East Black Sike, forty yards south of its confluence with the Eller Beck.

To the centurion Julius Secundus, who dedicated the altar to Silvanus, and who probably had his first view of the site from the high ridge on the north side of the Eller Beck, the gully of the East Black Sike must indeed have seemed the entrance to the territory of Silvanus, for here the wild land begins. Between Bowes and the Eller Beck there is rolling moorland fit for pasture. South of the Eller Beck the low ridge through which the East Black Sike forces its way forms the rim of a large swampy basin bounded on the southern horizon by the high wall of White Crag a mile away, an awesome locality even in summer. The predominant vegetation is heather among which large patches of bracken are spreading, but the hollows are peaty and the streams have worn their way through a thick cap of shaley clay. The valley is wholly devoid of trees, though alders and hazels may have bordered the streams in Roman times and perhaps until the establishment of sheep-walks.

¹ O.S. one-inch map, popular edn., sheet 14, grid ref. 478311; six-inch map Yorks. N.R. XXIII N.W.

The shrine (see fig. 1) is rectangular, 17 ft. externally along the back wall, and internally 12 ft. 8 in. wide and 6 ft. 3 in. from back to front. The walling is faced with hammer-dressed coursed masonry and has a core of small rubble, the whole being set in clay instead of mortar. The back and side walls are 2 ft. wide and now stand at their highest point 3 ft. 5 in. high. They owe their preservation to the fact that the shrine has been built into the hillside on a platform cut out of the clay subsoil. The front wall, which was carried much deeper down the face open to the stream, has not fared as well. Only a fragment at the north-east corner survives, the rest of the front having been eroded by the stream. But it is not clear whether the erosion was the cause, or the result, of the removal of the masonry front which may have survived for long enough to supply the large amount of dressed stone which has been used to form one of the two adjacent shooting-butts.

The floor of the shrine is formed by a thin filling of broken stone and clay resting upon the shaley clay subsoil. But between the altar, which stands centrally against the back of the shrine, and the north wall a shallow trench extending from back to front was left in the filling during construction. This contained a mass of burnt brushwood which was afterwards covered by flagging and stones forming the floor. The meaning of the burnt layer is not apparent but it clearly belongs to the stage when the building was almost complete. Perhaps this was the moment chosen for a burnt sacrifice to hallow the foundation. At all events the burnt layer was not removed but was carefully sealed by the floor. A ritual significance is therefore probable. The floor itself was everywhere covered by a layer of fine charred brushwood, from two to three inches deep, probably the remains of a thatched roof, for no other roofing material was found, and a roof seems demanded by the clay flooring. The burnt brushwood layer was then covered by washed humus and fallen masonry on top of which some rude secondary walling, 1 ft. 6 in. wide, ran out at right angles from the back wall midway between the altar and the north wall. Since this walling was bedded in the humus and fallen masonry which covered the burnt remains on the floor of the shrine, it must clearly belong to a time when the shrine had long lain derelict. The only objects found were an iron nail and one fragment of a brown-grey jar.

No trace of an entrance exists in either the back or the side walls of the shrine. Access must therefore have been from the front. The height of the floor above the stream, some ten feet, demands steps but the proximity of the stream precludes a flight at right angles. A central platform reached by a flight of steps from either side would appear to be the design that best meets the conditions. It is impossible to say whether above the level of the floor the front was open or partly closed.



FIG. 1 SHRINE OF SILVANUS, SCARGILL MOOR; TAKEN FROM THE EAST.



FIG. 2 ALTAR TO SILVANUS.
(Scale $\frac{1}{12}$)

The altar (see fig. 2) is of millstone grit, $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and 43 inches high. The sides and back are plain except for the mouldings on the capital and base. The left bolster has either been broken off or weathered away and the face of the capital and part of the left side of the die have weathered badly where not protected by a covering of soil. The inscription on the die reads :—

VINOTONO
SILVANO · IVL
SECVNDVS · 7
COH · I · THRAC ·
V · S · L · L · M ·

The first three letters in line 1-3 are heavily weathered, but the reading is certain. Vinotono | Silvano Iul(ius) | Secundus c(enturio) | coh(ortis) I Thrac(um) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito). 'To Vinotonus Silvanus Julius Secundus, centurion of the First Cohort of Thracians, gladly and willingly fulfilled his vow.' This contingent was stationed at the fort of Bowes in the third century, as we know from the large slab¹ now in Bowes Church recording building under Septimius Severus while L. Alfenus Senecio was governor (about A.D. 204-8) and before Geta became Augustus (A.D. 209). The style of the lettering is too good for the fourth century, but it might date to any period within the third century, though more likely to belong to the first rather than the second half. This infantry cohort was commanded by a prefect and included a mounted contingent, and would have a strength of 480 men. Julius Secundus commanded one of the centuries into which it was subdivided.

The title Vinotonus does not occur elsewhere and its meaning is reserved for later discussion. Silvanus was the god of the wild or uncultivated land, whose domain began where man's development of nature's resources ended. We know of over twenty inscriptions to him in Britain, mostly from the northern zone. From Bollihope Common,² Stanhope, Weardale, we have the well-known altar to Silvanus Invictus put up by Gaius Tetius Veturius Micianus, prefect of the Sebosian cavalry-regiment, to record the killing of a 'wild boar of remarkable form which many of his predecessors had been unable to catch.' Another altar to Silvanus was found at Eastgate,³ near Stanhope in Weardale; it was dedicated by Aurelius Quirinus,⁴ who was prefect of the First Cohort of Lingonians at Lanchester in the reign of Gordian (A.D. 238-44). Thus the new third-century dedication from Teesdale accords well with the examples already known.

There is good reason to think that the Silvanus shrine did not stand alone. For twenty-five yards further south on the same side of the East Black Sike the gully widens slightly and

¹ *J.R.S.* xviii (1928) 212, xix (1929) 218, pl. XXI, 3.

² *C.I.L.* vii, 451, 1344 c; *J.R.S.* xxxii, 115, pl. II, i.

³ *C.I.L.* vii, 450, p. 309.

⁴ *C.I.L.* vii, 445, 446.

there are traces of another building. The square platform made by its ruins is now occupied by a second shooting-butt which has clearly been made from squared stones picked out on the site. Trial trenches revealed its north and south walls, each 2 ft. 6 in. wide and 17ft. 6 in. apart, resembling those of the other shrine in build. The Roman date of the structure is proved by the finding of a *sestertius* of Nerva just inside the south wall. The size and position of the building suggest that this was a second shrine, but it is hoped to explore it in detail at a later date.

Finally we have to record the discovery of a Roman moulded stone, at present dissociated from either building. A day or two before the Silvanus altar was noticed Mr. Wilkinson picked out of the bed of the Eller Beck, at the point where the East Black Sike joins it, a sandstone tablet, 25 in. wide, 15 in. high and 5 in. thick at the top widening to 7 in. at the bottom, with a well-preserved moulding, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. wide, on the face. It is not a socket or base and can hardly have been made for anything but an inscription. Yet, despite the good preservation of the moulding, no lettering remains; conceivably the inscription was only painted, not carved.

The examination of the site described above was carried out on September 3rd, 4th and 5th, 1945, by Mr. I. A. Richmond and the present writer for the Durham University Excavation Committee. We are indebted to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for leave to undertake the work, and to Mr. William Wilkinson, the tenant of the farm, for his kindly interest and the loan of tools.

R. P. WRIGHT.

"ROMAN RIG," COCK BECK, NEAR BARWICK-IN-ELMET.

In the Spring of 1945 opencast coal operations at the Stanks Site, near Leeds, threatened to destroy a section of this earthwork immediately to the north of Cock Beck. The Ministry of Works, as usual, took steps to see that some archaeological examination was undertaken before the bulldozers were unleashed and Major E. J. W. Hildyard, F.S.A. was asked to undertake a brief exploratory excavation. He began in May 1945.

The portion of the earthwork threatened ran nearly due North from the Cock Beck and was situated about 700 yards south of the Barwick Road between the hamlets of Stanks and Scholes, 5 miles E.N.E. of Leeds. It was about 20 yards broad and over 200 yards long. The greatest height was at the southern end where it stood nearly 6 ft. above ground on each side. The ground rose gradually to the north and so the relative height of the earthwork decreased and the last 100 yards were difficult to define.

A trench 50 ft. long by 3 ft. 6 ins. wide was cut across the eastern side of the earthwork on the north where the mound rose to its greatest height. No sort of stratification was revealed nor was any evidence produced to show that the mound was artificial. Two further short trenches were cut on the West side with the same results. There were no finds of any kind.

There seems no reason to suppose that this so-called "Roman Rig" had any connection with the well-known earthworks at Barwick-in-Elmet and the "Becca Banks" system.

Major Hildyard was greatly helped in his examination by the courteous assistance of the Ministry of Works, the Resident Engineer and Agent for the Contractors, and also by Mr. G. E. Kirk, Honorary Librarian of the Thoresby Society, for much information about the earthworks in the area.

DOROTHY GREENE,
(*Hon. Ed., Roman Yorkshire*).

Obituary.

It is with great regret that we record the passing of Sir Thomas Lawson-Tancred, ninth baronet, whose death took place at his home, Aldborough Manor, Boroughbridge on December 15, 1945.

Sir Thomas Lawson-Tancred was born on May 14, 1870, the eldest son of Sir Thomas Selby Tancred, eighth baronet, by his marriage with Mary Harriet, second daughter of Colonel Hemans. He succeeded his father as ninth baronet in 1910, and on April 25, 1912, married Marjery, elder daughter and coheir of Andrew Sherlock Lawson, D.L. of Aldborough Manor.

For some twenty years Major Tancred, as he then was, lived in India, where he served in the Central India Horse, taking part in the Miranzai expedition, for which he received a medal with clasp. He also took part in the Great War, 1914.

In India he was noted as a big game shot and secured many trophies.

Sir Thomas's eldest son Andrew was killed while flying over Germany in January, 1944, and he is succeeded in the baronetcy by his second son Henry, who was born in 1924.

In November, 1914 Sir Thomas Tancred assumed by deed poll the additional surname of Lawson. He was a J.P. for the West Riding of Yorkshire, sitting on the Knaresborough bench of Magistrates.

Sir Thomas Lawson-Tancred became a member of The Yorkshire Archaeological Society in October, 1918, and shortly afterwards was elected a member of the Council, of which he was a valued and useful member, and his colleagues deeply deplore his loss. He was also a member of the Council of the Yorkshire Parish Register Society.

In 1921 he published *The Tancreds of Brampton*; in 1937 *Aldborough, The Records of a Yorkshire Manor*, a valuable contribution to Yorkshire parish history. Several papers from his pen have appeared in the Journal of the Society, among which are:

The Parliamentary History of Aldborough and Boroughbridge, 1924.

Old British Surnames at Aldborough, 1934.

The Townships of Ellenthorpe and the Brooke Family, 1938.

Records of Roecliffe, 1939.

Three Seventeenth Century Court Rolls of the Manor of Aldborough, 1942.

And in the Record Series, conjointly with J. W. Walker, *The Liberty and Soke of Aldburgh with Boroughbridge*, and *Extracts from the Court Rolls of the Manor of Aldborough*, 1929.

J. W. W.

TRANSACTIONS, Etc., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1943, contains—
Ripponden Female Society, by J. H. Priestley; Baldwins, by W. J. Lee; Manor of Brighouse Court Rolls, Rentals, by H. T. Clay; Giles House, Lightcliffe, by R. Bretton; Early Settlements, (1) Cliffe in Barkisland, (2) Godley in Rishworth, by J. H. Priestley; Manor of Brighouse Notes, Graves of Raistrick, by H. T. Clay; Miss Wadsworth's Diary, I, by W. B. Trigg.

Teesdale Record Society's Transactions contain, No. 11—Thomas Binks, by W. Oliver; Gainford Vicarial Tithes, and A Petition, by A.E.; Illustrations of Tomb Slabs, by R.H.E.; Draft of a Petition to Richard Barnes; Inventory of the goods and Cattels of Conant Appleby, by A.E.; Will of Charles Pawlett, First Duke of Bolton, by R.H.E.; Scholars from Boarding Schools buried at Romalldkirk, by W.O.

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Thoresby Society's Publications, Miscellany, 1942, contains—
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The Naturalist No. 814, contains—Spiders in Yorkshire and the Adjoining Counties, by F. Dixon; Some Records of Yorkshire Plants, by J. E. Beckerlegge; Some Yorkshire Sawfly Localities, by J. M. Brown.

YORKSHIRE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Place Names and Surnames, their Origin and Meaning, with special reference to the West Riding of Yorkshire; by Taylor Dyson. 16 x 25 cms. vii, 216 pp. Huddersfield, 1944.

Yorkshire Pedigrees, Part II (G—S); transcribed and edited by J. W. Walker, Harleian Society, 95. 18 x 26 cms. vi, 359 pp. London 1943.

A Short History of Shibden Hall; by T. W. Hanson.

Bankfield Museum Notes, *Third Series*, No. 3. 1945.

SCULPTORS AND SCULPTURE IN YORKSHIRE.

Additions and Corrections.

CARPENTER, SAMUEL.

A most valuable entry from the Household Books of Sir Miles Stapylton, 1656-1705, printed in *The Ancestor*, vol. 3, 1902, has been sent me by my friend Mr. Rupert Gunnis; it will be remembered that in Part II of these papers I printed an account of Lady Stapylton's monument at Snaith with the first known signature of the important York sculptor hitherto known only by name:

"Paid to Mr. Samwell Carpenter of York the stone-cutter for makeing and setting up a marble monum^t in my quire or Chappell on the north-side of Snaith church, September 27th, 1688, fifty pounds £50. 00. 00.

"Paid then more to Mr. Carpenter for paveing over the vault with black and white marble on both sides the great marble grave stone £09. 00. 00.

"Given to Mr. Carpenters men to drinke when the monument was finished £00. 02. 06

In the third part (p. 159) Mr. R. Bretton has kindly informed me that the model for Tillotson's statue is at Field House, inscribed to a former owner: "To George Stansfeld, Esq.; under whose direction the marble statue of Archbishop Tillotson was executed and erected in Sowerby Church, this model in sincerest gratitude is respectfully dedicated by Joseph Wilton, R.A., statuary to the King and keeper of His Majesty's Royal Academy in London the year of Our Lord, 1796."

"Part CXLI, p. 107. After the death of Cholmondeley Turner, whose grandfather Sir William Witham (d. 1670) read: "... whose great-uncle Sir William Turner (d. 1692)." I owe this correction to Mr. T. H. Brown of Middlesbrough.

Now for errors in the Alphabetical Index (part III, p. 161) *York Minister* (p. 162) has no Etty reredos, and it has a tablet to William Burgh by Westmacott which should have been mentioned in the text under that sculptor's name.

All Saints Pavement (p. 163) read "Etty's tablet," not "reredos."

St. Michael-le-Belfry. The Etty reredos was omitted.

May I add in conclusion how much I have been encouraged by letters from Yorkshire and elsewhere, which prove that there is real and growing interest in the subject, and this is what I most wished.

KATHARINE A. ESDAILE.

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THE
Dorsetshire Archaeological Journal.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

FOUNTAINS ABBEY.

The Council of the Society, at their quarterly meeting in October, discussed very fully in all its bearings the proposed restoration of Fountains Abbey as a Benedictine Monastery.

It was considered that as at the moment there was not sufficient official data available regarding the extent and scope of the scheme, no action could usefully be taken until the complete plans were published, beyond assuring the Ministry of Works, of the very deep and anxious interest felt by the Council in the subject, and offering in due course when feasible a definite opinion if so desired.

The Hon. Secretary had received a large number of letters relating to the question both from other Societies and Associations and from private members.

R.J.A.B.

HARROGATE GROUP.

The Group continues to make progress both in activities and membership. A very successful summer season of Excursions, arranged by the Group's Hon. Excursion Secretary, Mrs. Hartley, was concluded in September with a visit to the Church and Roman remains at Aldborough, previous excursions having been made to Oakwell Hall, and Batley Museum; to the various parts of the town connected with Eugene Aram and to St. Robert's Cave at Knaresborough; and to the Flamborough Circles and West Tanfield Church.

These were all very fully attended and greatly appreciated.

An interesting programme of lectures and other meetings has been drawn up for the autumn.

R.J.A.B.

THE BATTLE OF WINWAED A.D. 655.

By J. W. WALKER, O.B.E., F.R.C.S., F.S.A.

The Death-knell of Woden and Valhalla.

Woden, the mighty warrior, the Source of Wisdom; the Anglo-Saxon form of the name of the Deity called by the Norsemen Odin.

Snorre in his *Heimskringla* tells how Odin and his twelve peers became heroes to the descendants of those early Saxons, and as such passed into legend and song.¹

Valhalla (*wæl*, slaughter; *holl*, hall). In Scandinavian mythology "the hall of the slain," the palace of immortality inhabited by the souls of heroes slain in battle; hence the final resting place of the great men of a nation.²

It was on the banks of the river Winwaed that one of the most momentous battles in English history was fought; a battle that, as Freeman says "finally decided the strife between the creeds of Christ and Woden."³ It was after this battle that the worshippers of Woden, our fierce forerunners, fresh from their rites of blood, first heard the gospel of mercy that has changed the world.

Some years ago, by the kindness of the late Lord St. Oswald of Nostell Priory I was privileged to have in my possession for several weeks the Chartulary of Nostell Priory and The Book of Nostell. From these manuscripts, from the Venerable Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* (Plummer's edition), and from many other sources I think it is possible to indicate the site of this battle, about which there has been much controversy.

The province of Northumbria was formed of two kingdoms, the northern one that of Bryneich, Berneich, afterwards Bernicia, which extended from the Tyne to Scotwad, which in the Scottish vernacular is called Forth; the southern kingdom, that of Deifyr, afterwards Latinized into Deira, extended from the Humber to the Tyne.⁴

According to Rhys (*Celtic Britain*) the Tees was the boundary of the two kingdoms. The river Tweed and the Firth of Forth have each been named as the northern boundary of Bernicia. Probably the northern frontier of Bernicia varied at different periods.

¹ Laing, Samuel, *The Heimskringla, or the Sagas of the Norse Kings, from the Icelandic of Snorre Sturlason*, 86.

² Lowell, *Study Windows*, 318.

³ Freeman, E. A., *History of the Norman Conquest*, I, 37.

⁴ Symeon of Durham, *Regis Oswaldi Vita*; Rolls Series. Fordun, John, *Scotichronicon*, II, 6. Higden, R. *Polychronicon*, II, 14,

The Venerable Bede always speaks of the kingdom of the Nordanhymbri.¹ "Northumbria" appears as an adjective in Ethelwerd's *Chronicle* at the end of the eleventh century, but perhaps its first use by an English pen as a noun is in the entry relating to the year 948 in Symeon of Durham's *Historia Regum*.²

In the twelfth century life of St. Oswald the early boundary between Bernicia and Deira is said to have been uncertain because the whole country between Tees and Tyne has been "a deserted waste and was then nothing but a hiding-place for wild and woodland beasts."³

Camden speaks of the kingdom of the Bernicians, whom the Britons call *Guir a Brinaich* or the mountainous, as extending from the Tyne to the Scottish Firth.⁴

Oswald, King of all Northumbria, who represented the Bernician dynasty on his father's side and the Deiran on his mother's, was slain at the battle of Maserfelth, August 5, 642.⁵ It has been said that Oswestry, formerly Oswaldstre, called by the Welsh *Croix Osualde*, Oswald's tree (tree probably in the sense of a wooden cross) was the site of this battle. Plummer⁶ sums up the argument for Oswestry, but not absolutely conclusively. Why should Penda whose great strength lay in the Midlands go so far west to attack Oswald whose strength lay certainly east of the Pennines? The district was under Welsh kings until the latter part of the eighth century.

Bede calls the site of this battle Maserfelth. Nennius calls it Cockboy.⁷ Geoffrey of Monmouth calls it Burn.⁸

Winwick, a village two and a half miles north of Warrington, claims to be the site of this battle. In support of this the district north of Winwick is known as Makerfield; close by is Cockedge, and a little further north is Brynn Hill. The following inscription runs along the south side of Winwick church, below the parapet:

"Hic locus Oswalde quanda placuit tibi valde,
Nordan humbroru fueras rex, nuncque polorum,
Regna tenes, plato passus Marcelde vocato,
Poscimur hinc a te nostri memor esto beate."⁹

In Winwick churchyard is a cross with interlaced Anglian patterns and figures said to represent a man who has just been mutilated, which is supposed to represent the treatment which King Oswald received from Penda. Here again the same objection as that to Oswestry seems to apply.

¹ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 15.

² Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, II, 94; Rolls Series.

³ Symeon of Durham, *Regis Oswaldi Vita*, I, 339.

⁴ Camden, *Britannia*, III, 2; ed. R. Gough, 1789.

⁵ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 9.

⁶ Plummer, *Bede*, III, 9.

⁷ Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, Harleian MSS. 3859.

⁸ Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bishop of St. Asaph, *Historia Britonum*.

⁹ Batty, R. E., *The Priory of St. Oswald at Nostel*, 6, Yorkshire Architectural Soc. 1856.

A third site for the battle of Maserfelth is Epworth in the isle of Axholme. This was in a region disputed between Northumbria and Mercia. The name "Battle Green" is there, as are also "Masser Close" and "Masser Pool," while the red rocks round might suggest the first syllable of "Cockboy." This place was nearer to Bardney to which Oswald's body was carried later.

Oswald's death at heathen hands was followed almost at once by popular recognition as a martyr and a saint, and his cult spread rapidly and far. The King's last words, ere he fell on seeing himself girt round with bloodthirsty foes, passed into a proverb: "God have mercy on their souls." His body was mutilated and his limbs set on stakes by the brutal conqueror, but legend relates that when all else of Oswald had perished the hand that Bishop Aidan had blessed remained white and uncorrupted, and according to Bede, was preserved in a silver casket in the church of St. Peter in the royal city of Bebbanburgh.¹

Henry of Huntingdon has preserved the saying: "The Field of Maserfelth glowed with the bones of the Saints."²

When Bishop Aidan lay dying among his brethren at Lindisfarne, far away on the sheep-walks of the Lammermoors, a shepherd boy called Cuthbert, destined later to a wider fame, saw stars falling thick over the sky into the sea, and deemed them to be angels carrying homeward the soul of Bishop Aidan.

The result of the battle of Maserfelth was to split the kingdom of the Nordanhymbri. Each of the two ancient divisions chose its own king. The Deirans, once more reverting to the house of Ælla took as their king Oswin the son of Osric who had been slain in battle by Cadwalla, King of Gwynedd in 634.³ The Bernicians of the northern kingdom elected Oswy, a man thirty years of age, the third son of Æthelfrith of Northumbria and younger brother of the sainted Oswald, from the monastery of Hii (Iona), within whose walls he had taken refuge when his father was killed in 617 in a battle fought on the banks of the river Idle near Retford by Redwald, King of the East Angles.⁴ Of which battle Henry of Huntingdon has preserved a snatch of a Northern song: "Foul ran Idle with the blood of Englishmen."⁵

This division of Northumbria into two kingdoms gave rise to continual friction between the two kings. It was during the height of this vexed rivalry that Bishop Aidan attempted to use the influence of Hilda as a bond of peace between the rival kings

¹ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 6.

² *Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold, 97. Matthew of Westminster also quotes this proverb, but refers the date of the battle to 617, as do also *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the *Annales Cambriæ*. Florence of Worcester gives 616 as the date of the battle.

³ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* III, 1; Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, I, Bk. III, 148.

⁴ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* II, 12.

⁵ *Historia Anglorum*, 715; *Archæologica Aeliana*, XIX, 60, 70.

Hilda was the daughter of Hereric, Oswy's cousin, and so by relationship connected with the royal house of Bernicia, but her direct descent from Ælla linked her even more intimately with the royal house of Deira; thus she seemed the most likely person to form a bond between the two estranged families, though, on the other hand, the position of Hilda as the heiress of the eldest line of the house of Deira would make it unlikely that her presence was desired by Oswin in his kingdom of Deira, to which she had a better hereditary title than he had.

DEIRA
Ælla = ..

BERNICA
Aelfric = ..

cenburga = Ædwin = Ædilberga Acha = Ædilfrid Eadfrid = ..

frid Eadfrid

Hereric = Bregusuid

anfled = Oswy Ædilhun Ædilthryd Uuscfrea

Hilda Heresuid = Æthelric¹

anfrid Oswald = .. Oswy = Eanfled Æbba

Oidilwald

Aldwulf

sthyrd Alchfrid = Cyniburga Ecgfrid Alchfleda = Peada Ælfwine Æfleda

Dau. of Penda s. of Penda

Osric =

Oswin

¹ The compiler of the genealogies in the *Textus Roffensis*, which cannot be much later than A.D. 824 tells us that the father of Aldwulf (and so the husband of Heresuid) was Æthelric, and his statement is confirmed by Nennius. I have no hesitation in preferring their evidence to that of Florence of Worcester, who wrote three centuries later, who says the name was Æthelhere.

of her nephew Aldwulf, Heresuid's son, offering her the opening in her own Northumbria, where her connexion with the royal family would give her an exceptional influence. This invitation she accepted, and became eventually the greatest of the Northumbrian abbesses. It was a masterly stroke of policy on Aidan's part to secure Hilda for work in Northumbria under his episcopate. It may have been the growing and bitter intensity of the feud between Oswi and Oswin that precluded her from acting as a bond of amity between them. Not until after the battle of Winwaed had dissipated for ever her nephew Aldwulf's pretensions to the throne of Deira was Hilda permitted to settle among her own people at Whitby. Aldwulf the son of Hilda's sister Heresuid by Æthelhere was on pure legitimate principles the rightful heir to that throne.¹

Oswy in 651, hoping to unite the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, collected an army and invaded Deira. Oswin, King of Deira, seeing that he could not successfully engage in war with one who had more auxiliaries, thought it more advantageous at that time to dismiss the army which he had collected, so ordered each man to return home from the place which is called Vilfarasdun, the Hill of Vilfar, which is about twelve miles distant from the village of Cataracto (Catterick), and he himself turned aside with one only of his most faithful soldiers, Tondheri, to conceal himself in the house of Earl Hunwald, whom he also considered to be most faithful and friendly to him. But it was far otherwise, for that Earl betrayed him, and caused both Oswin and Tondheri to be slain by Oswy's chief officer Ædilwin. This took place on August 20, 651, at Ingetlingum (Gilling, near Richmond).²

To atone for this crime Queen Eanfled, Oswy's wife, requested him to give Trumhere, Bishop of the Mercians, a site at Gilling on which to erect a monastery, of which he became abbot.³

This monastery was destroyed in 897 by the Danish chiefs Hinguar and Hubba.

Oswy's crime in causing the death of Oswin brought him no immediate gain, for the Deirans refused to submit to him, and chose as Oswin's successor Oidilwald, the under-king of Deira.⁴ Oidilwald was at this time about sixteen years of age, and it is

¹ *Archæologia Aeliana*, XIX, 183.

² Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, 14; Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, I, Bk. III, 59; Adamnan, *Life of St. Columba*, ed. Reeves, 434.

³ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* III, 24. Gilling is said to have been the Ingetlingum of Bede, where Oswin, King of Deira, was slain by order of Oswy, King of Bernicia, but the site of Oswin's death and the site of the expiatory monastery raised by Eanfled has been identified with Collingham, six miles from Barwick-in-Elmet. (*Victoria County Hist. of Yorkshire, North Riding*, I, 72, *Yorks. Arch. Jl.* II, 253-4).

At Collingham is a shaft, broken but restored, showing plaits, scrolls and dragons with Anglian runes, ascribed to Oswin. (*Victoria County Hist. of Yorkshire*, II, 128).

⁴ *Florence of Worcester*, ed. Thorpe, I, 21; Bede, III, 23; Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, I, 254-5.

hardly surprising that he at once allied himself with Penda, King of the Mercians, becoming his vassal in the hope of preserving his kingdom from his uncle Oswy, to whom he certainly owed no gratitude, whereas he may have had obligations to Penda.¹ Thus Deira became in effect a Mercian province.²

Still hoping to recover Deira, Oswy sent the presbyter Utta into Kent to ask for the hand of Eanfled the daughter of Ædwin, King of Deira, who had been carried thither when her father was slain, and who, after the death of her half-brother Osfrid at the battle of Heathfield in 633, was the last representative of the royal house of Deira.

This marriage had a political aim, that of neutralizing the loyalty of the men of Deira to the house of Ælla, but it availed Oswy little at the time.

Penda, King of the Mercians, who had always regarded Oswy as a personal enemy, was now determined to compass his destruction and that of all the Christians in Northumbria, although his son Peada became a Christian on marrying Oswy's daughter Alchfreda, and Oswy's son Alchfrid was the husband of Penda's daughter Cyniburga.³

Probably, Penda resented Oswy's influence in East Anglia, whose king Æthelhere Oswy had persuaded to become a Christian, and in this detected a political purpose. To offset this design, Penda called upon Catbagail, King of Gwynedd in North Wales, to come to his aid, a man who although he had the name and profession of a Christian, was such a barbarian in mind and manner that he spared neither women nor innocent children, but with bestial ferocity, put them to death with torture in his mad fury.

With Catbagail came thirty British princes and their tribesmen, savage mountaineers, who revenged the massacre of Bangor, where in 613 twelve hundred British Christians were slain, with a cruelty far exceeding that of the heathen Saxons against their brethren.⁴

Æthelhere, King of the East Angles, the brother and successor of Anna, who had been slain by Penda in 654, when East Anglia was cruelly ravaged by the conqueror, was, though a friend of Oswy, now compelled to bow to the Mercian yoke and to join his forces with those of Penda, as was also Oidilwald of Deira.

¹ Matthew of Westminster does not mention Oidilwald in his list of Kings of Deira.

² Bede says that Oidilwald held rule in parts of Deira, which implies that he was only an under-king.

³ Cyniburga is mentioned on Alchfrid's memorial cross at Bewcastle, and, on the death of her husband, entered the monastery of Castor in Northamptonshire, where she took the veil and was there buried, but afterwards her body was removed to Peterborough, according to *The Saxon Chronicle*. See also Stephens, *Runic Monuments*, I, 398.

⁴ *Annales Cambriæ* CLXIX. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, II, 234.

This immense host advanced northwards against Oswy, who, on seeing the overwhelming strength of Penda's army, knew that he could offer no effective resistance, but strove to avoid the conflict by delivering his youngest and favourite son Ecgfrid as a hostage into the hands of Cynwise the wife of Penda.¹ The hoary pagan, however, continued his march onwards.

Up to the time of the battle of Winwaed, with a partisan on the side of Penda seated on the throne of Deira, with his own kingdom of Bernicia open to invasion up to the very gates of the capital, and his son a prisoner in the hands of Cynwise, Oswy's power must have been very ineffectual; thus to evade a battle he took refuge in the fortress of Judeu or Giudi, said to be Inchkeith, an island in the centre of the Firth of Forth.² That Giudi was an important place in that region is proved by a passage in *The Book of Lecan*, given by Reeves in *The Culdees*, in which in Celtic times the Forth was called *muir n-Giudan* (the sea of Giudi), and the name lingered on under the English form of Judanbrig until immediately before the fall of Edinburgh in the tenth century.³ Judeu is evidently the same as the Roman Ejusdensca, mentioned in *The Ravennas*.

Oswy, seeing that resistance was hopeless, offered as the price of peace to deliver up to Penda all the royal treasure which was in the city of Bamborough if he would cease to lay waste the kingdom of Bernicia and would return to Mercia.

Bede says that when the perfidious king did not assent to Oswy's prayers, having determined to destroy and exterminate all his nation from little to great, he refused the treasure, though Nennius says that Penda took the treasure and distributed it among the thirty British princes who came with Catbagail of Gwynedd.⁴

Penda then laid seige to Bamborough,⁵ but because he could neither take the city by force nor by seige, he attempted to consume it with flames, and having pulled down the villages which he found in the neighbourhood he brought thither a vast heap of rafters, beams, partitions, wattles and thatch with which he encompassed the city and piled them to a great height on the landward side; when he saw the wind favourable, he endeavoured by setting fire to it, to burn the city. At that time Bishop Aidan

¹ Bede, III, 24. *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Stewart, Anglia Christiana Soc. 24. William of Malmesbury, *De Gestibus Regum Anglorum*, I, 25.

² Bede, I, 12. Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, ed. Giles, 64 (Nennius Abbot of Bangor, states that he drew the greater part of his information from the writings and the monuments of the old British inhabitants). Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, 71.

³ *The Book of Aneurin* in Skene's *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, II, 103. *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1889), 230-232.

⁴ Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, 76.

⁵ Bamborough, originally Bebbanburgh, so-called from Bebba, Queen of Æthelfrith, King of Northumbria. Ida, the first Saxon king of Northumbria, erected a castle here in 550. In the *Saxon Chronicle* the city bears a name signifing "The Royal Mansion."

residing in the island of Farne, only two miles from Bamborough, when he saw fire and smoke raised above the city walls by the winds bearing them, is reputed to have lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and with tears to have said, "See, Lord, what evil Penda does." At which saying, immediately, the winds being turned from the city, hurled back the burning faggots against those who had kindled them, so that some being hurt, and all terrified, they ceased from any longer attacking a city which they perceived to have been Divinely protected.¹

Penda, in revenge, as he turned homewards, ravaged the country far and wide; the peasantry fell by the edge of the sword, neither age nor sex were respected, cottages were fired, orchards hewn down, the instruments of husbandry destroyed; every pitiless ferocity was bent to the destruction of human life and to ensure by starvation the death of those whom the sword failed to reach. Northumbria lay at the mercy of the invader, the sword reaped its bloody harvest, the torch performed its evil office and the midnight fires illumined the skies by the glare of burning homesteads and villages.

Florence of Worcester, speaking of Penda's march northward, says "In Bernīciam ad debellendum regem Oswium ascendit."²

That in these irruptions the Britons of Wales were in league with Penda seems plain, as both Tighernach and *The Annals of Ulster* have an entry three years after the death of Oswald "bellum Ossu contra Britones."³

Broken as he seemed, despair gave strength to Oswy; he collected men throughout Bernicia, and with them and his eldest son Alchfrid marched south along the old Roman road, roughly corresponding to the present Great North road. This road ran almost due south crossing the rivers Tyne and Tees and through what are now known as Boroughbridge and Aberford, from whence it turned south-east towards Doncaster.

Some five miles south of Castleford Oswy's forces must have been held up on their march by Penda's army coming north to meet him; turning to the west he encamped on the high ground near where the present Wragby church stands. Penda, and with him Æthelhere and his East Anglians, Oidilwald of Deira, of whom the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says: "he fought and contended against his country and against his uncle," and Catbagail of Gwynedd, then took up their position on or near Constitution Hill with the river Went half a mile to the east and in his rear.

This small river, which played a most important part in the disaster which overtook Penda's army, is a slowly running stream with high banks of varying height along its course, liable to flood with heavy rains, takes its rise in St. Oswald's pool in

¹ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, 16.

² Florence of Worcester (d. 1118) *Chronicon ex Chronicis*.

³ Tighernach (d. 1088) Abbot of Clacmanoise, *Annals Hibernici*, Bodleian MSS. Rawlinson, B. 488.

Annals of Ulster, in O'Connor's *Rerum Hibernicum Scriptores*, II, 314.

Nostell park, issuing from its northern end, then flowing in a north-easterly direction towards West Hardwick passes under Little Went Bridge, there turning south it runs west of High Ackworth by Burnhill Bridge to Wentbridge, and eventually, after a course of about twenty miles falls into the river Don some three miles north of Thorne.

The two armies spent the night of Saturday, November the 14th encamped in the open field, each preparing for the coming battle. Oswy looked to the help of Divine guidance for deliverance from the enemy, and binding himself by a vow, said, "If the pagan will not accept our gifts let us offer them to Him who will, to the Lord our God." "He vowed therefore that should he come off the victor in the morrow's fight, he would offer his infant daughter Aelfleda to be dedicated to the Lord in holy virginity and that he would also give twelve estates whereon to build religious houses, and so with a very small army committed himself to the conflict.¹

During the darkness of that November night there was treachery in the Mercian host. The Welsh king Catbagail withdrew his army from the main forces of Penda, and Oidilwald King of Deira, though only nineteen years of age, also played an unworthy part and proved as faithless to Penda as he had done to Oswy, for he drew off his men ere the commencement of the battle, and in a place of safety awaited the result of the engagement, hoping to secure his kingdom by an alliance with the conqueror. Thus he saved his life, to give in later times the site of the monastery of Lastingham to Bishop Cedd, and to be buried in St. Gregory's Minster at Kirkdale, six miles south of Lastingham, where in the easternmost bay of the north arcade is a preconquest slab on which is carved a cross, some interlacing ornament and the words *OETHILWALDE* in Runic characters, which has been ascribed to this king.²

On the morning of Sunday, November the 15th, 655, the two armies confronted each other, commanded by leaders animated by feelings of the most intense hatred and thirst for vengeance.

Oswy, taking the offensive, with his small army shouting their battle cry, rushed furiously down upon Penda's forces to break down all that withstood them; vainly Penda sought to stem the charge, the centre of his army was pierced and rolled back, Penda himself fighting in the forefront was killed by the sword; so ended this vigorous and warlike heathen in his seventy-ninth year, dying a warrior's death and passing to his Valhalla. As the rumour of their leader's death spread his men gave way and fell

¹ Bede, III, 24. Matthew of Westminster, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, I, 322.

² *Victoria County History of Yorkshire, North Riding*, I, 524. At Lastingham Cedd, Bishop of East Anglia, chose "a site among mountains difficult of access and remote, which appeared to be fitter dwelling-places for thieves and wild beasts than for men" when Oidilwald offered him land on which to build a monastery.



SITE OF THE BATTLE OF WINWAED

back in confusion, panic seized them, soon they were in full retreat and sought to secure their safety by a headlong flight towards the river only half a mile in their rear, which by an inundation of rains had widely overflowed its channel and even all its banks. Oswy's men were pitiless and cut down the fugitives remorselessly as they vainly attempted to cross the flooded stream; no quarter was given, those who hesitated to cast themselves into the waters fell by the sword of the pursuer, and of those who attempted to cross the river many thousands were drowned.

Æthelhere of East Anglia and almost all the thirty British princes were slain; then Oswy with his victorious army turned to pursue Catbagail, who, however, managed to evade pursuit and to escape ignominiously to his own country with only the wreck of his army, leaving dead upon the field or in the waters of the Winwaed nearly all his savage mountaineers. He now disappears from history branded with the surname "Catbagail Catgoummed" (Battle-eager, Battle Shunner).¹

On Sunday their blades assumed a ruddy hue;

On Monday was seen a pool knee-deep of blood.

Twenty hundred perished in one hour.²

Never had the odds seemed more unequal, but never was victory more complete. Oswy won one of the most decisive battles in Anglo-Saxon history, and the cause of the heathen gods was lost for ever. On the banks of the river Winwaed the Cross stood out in direct antagonism to Valhalla, as it had done at Maserfelth, but now it was victorious, and with this victory all active resistance on the part of the older heathendom came to an end. The worship of Woden was so completely vanquished that even the coming of the Danes failed to revive it.

Then rang out the triumph battle-song of the victors :

In the river Winwaed is avenged the slaughter of Anna,

The slaughter of the kings Sigberht and Ecgric,

The slaughter of the kings Oswald and Edwine.³

William of Malmesbury exults in the downfall of "the traitor Penda, that destroyer of the country and of the seed-plots."⁴

¹ Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, 76; Thomas of Malmesbury, *Eulogium Hist.* II, 165.

² Skene, W. F., *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, 398.

³ This snatch of an English song has been preserved by Henry of Huntingdon in his *Historia Britonum*, 717.

Anna, King of the East Anglians, killed in battle by Penda in 654. Sigberht, King of the East Anglians, who left his kingdom and entered the monastery of Bebyrchesworde (now Bury St. Edmunds), according to Thomas of Ely in his *Life of St. Etheldrith*, from which his people, against his will, called him on the news of Penda's invasion, in the faith that his presence would bring them the favour of Heaven. The monk-king was set in the fore-front of the battle holding nothing but a wand in his hand, and was slain together with King Ecgrice, when their whole army was either slain or dispersed.

Oswald, King of the Northumbrians, defeated and slain by Penda at the battle of Maserfelth, August, 642.

Edwine, King of Northumbria, slain by Penda at the battle of Heathfield, 633.

⁴ *De Gestibus Regum Anglorum*, I, 55.

By the Britons the battle of Winwaed was called "Strages Gai Campi," or the slaughter of the Field of Gai. Nennius says: "Oswy slew Penda in the field of Gai, and now it is called the battle of the field of Gai."¹

Oswy, according to the vow that he made before the battle, gave his daughter Aelfleda, scarce a year old, to the care of the sainted Hilda in the monastery of Heruteu, where the town of Hartlepool now stands, and gave an allotment of territory in Whitby to Hilda, where in 657 she founded a monastery for men and women.²

Oswy also gave twelve estates (boclands) of ten families each freed from military service, six in the province of Deira and six in the province of Bernicia for religious purposes, one of which was that of Nostell. There, on the high ground where he encamped the night before the battle in a very woody country and full of game, he established a cell for a few hermits, where they built a hall, an oratory and a chapel dedicated to St. James.

It may be, as suggested by Hunter,³ that this community of hermits was dedicated in allusion to James the deacon, whom Paulinus left at York, and who is described by Bede as a "man very zealous and of repute in Christ and the Church, in all respects ecclesiastical and holy, who remained in Northumbria and worked there after the battle of Heathfield in 633, where King Ædwin was slain, when Paulinus fled to Kent, taking with him Ædwin's queen Ædilberga and her daughter Eanfled, who then entered a monastery in Kent under the Roman influence.

Throughout the heathen religious revival after Ædwin's death and throughout the reign of Oswald, the deacon James, the sole relic of the church which Paulinus had founded in Northumbria, had preserved the Roman usage and might have lived on unheeded had not the coming back into Deira of Eanfled as the wife of Oswy given a new and powerful influence to the Roman movement there, for she brought with her the Roman tradition as to the time and observance of Easter and the Roman allegiance to the church of Kent. This influence became stronger when Wilfrid, born in Northumbria, met with a friendly reception by Queen Eanfled, and thus it may be that the queen's influence with Oswy caused this settlement at Nostell, the place of victory, to become associated with James the deacon, the one heroic figure of the Roman mission to Deira.

¹ *Historia Britonum*, 76; *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, II, 365-6.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, I, 405.

At a very early date it became a practice to carve hereditary estates out of the folcland, which thus became the private property of the individual. It was also usual to release such lands from all the dues which had been rendered from it, and to make it absolutely free. These estates were always granted by book and charter, and hence bore the name *bocland*. Kemble, J. R., *The Saxons in England*, I, 301. The Anglo-Saxon version reads: "Those twelve boclands Oswy freed from earthly warfare and earthly service to be employed in heavenly warfare."

³ Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, II, 204.

This receives confirmation from the charter of the first Robert de Laci and Mabell his wife, and Gilbert and Henry their sons, who gave to Gilbert the hermit of St. James of Nostell, and to his Brethren of the same house and their successors serving God there, the manor of Nether Sutton, with all such liberties as Ilbert, the father of the said Robert had of the free gift of William, Duke of Normandy, the year after he conquered England.¹

Thus there was in the time of Rufus a monastic foundation existing at Nostell, and Gilbert was not a solitary hermit living there, though the word *hermit* is applied to him.

"No-one has yet shown where stood that monastery in the wood of Elmete of which Bede speaks, where in his time a Saxon named Thrydwulf presided, and where was preserved the altar which escaped the flames when the original church of Doncaster built by Ædwin and Paulinus was destroyed. Nostell appears to me to present a probability." Thus wrote Hunter in 1831.²

One rather significant grant to the canons of Nostell by Henry the First was that of the Church of Bamborough in 1120, to hold by them after the death of Algar the priest.³ For it was Oswy's royal city of Bamborough whose walls, according to tradition, were delivered from Penda's fierce assault by the prayers of Bishop Aidan which drove back the devouring flames against those who kindled them.

Leland in his *Itinerary* records : "where the Paroch Chirch of S. Oswaldes is now newly builded was in Henry the first tyme a House and a Chirch of Poore Heremites, as in a woddy Cuntery, on till one Radulphus Aldlaver, Confessor to Henry the first, began the new Monasterie of Chanons, and was first Prior of it hymself. There lyeth a praty Pole at the West Ende of the House."

The site of the battle of Winwaed has been much disputed. The Venerable Bede born in 673, less than twenty years after the battle, says: "The battle was fought near the river Winwaed. King Oswy finished this war in the region of Loidis in the thirteenth year of his reign, and on the seventeenth day of the Kalends of December."

The Laud MS. of *The Saxon Chronicle* in the Bodleian Library under the year 654 says : "Oswy slew Penda neah Winwede streame and thirty kings with him."⁴

The Parker MS. of *The Saxon Chronicle* in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, gives the date as 655 in which Penda perished, but does not mention the place where he fell.⁵

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, 89n. Burton, *Mon. Ebor.* 300. MSS. penes Cox Macro, XII, pt. 2, f. 176. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 645.

De Gestibus et Actibus priorum Sancti Oswaldi de Nostel, a prima fundatione usque ad dominum Robertum de Quixley, who was made prior in A.D. 1393, and reigned thirty-five years.

² Hunter, J., *South Yorkshire*, II, 204.

³ Chartulary of Nostell, Brit. Mus., Vespasian XIX, f. 8.

⁴ Laud, MS. 636.

⁵ Parker MS. 173.

Gervase of Canterbury, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, in *Mappa Mundi*, a Canterbury Chronicle (1100-1199), marks the river Went as the river Wenet.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bishop of St. Asaph (1152-1154), who completed his *Historia Britonum* from Nennius and a lost book of Breton legends, speaks of the river as the Winned, a form closely approximating to Wenet.

A Mandate of Henry II to Gamel son of Basing, bailiff of Snaith, states that the monks of Selby shall have in peace those 5 bovates of land in Pollington, particularly near the river Went, as they had them in the time of Henry I, 1159-1160.¹

About the year 1180 Eudes de Longvillers granted 6 acres of land in Wenetshill to the canons of Nostell for the soul of Agnes his wife and Alan his son. This Agnes was one of the daughters and coheirs of Hervey de Rainevill.²

By his charter Ilbert de Lascy gave to the Chapel of St. Clement in Pontefract Castle the tithe of the apples in Went and five acres of land in Knottingley, c. 1090.³ His son Robert de Lascy gave one acre of land and the buildings thereon in Wenet to the monks of Kirkstall Abbey.⁴

The name Wenet appears in the Selby Chartulary in the year 1160.

In the Pontefract Chartulary is the final concord made in 1235, between prior Stephen and the convent of Pontefract on the one part and brother Tyricus Alemannus, master and the brethren of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, sojourning in England, on the other part, in which the prior and convent of Pontefract quitclaim to the said master and brethren the tithes of all the lands from the Greater Thorn which stands above the ditch near the king's highway which leads towards Wenet, even to the new cross which is placed at the head of the great ditch towards the east; and from the said cross as far as the Field of Darrington, which abuts upon the watershed towards the east.⁵

In *The Dictionary of Christian Biography* The Rev. Canon Raine says: "The two armies met at Winwidfield in the district of Loidis. The Winwaed is probably the Went."

T. Hodkin in *The Political History of England* speaks of the Winwaed as possibly the Went, a stream in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

¹ Chartulary of Selby, f. 18. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, I, 372.

² Chartulary of Nostell, Brit. Mus., Cotton MS. Vesp. E. XIX, f. 19. *Early Yorkshire Charters*, III, 304.

³ Dodsworth MS. 118, f. 76. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XIV, 155.

⁴ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, 535.

⁵ *Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, I, 199n. "The small angular plot still (1899) remains on which stood the New Cross, which formed the boundary between Knottingley, Ferrybridge and Pontefract, but the Cross has long since disappeared. The Greater Thorn existed till within the last seven years, but was destroyed in 1892."

C. Plummer in the first volume of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* mentions with a query the river Winwaed as being the Went, a tributary of the Don.

The name Winwaed, Winned is undoubtedly Celtic. The first syllable may be connected with *winnan* to fight, though Professor Skeat connects the name with Winta, who appears as the son of Woden in an Anglo-Saxon royal genealogy. The second syllable is from the Saxon *waed* a ford.

Thoresby, the author of *Ducatus Leodiensis*, writing in 1715, conjectured that the armies of Oswy and Penda began to skirmish on Win-moor, a common in the parish of Barwick-in-Elmet, but that the main battle was fought at Seacroft near Leeds, and that the river Aire was Bede's Winwaed. T. D. Whitaker in his *Loidis and Elmete* disputed this surmise, saying that the word Aire was unquestionably British in origin, and if it had once been exchanged for Winwaed what could account for the ancient appellation Aire being revived? Also, that the nearest part of Whinmore is at least five miles from the Aire, a river so deep that a flying enemy might have been drowned without its being swollen by rains.

This writer thought that the river, so fatal to the followers of Penda, might be the little river Went, a tributary of the Don, which since the Conquest is known to have been called *Wynt*.

With regard to the foundation in 1121 of Nostell Priory, the account given by Robert de Quixley, the twenty-seventh prior (1393-1428) is that Henry the First on an expedition against the Scots was accompanied by his chaplain and confessor Ralph Adlave, who falling sick, was left at Pontefract, but on convalescing was induced for his speedier recovery and perhaps by an inclination for hunting, to ride into a very woody country full of game of all kinds, some three miles from Pontefract, where he came upon a hermitage; being struck with the pious manner of these hermits he desired to become one of their society. Ralph obtained the king's consent and took upon him the habit and order of St. Austin and founded the priory of Nostell, 12 January, 1121, when he became the first prior of Old Place and of the eleven brethren there.¹

Probably these eleven brethren were the successors of the original hermits of St. James founded by Oswy and were induced by Ralph Adlave to join the Augustinian order with him.

Ralph Adlave died 12 May, 1128, and was buried at Old Place, where the chapel of the hermits stood, and where in after years the present church of Wragby was erected.

Professor Hamilton Thompson says that Burton's account of the founding of Nostell Priory is accurate in all essential points, but that he misread the name of the principal person concerned

¹ De Gestis et Actibus priorum Sancti Oswaldi de Nostel, a prima fundatione Robert de Quixley. A folio manuscript on vellum preserved at Nostell Priory.

in the foundation as "Adlave"; the person meant is beyond all question Athelwulf, who was prior of St. Oswald's, Nostell, and became the first Bishop of Carlisle in 1133, dying in 1157.¹

Robert de Torigny states that Athelwulf was Henry the First's confessor: "et posuit ibi episcopum primum Adalulfum priorem canonicorum regularium Sancti Oswaldi, cui solitus erat confiteri peccata sua."²

The name of this first prior of Nostell and first Bishop of Carlisle is variously given as Aldulf (*Simeon of Durham*); Adulfus (*Chron. Mailr*); Aethelulphus (*Matthew Paris*); Athelulfus (*Roger of Wendover*); Arnulphus (*Brompton*); Aelulfus (*R. de Monte*); Adelulfus (*Chron. Norman*); Adelwaldus sive Adelwulfus (*Bishop Godwin*); Athelwold (*Le Neve*).

Henry the First, as chief lord, in 1122 confirmed a charter of Nostell, wherein Acelin is mentioned as "the donor of the wood above the pool of St. Oswald of Nostell." Thus the pool was known by the name of St. Oswald before the priory was founded, and thus we have evidence of a local honour to the saint, an honour thereby proved to have continued and not to have been initiated at the foundation of the twelfth century priory.³

Henry the First granted permission to the canons of Nostell to build their church above the fishpond of Nostell, and confirmed to them "all the wood which surrounds the church and which is called the wood of St. Oswald."⁴

Thus the association of King Oswy with the hermit cell of St. James at Nostell and the pool of St. Oswald, from which the river Went takes its source, afford a strong proof for placing the site of the battle of Winwaed on the high ground whereon now stands the church of Wragby, and that the Went was the river named by the Venerable Bede as Winwaed; for his statement that the battle was fought "in regionis Loidis" is quite definite. Nostell and the river Went are within the territory known as Loidis in the kingdom of Deira.

My thanks are due to Professor Hamilton Thompson, C.B.E., D.Litt., F.B.A., F.S.A., and to the Rev. Professor Whiting, D.D., F.S.A. for their kindness in reading the manuscript, for making useful suggestions and for notes on the subject.

¹ Hamilton Thompson, *Bolton Priory*. 25-26 (Thoresby Society).

² *Chronicles of the reign of Stephen* (Rolls Series), IV, 123.

³ Chartulary of Nostell, Cotton MS. Vesp. E. f. 19. Farrer, *Early Yorkshire Charters*, III, 128.

⁴ Chartulary of Nostell, f. 7. *Early Yorkshire Charters*, III, 129.

NOTES ON THE EARLY ARCHDEACONS IN THE CHURCH OF YORK.

By C. T. CLAY, C.B., Hon.Litt.D., F.S.A.

(Continued from p. 287).

§2. THE PERIOD 1154 to 1189.

B1. BARTHOLOMEW.

As Bartholomew the archdeacon he followed John the treasurer and Robert *archidiaconus Eboracensis* among the witnesses to a charter of archbishop Roger, 1154-58 (see above under Ralph Baro, no. A 11); was the first witness, John Letold', canon of York, being the second, to another charter of the same to Merton priory relating to land in Lockington;¹ and the first witness to another charter of the same, confirming a gift of Roger de Mowbray to Fountains abbey of part of his forest of Nidderdale.² With William the precentor he witnessed a letter of archbishop Roger to the archbishop of Rouen relating to the manor of Kilham, 1155-64.³ A charter of Robert *secundus*, dean of York [Robert Butevilain], confirming a gift made by archbishop Roger to Peter his chamberlain of land in Ingerthorpe, 1158-62, was witnessed by John treasurer of York, Geoffrey, Bartholomew and John, archdeacons, William the precentor, and others.⁴

Bartholomew the archdeacon was the first witness to a charter of archbishop Roger, confirming to Fountains abbey the gifts of the grange of Cowton made by Alan and Conan, earls of Richmond, in or shortly after 1158.⁵ He also witnessed a gift of William Paynel to St. Peter's, York, of land in Hooton Pagnell;⁶ and two charters to Byland abbey relating to Warcop, Westmorland, all in the period 1158-67.⁷

A notification was issued by the dean and chapter of York that in their presence Juetta de Carleton released to Bartholomew the archdeacon her right in land in Carleton, and Bartholomew restored it to her to hold for her life with reversion after her death to him or any canon who should succeed after him to that prebend.⁸ At Michaelmas 1167 a payment of half a mark was made from

¹ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 1119; the style of the second witness gives the latest limit of date as 1159.

² *Fountains Chartulary*, i, 208.

³ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 437; *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 17.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 119.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iv, no. 116.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vi, no. 133.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v, pp. 55-6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i, no. 159; dated by Farrer 1160-66. The prebend was Carlton, par. Stockton-on-the-Forest.

Carleton belonging to Robert Butevil[ain].¹ From these references Farrer made the deduction that by that term Bartholomew was no longer holding his archdeaconry.²

It has been supposed that Bartholomew's archdeaconry was that of Richmond.³ Although there appears to be no definite proof of this, it can certainly be regarded as probable (see below).

He had a son, to whom, described as William son of Bartholomew the archdeacon, Clement abbot of St. Mary's gave the church of Burneston for the term of his life, *c.* 1174-1184.⁴ William the chaplain of Bartholomew the archdeacon occurs as a witness to a charter to St. Peter's, York.⁵

B2. GEOFFREY.

At some date in the period 1162-67 an agreement was made between archbishop Roger and Hugh bishop of Durham relating to the churches of St. Cuthbert in Yorkshire; ten churches are named as being in the archdeaconry of John son of Letold; two churches in York and the moiety of a third as being in that of Geoffrey; and four as being in that of the treasurer.⁶ The first series comprises not only churches in that part of the North Riding lying within the limits of the archdeaconry of Cleveland, but also the churches of Hemingbrough and Skipwith in the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent which, until so recent a date as 1896,⁷ formed part of the same archdeaconry. The second series comprises churches in the city of York which were locally within the archdeaconry of York; and the third series churches in the East Riding (not in the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent), the archdeaconry of which was at that time annexed to the treasurership. Moreover, Roger de Howden, who recorded a portion of the agreement in his Chronicle,⁸ assigned the first series of churches to the archdeaconry of Cleveland, without mentioning the name of John son of Letold, and the second series to the archdeaconry of York, without

¹ *Pipe Roll* 13 *Hen. II*, p. 97.

² *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 159 note.

³ His name was added to the list of archdeacons of Richmond in the 1854 edition of Le Neve; and this was accepted by Farrer (*E.Y.C.*, i, no. 159). Round, in his index to *Cal. Docs. France*, supposed that he was archdeacon of Rouen; but this cannot be supported in respect of that reference.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, v, no. 330.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 1091.

⁶ The full text is given in *Hist. Ch. York*, iii, pp. 79-81, from Reg. Mag. Alb. The first witness was A[ilred] abbot of Rievaulx, who died in 1167; and the second Ralph [de Warneville], treasurer of York, who cannot have become treasurer before 1162 (see *ante*, xxxv, 22). The third was John son of Letold described as *archidiaconus ecclesie Eboracensis*.

Farrer notices the agreement in a note to *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 936; and to John son of Letold he adds "one of the archdeacons of St. Peter's," and to Geoffrey "archdeacon of Cleveland." By the first he evidently means a joint archdeacon of York (*cf. ibid.*, iii, p. 442). These attributions, which he contrasts with Howden's, are certainly incorrect.

⁷ *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 80.

⁸ *Howden*, ii, 70; entered erroneously under the year 1174.

mentioning the name of Geoffrey. There is no doubt that the document proves that John son of Letold was then holding the archdeaconry of Cleveland, and Geoffrey that of York.¹

This Geoffrey can be identified with Geoffrey the archdeacon, who, following the treasurer, was the second of four archdeacons who witnessed a charter of Robert *secundus*, dean of York, 1158-62 (see above under Bartholomew, no. B1); and who, with John, described as *archidiaconi Eboracenses*, witnessed a settlement made by archbishop Roger, 1164-77, relating to a dispute as to tithes in which Selby abbey was concerned.²

A complex question is raised by a statement made by Ralph de Diceto under the year 1176 that Geoffrey provost of Beverley, *archidiaconus Eboracensis*, for a payment of 1100 marks of silver, was made chancellor of the young king.³ At first sight this suggests that Geoffrey the provost was also holding one of the archdeaconries, which he presumably held until his death at sea in 1177, and that he may have been the same man as Geoffrey archdeacon of York, mentioned above. This would make the succession in that archdeaconry additionally difficult to understand; for the balance of evidence suggests that Ralph d'Aunay (see no. B8) became archdeacon of York not later than 1174. In the corresponding statement of the same fact given in the chronicle known by the name of Benedict of Peterborough,⁴ there is no suggestion that Geoffrey the provost was also an archdeacon. It is possible that Ralph de Diceto meant that Geoffrey was formerly an archdeacon; but even so, and assuming that Geoffrey archdeacon of York, mentioned above, became provost of Beverley, the matter is not free from difficulty. It is uncertain how soon after 1162, when Becket, then (or shortly before) provost of Beverley, became archbishop of Canterbury, he was succeeded by a provost named Geoffrey.⁵ Geoffrey was certainly provost before 29 June 1169;⁶ and he remained so until his death in 1177, when he was described as a nephew of archbishop Roger and chancellor of the young king Henry.⁷ Moreover he had become provost when Ralph was still archdeacon of Cleveland, both witnessing the same charter in the period 1164-74.⁸ Possibly he resigned the archdeaconry of York shortly afterwards and was succeeded by Ralph. But it must certainly not be assumed without further evidence that Geoffrey archdeacon of York in the period 1162-67 was necessarily the same man as Geoffrey provost of Beverley; nor can the description given by Ralph de Diceto of the latter as *archidiaconus Eboracensis* in 1176, unless corroborative support is available, be regarded as free from suspicion.

¹ Cf. *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 80.

² *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 487.

³ *R. de Diceto*, Rolls Ser., i, 406.

⁴ *Gesta Henrici*, Rolls Ser., i, 122.

⁵ *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, Surtees Soc., ii, pp. xiv-xvi.

⁶ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 86.

⁷ *Gesta Henrici*, i, 195; *Howden*, ii, 147.

⁸ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 978; and cf. vi, no. 82.

B3. GEOFFREY SON OF THE KING.

He succeeded Ralph de Warneville in the treasurership of York, with which the archdeaconry of the East Riding was combined, in 1181 or 1182; and he appears to have held it until 1189, when he was given the archbishopric of York.¹

B4. GODFREY DE LUCY.

He became archdeacon of Richmond not later than 1184, witnessing as such a charter of Clement abbot of St. Mary's, who died in that year.² As archdeacon of Richmond he was an envoy on the king's behalf in Jan. 1184-5, and witnessed a royal charter in March.³ With the same description he confirmed a gift of the church of Stanwick to Easby abbey, and an arrangement relating to the church of Great Langton.⁴ In August 1189 he was named as a canon and archdeacon of the church of York.⁵ He was a king's justice at York and Richmond in 1187;⁶ and was consecrated bishop of Winchester 22 October 1189.⁷

B5. JEREMY.

Described as a canon of Rouen, Jeremy⁸ witnessed a charter of archbishop Roger confirming an agreement between Rievaulx abbey and the church of Scawton relating to tithes; as Robert [Butevilain] also witnessed as *archidiaconus Eboracensis* the date 1154-58 can be assigned.⁹

As a canon of Rouen Jeremy witnessed a charter recording the sale of a messuage in Rouen which was held of the fee of the archbishop of York, in the period 1170-75;¹⁰ and, probably on the same day, described as archdeacon, he witnessed the charter of Roger archbishop of York, confirming the sale.¹¹ It is certain that his archdeaconry was that of Cleveland; and just as Ralph de Warneville witnessed the first of these charters, drawn up in the presence of the commonalty of the city, as sacrist *i.e.* treasurer [of Rouen], and the second, issued by archbishop Roger, as treasurer of York, so Jeremy was described in his different capacities as canon of Rouen in the first and an archdeacon [in the church of York] in the second.¹²

¹ *Ante*, xxxv, 25.

² *E.Y.C.*, iv, p. 117.

³ Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, pp. 260, 262.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, v, nos. 270, 259.

⁵ *Gesta Ricardi*, Rolls Ser., ii, 77.

⁶ *E.Y.C.*, iv, no. 97; v, nos. 148, 263.

⁷ See the account of him in *D.N.B.*; he was the son of Richard de Lucy, chief justiciar; an itinerant justice in 1179, and archdeacon of Derby in 1182.

⁸ The usual Latin form in texts is *Jeremias*.

⁹ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1832; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 225.

¹⁰ *Lay Folks Mass Book*, Early English Text Soc., introd., p. xliv, from the original at Rouen.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. xlvi. Abst. in *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 29.

¹² For Warneville in this connexion, with reference to these two charters, see *ante*, xxxv, 23.

Within a few years after Roger de Pont l'Evêque became archbishop of York in 1154, Jeremy was given a canonry of York. As a canon of York he witnessed several charters within the extreme limits of 1158-74; several being not earlier than 1164, and some being issued after John had become archdeacon of Nottingham.¹ He became an archdeacon while William d'Eu was still precentor,² that is to say not later than 1174.³ As Jeremy, archdeacon of Cleveland, he assented to an agreement between Byland abbey and the church of Hawnby on a question of tithe, which was confirmed by archbishop Roger, c. 1170-1181.⁴ So described he witnessed a charter of archbishop Roger to Guisborough priory relating to the church of Skelton in Cleveland.⁵ Also so described he purchased from Rievaulx abbey land in the Marsh district of the city of York, which belonged to the fee of St. Mary's abbey; and the purchase was confirmed to him by Clement, abbot of St. Mary's, not later than 1184.⁶ He also held other land there of St. Peter's hospital, and this was subsequently granted by Paulinus, master of the hospital, to Rievaulx abbey; John, Jeremy's kinsman, to whom both holdings had been bequeathed by his will, having sold them to Rievaulx, subject to the rents due to St. Mary's abbey and St. Peter's hospital.⁷

With the name of no archdeaconry specified—but it can certainly be assumed that it was Cleveland—Jeremy the archdeacon witnessed several charters in the period 1170-89.⁸ In a dispute between archbishop Roger and Guisborough priory, which the archbishop settled in the presence of the legate Alexis, the canons had appealed against an institution to the church of Kirklevington which Jeremy the archdeacon had proposed to make.⁹ Described as archdeacon of Cleveland Jeremy was instrumental in obtaining the settlement of a dispute between Byland abbey and Arden priory, an agreement being made in his presence in the church of Hawnby in the year 1189.¹⁰

¹ *E.Y.C.*, i, nos. 159, 161, 282-5; vi, nos. 23, 133; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 237; *Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 81. He was, perhaps, the Jeremy, one of the archbishop's clerks, who witnessed a charter of Robert the dean and chapter, 1154-58 (*Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 708).

² *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 740.

³ See *ante*, xxxv, 121. It seems clear that he succeeded Ralph d'Aunay (see no. B8) in the archdeaconry of Cleveland.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1838; Hamo the precentor was a witness.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 675, dated by Farrer 1170-78, the earlier limit evidently on the assumption that Jeremy became archdeacon in or after 1170.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, no. 303.

⁷ *Ibid.*, nos. 304-5. The charter of John, described as *nepos* of Jeremy the archdeacon, was confirmed to Rievaulx *inter alia* by Richard I on 17 Sept. 1189 (*Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 172).

⁸ *E.Y.C.*, i, nos. 157, 160, 280, 612; ii, nos. 760, 840, 986, 1113; iii, no. 1565; v, no. 330. Also *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 740, not earlier than 1167. He is probably the Germinus the archdeacon, a member of the synod of York, who witnessed a charter to Lewes priory c. 1180-85 (*ante*, xxxi, 307).

⁹ *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, nos. 683-6; the date is c. 1180.

¹⁰ *MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, iv, 75. The document has a seal attached: perfect, showing a man's bust; S. IERMIE ARCH. D. CLEVE-LAN'.

In view of the circumstances of his successor's appointment (see below in §3), the date of Jeremy's death can be fixed as shortly before the death of Henry II on 6 July 1189. At Michaelmas 1189 the custodians of the archbishopric of York paid into the exchequer 54s. 2d. for the share of Jeremy the archdeacon in respect of the synodals belonging to his archdeaconry.¹

It is of considerable interest that to Jeremy, archdeacon of Cleveland, has been assigned the authorship of the manual known as *The Lay Folks Mass Book*. The credit of this attribution is due to Canon Simmons in his introduction to the texts of the medieval translations into English, which he edited for The Early English Text Society in 1879. In the first place he gave reasons for his conclusions that the original (of which he had failed to discover any copy) was written in French about the middle of the twelfth century by someone who was familiar with the liturgic use of Rouen. It is certain that the author's name was Jeremy;² and having regard to the evidence provided by the Rouen charters which have been quoted above, where it is conclusive that Jeremy, archdeacon [of Cleveland], also held a canonry of Rouen in the period 1170-75, Canon Simmons made the deduction that the archdeacon, in view of his name, the period in which he lived, and his connexion with Rouen, was none other than the author of *The Lay Folks Mass Book*. This deduction is reinforced by the fact that Jeremy had held a canonry of Rouen as early as 1154-58, before he became a canon of York or archdeacon of Cleveland (see above). It may therefore be supposed that he was a Norman, not an Englishman, by birth; and, incidentally, his career in the church of York was probably due to archbishop Roger, who had close associations with the city of Rouen.

There was, however, an earlier canon of Rouen of the same name. Canon Simmons supposed that he was the same man as the archdeacon of Cleveland; but the chronological difficulties seem to be insuperable. Hugh the Chantor³ relates that a certain Jeremy, canon of Rouen,⁴ had been sent by king Henry I to Rome to await the archbishops of Canterbury and York on their visit there in 1123; and he describes him as "licet statura brevis nec sensu, nec scientia, nec eloquentia erat exilis," adding that he greatly loved archbishop Thurstan and his friends, and was beloved. It is evident that in view of this description and of the circumstances of his employment by the king he was not a mere youth at the time; and it is scarcely possible to suppose that this particular Jeremy lived to the year 1189.⁵ There must have been, therefore, two canons of

¹ *Pipe Roll 1 Ric. I*, p. 10.

² "In a boke fynde I of on', Dane Ieremi was his nome, A deuowte mon' and religyus" is from one of the texts (p. 5); and the name Jeremy occurs in the same passage in two others. The name St. Jerome has been substituted in two texts quite certainly in error (see p. 172).

³ *Hist. Ch. York*, ii, 201.

⁴ In Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 193, he is called archdeacon of Rouen, but this must be a mistake.

⁵ Canon Simmons was not aware that Jeremy the archdeacon lived so late as 1189.

Rouen named Jeremy—the first, who occurs in 1123, and the second (who became archdeacon of Cleveland) during the period subsequent to 1154. Although the balance of evidence supports the conclusion of Canon Simmons that it was the archdeacon who was the author of *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, the possibility that it was the earlier Jeremy must not be overlooked.

B6. JOHN OF CANTERBURY, *alias* JOHN BELLESMAINS.

He was appointed treasurer of York before Jan. 1156, probably in 1154; and in combination with the treasurership held the archdeaconry of the East Riding. In 1162 he became bishop of Poitiers, being consecrated at the abbey of Déols, dio. Bourges, on 23 Sept. of that year; and in 1182 archbishop of Lyons. He resigned his archbishopric in 1193, and died in retirement at Clairvaux shortly after Dec. 1203.¹

B7. JOHN SON OF LETOLD.

It is likely that the father of John son of Letold was Letold, canon of York, who witnessed archbishop Thurstan's charters to the priory of Holy Trinity, York, *c.* 1121-1138,² to St. Clement's priory, York, 1125-35,³ and to Fountains abbey *c.* 1135-36,⁴ and a charter of Robert Fossard to Nostell priory, *c.* 1126-1129.⁵

John son of Letold occurs as a canon of York before 1154,⁶ and in Dec. 1157 and May 1158.⁷ As a canon of York he witnessed several charters of archbishop Roger in the period 1154-59,⁸ one of which can be dated 1154-58;⁹ and other charters of the same period,¹⁰ or slightly earlier.¹¹ With no description, though the context suggests that he was a canon of York, he witnessed several other charters in the same period.¹² He witnessed a charter of archbishop Roger apparently before he became an archdeacon, of which the earliest date is 1158.¹³

¹ See the account of him, *ante*, xxxv, pp. 11-19.

² *E.Y.C.*, vi, no. 9; but not described there as a canon.

³ *Ibid.*, i, no. 357.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, no. 62; for the date see *ante*, xxxv, 117.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 1012.

⁶ *Ibid.*, i, no. 450. Hugh the treasurer, who became bp of Durham in 1153, was a witness.

⁷ *Chartulary of St. Peter, Gloucester*, ii, pp. 106-7.

⁸ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 37; ii, nos. 955, 1119. The later limit of *c.* 1160 is assigned by Farrer, presumably on the assumption that by that time John son of Letold had become an archdeacon. As will be seen below John the archdeacon, who was in all probability the same man, had certainly become an archdeacon by 1159. See also *ibid.*, v, no. 175; and *Fountains Chartulary*, i, 208; ii, 646.

⁹ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1832. Robert [Butevilain] witnessed as archdeacon, and he became dean of York in 1158.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 1095; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 57; *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 708, of date 1154-58.

¹¹ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 1044; *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 618.

¹² *E.Y.C.*, ii, nos. 674, 880, 1052; iii, no. 1321; v, nos. 173, 233, 319.

¹³ *Ibid.*, iv, no. 116; *cf.* under Bartholomew (no. B1 above).

It is certain that at some date in the period 1162-67 John son of Letold was archdeacon of Cleveland (see above under Geoffrey, no. B2). Before examining the references to him as archdeacon, it is important to determine whether John son of Letold, archdeacon of Cleveland, was the same person as John the archdeacon, who occurs during the latter part of the period before 1181 as John, archdeacon of Nottingham. The following considerations suggest that this is so :

(a) An examination of the large number of charters of the period, printed in the six volumes of *Early Yorkshire Charters* and in the chartularies of monastic houses, shows that John son of Letold never occurs in any charter which is witnessed by John the archdeacon or John, archdeacon of Nottingham. John the archdeacon, as will be shown below, occurs as archdeacon in 1159 and after 1177; he was therefore a contemporary of John son of Letold, the archdeacon.

(b) Archbishop Roger issued a charter to Rievaulx abbey confirming a gift made by William de Vesci; among the witnesses was John, archdeacon of Nottingham.¹ The only charter of William de Vesci entered in the chartulary is one which was witnessed not only by the archbishop himself, but by four witnesses who witnessed the archbishop's confirmation;² and it is probable that it was issued very shortly before, or on the same occasion, as the archbishop's confirmation. To William de Vesci's charter John son of Letold, the archdeacon, was also a witness; and it is difficult to suppose that he was not the same person as John, archdeacon of Nottingham, who witnessed the archbishop's charter.

(c) In the period 1164-70 king Henry II issued a charter at Winchester, confirming to Rievaulx abbey a gift made by Hugh, bishop of Durham; and among the witnesses were archbishop Roger and John son of Letold, *archidiaconus Eboracensis*.³ Archbishop Roger issued a similar confirmation, saying that he did so at the request of the king;⁴ and it is likely that this was done as soon as he returned to York from Winchester. Among the witnesses were John, *archidiaconus Eboracensis ecclesie*; and again it is difficult to suppose that he was not the same person as John son of Letold, who witnessed the king's charter.

Other references to John son of Letold, the archdeacon, to John archdeacon of Nottingham, and to John the archdeacon, who, if the above deductions are accepted, were the same person, can now be examined.

John son of Letold, the archdeacon, witnessed a charter of Bernard de Balliol to Rievaulx abbey, not earlier than 1161 as Clement, abbot of St. Mary's, also witnessed;⁵ and a charter of

¹ *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 237. As the abp is styled legate, and as Jeremy, afterwards archdeacon of Cleveland, witnessed as a canon, the extreme limits of date are 1164-74.

² *Ibid.*, no. 190.

³ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 959; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 204.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 960; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 222.

⁵ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 562; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 115.

Swane, warden of St. Peter's hospital, York, dated by Farrer 1165-75.¹ A charter of Engelram, rural dean of Ryedale, records that a quitclaim made to Rievaulx abbey was the subject of an *affidatio in manu* in the church of Helmsley in the presence of two archdeacons, John son of Letold and Ralph del Alnai.² John son of Lethold and Bartholomew, archdeacons, witnessed a charter of Robert son of Torfin to Byland abbey, not later than 1167.³ With no description John son of Letald witnessed a charter of archbishop Roger to Drax priory;⁴ the charter cannot be earlier than 1164; and the omission of his archidiaconal style can only be regarded as exceptional.

There is a fixed date at which John was in possession of the archdeaconry of Nottingham; for a charter issued by Alan son of Torfin son of Gospatric, among the witnesses being John, archdeacon of Nottingham, is dated 18 Feb. 1172-3.⁵ Within the period 1164-74 archbishop Roger, styled legate, and the dean and chapter issued a notification that they had granted to St. Peter's hospital a messuage which had belonged to the prebend formerly possessed by Simon de Sigillo, to which John the archdeacon had succeeded, in exchange for another and more advantageous messuage, John the archdeacon giving 30 marks to the hospital; this was witnessed by John, archdeacon of Nottingham, and many members of the chapter.⁶ Again, within the same period, archbishop Roger issued a notification that Warin and Alan de Cotum and others had surrendered into the hand of John, archdeacon of Nottingham, lands which they had held of Simon de Sigillo in Langtoft, and which belonged to Simon's prebend to which John the archdeacon had succeeded; among the witnesses being Ernald brother of the archdeacon.⁷ John, archdeacon of Nottingham, followed by Ralph, archdeacon of Cleveland, witnessed a charter of archbishop Roger, styled legate, relating to the church of Howden, 1164-74;⁸ and John, archdeacon of Nottingham, followed by Jeremy, archdeacon of Cleveland, witnessed a charter of archbishop Roger

¹ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1566.

² *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 239. It is difficult to suggest any approximate date. For the importance of this charter see below under Ralph d'Aunay, no. B8.

³ *E.Y.C.*, v, p. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi, no. 23; the text is from an original. Another similar case is a charter of Torfin son of Robert to Byland abbey, witnessed by Robert, dean of York, John son of Lethold, Bartholomew the archdeacon, etc. (*ibid.*, v, p. 55, quoting Byland Chartulary, f. 11). The date is 1158-67. As John son of Letold precedes Bartholomew, *archidiacono* may be an error in the chartulary for *archidiaconis*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, no. 123.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 282; *cf.* nos. 283-5, dealing with the same transaction. All of them were witnessed by Jeremy as a canon of York, which fixes the latest limit of date.

⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 161. The prebend was presumably that of Langtoft. Nothing seems to be known of Ernald.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 978; witnessed by William the precentor; these are the maximum limits of date. *Cf.* another charter (*ibid.*, vi, no. 82) when Ralph was archdeacon of Cleveland, and another, 1177-81, when Ralph had become archdeacon of York (both cited below under Ralph d'Aunay).

to Guisborough priory, *c.* 1170-1181.¹ John, archdeacon of Nottingham witnessed charters of Gilbert son of Nigel [de Huddleston], 1165-74; of William Ward to Sinningthwaite priory, *c.* 1172-1181; and of Henry de Wistow, 1160-81, also witnessed by Reginald, chamberlain of the archdeacon.² John, archdeacon of Nottingham had a niece Alice, a nun, to whom William Esveiliechen gave two messuages and land in Barnby Moor.³

Several charters within the extreme limits of 1158-81 were witnessed by John the archdeacon, with no archdeaconry specified. The earliest which can be accurately dated is the charter of Roger, abbot of Evesham, to Whitby abbey; this can be assigned to the year 1159.⁴ A charter of Robert *secundus*, dean of York, 1158-62, was witnessed by John the treasurer, Geoffrey, Bartholomew and John, archdeacons (see above under Bartholomew, no. B1). There are three charters of archbishop Roger, one to the prebend of Newbald, another relating to land in York, and the third to St. Peter's hospital,⁵ which can be assigned to the period 1177-81, as all were witnessed by Robert, provost of Beverley, whose predecessor Geoffrey was drowned in 1177,⁶ and by Ralph the archdeacon, John the archdeacon, and Jeremy the archdeacon.⁷ Several other charters, witnessed by John the archdeacon, fall within the extreme limits of 1158-81.⁸ To an instrument of archbishop Roger, 1164-77, the first two witnesses were Geoffrey and John, *archidiaconi Eboracenses* (see above under Geoffrey, no. B2). There can be no doubt that he was the John the archdeacon, shrewd and wealthy, the counsellor of archbishop Roger, with whom he had co-operated in all things, who died about the same time (*nimirum die altero*) as the archbishop, and left his money to the king.⁹

On the assumption that John son of Letold was the same person as John the archdeacon and John, archdeacon of Nottingham, the following deductions can be made :

He was a canon of York before 1154 and in 1158; by 1159 he had become an archdeacon; at some date in the period 1162-67 he was holding the archdeaconry of Cleveland; by Feb. 1172-3 he had become archdeacon of Nottingham; and he died in 1181. There is no evidence that he was ever archdeacon of York (the West

¹ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 675, dated by Farrer 1170-78.

² *Ibid.*, i, nos. 39, 52, 162.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 147, dated by Farrer 1154-64; but as Hamo the precentor witnessed the date must be taken as not before *c.* 1170.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, no. 1059.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, nos. 160, 280; iii, no. 1565.

⁶ *Howden*, ii, 147.

⁷ At that period Ralph was archdeacon of York (see below under Ralph d'Aunay, no. B8), and Jeremy was archdeacon of Cleveland (see above under Jeremy, no. B5).

⁸ *E.Y.C.*, i, nos. 146, 584; ii, nos. 688, 881, 882, 1247, 1248; iii, nos. 1478, 1479. Also *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, pp. 647, 740. Some of these, in which abp Roger is styled legate, are not earlier than 1164; and others, witnessed by William the precentor, not later than 1174.

⁹ *William of Newburgh*, Rolls Ser., i, 227.

Riding);¹ and the combined evidence suggests that he succeeded Ralph Baro (see above no. A11) as archdeacon of Cleveland in 1158 or 1159, and was transferred to the archdeaconry of Nottingham c. 1165-72, which he retained until his death.

B8. RALPH D'AUNAY.

Among the witnesses to a charter of archbishop Roger relating to the vicarage of Leeds, 1164-75, were Ralph the treasurer of York, John archdeacon of Nottingham, and Ralph archdeacon of Cleveland;² and John archdeacon of Nottingham and Ralph archdeacon of Cleveland were among the witnesses to another relating to the church of Howden, 1164-74 (see above under John son of Letold, no. B7). The details relating to John son of Letold show that Ralph was evidently his successor in the archdeaconry of Cleveland. Ralph cannot therefore be identified with Ralph Baro (see above no. A11).

There seems to be no reasonable doubt that he can be identified with Ralph, also described as Ralph d'Aunay (*de Alneto*), who was afterwards archdeacon of York (the West Riding). In a letter addressed to archbishop Roger of probable date 1173-80 the terms of an agreement between R[alph] de Alneto, the archdeacon, described as the archbishop's nephew, and the canons of Guisborough, settling a long-standing dispute relating to the church of Skelton are described in detail; Ralph the archdeacon was to hold the church for life, paying to the canons 10 marks of silver yearly, and after his death the canons should possess it.³ In this connexion there is a charter of archbishop Roger confirming to Guisborough priory the church of Skelton, to hold it *in proprios usus* after the death of Ralph *archidiaconus Eboracensis*, which was witnessed by John archdeacon of Nottingham, Jeremy archdeacon of Cleveland, and others.⁴ From this it is clear that Ralph d'Aunay had then become archdeacon of York. Described as Ralph de Alneto he died as rector of the church.⁵ It is probable that his original acquisition of the church dated from the time when he was holding the archdeaconry of Cleveland where Skelton is situated.

Other references to him with his full name of d'Aunay include the following : Engelram, rural dean of Ryedale, issued a charter in the presence of two archdeacons, namely John son of Letold and Ralph del Alnai.⁶ The period is difficult to fix, but it is likely that John had become archdeacon of Nottingham and Ralph was then holding the archdeaconry of Cleveland. A charter of

¹ Farrer was certainly of the opinion that at some period John son of Letold was archdeacon of York before becoming archdeacon of Nottingham, and this has been followed by the present writer in *E.Y.C.*, iv, p. xxivn, and v, pp. 77, 227; but it cannot be supported.

² *Ibid.*, vi, no. 82.

³ *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, no. 819; cf. *E.Y.C.*, ii, p. 20.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 675; *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, no. 816.

⁵ *Guisborough Chartulary*, no. 838.

⁶ *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 239; and see above under John son of Letold.

Clement abbot of St. Mary's was witnessed by Robert dean of York, Hamo the precentor, Jeremy the archdeacon, Ralph de Alnei the archdeacon and Robert *presbitero Beverlaci fratre ejus*, and others.¹ *Presbitero* is probably an error for *preposito* in the text, which is not an original; and if so the date can be fixed as 1177-84, and Robert provost of Beverley can be proved to be Ralph d'Aunay's brother. And, lastly, Ralph de Alneto the archdeacon, a member of the synod of York, was among the witnesses to a charter to Lewes priory, c. 1180-85.²

There are several charters in which he is named as Ralph the archdeacon, when he certainly held the archdeaconry of York. A charter of Pain de Vilars to St. Peter's, York, and archbishop Roger, was witnessed by R. dean of York, Hamo the precentor, Ralph *archidiacono Ebor'*, Robert provost of Beverley, and John archdeacon of Nottingham;³ the date being 1177-81. Three other charters of the same period, witnessed by Ralph the archdeacon, have been cited above under John son of Letold. As Ralph the archdeacon he witnessed a confirmation charter to Byland abbey in the same period;⁴ a charter of William Paynel to St. Peter's, York, 1177-86;⁵ a charter confirming an agreement relating to the church of Kirklevington, c. 1180;⁶ and, followed by Jeremy the archdeacon, a charter of Amfrey de Chauncy to St. Peter's, York, *ante* 1186.⁷ Among the witnesses to a charter issued by the chapter of St. Peter's, 1190-94, were master Simon of Apulia, chancellor of York, Ralph *archidiaconus Eboracensis*, and William [Testard] archdeacon of Nottingham;⁸ and to a confirmation to Fountains abbey, 1189-94 were master Simon, chancellor of York, Geoffrey [de Muschamp], archdeacon of Cleveland, and Ralph archdeacon of York (presumably *Eboracensis*).⁹ An instrument relating to the chapel of Hampsthwaite on the Moors, 1190-94, was witnessed by Simon of Apulia, chancellor, Ralph archdeacon of York (presumably *Eboracensis*), William archdeacon of Nottingham, Geoffrey de Muschamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, and others.¹⁰ These three last documents show that the phrase *archidiaconus Eboracensis* in a witness clause, in which other archdeaconries are specified, denotes the archdeacon of York.¹¹ To a charter of Lawrence archdeacon of Bedford to Fountains abbey, 1190-94, the first four witnesses were Geoffrey archdeacon of Cleveland, master Simon of Apulia, Robert provost of Beverley, Ralph the

¹ *E.Y.C.*, v, no. 330. As Jeremy had become archdeacon [of Cleveland] Ralph had presumably become archdeacon of York.

² *Ante*, xxxi, 307.

³ *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 1197.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1834.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vi, no. 134.

⁶ *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, no. 685; cf. *E.Y.C.*, ii, pp. 32-3.

⁷ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 840.

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 842.

⁹ *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 269. As mag. William Testard, not described as archdeacon of Nottingham, witnessed, the latest date is presumably 1191.

¹⁰ *E.Y.C.*, i, p. 394.

¹¹ See the introductory remarks to the present paper.

archdeacon and others.¹ As Ralph was archdeacon of York the charter shows that in witness clauses no precedence was necessarily given to that archdeaconry. He was evidently the R. *archidiaconus Ebor'* who was a witness to a charter of the chapter of York, 1190-94.²

At Michaelmas 1182 Ralph the archdeacon and Robert provost of Beverley rendered account of 1000 marks for their *donum* to be in the king's custody and protection as his clerks, paying 100*li.* and owing the balance; they also owed 200*li.* of old money for the same.³ These debts were paid off in instalments, and were finally discharged at Michaelmas 1192.⁴ At Michaelmas 1193 William de Insula owed 5 marks for having a recognition regarding two-thirds of a mill of Sutton and Brotherton marsh against Ralph the archdeacon and the community of St. Peter's.⁵ In 1191 it was found by an inquisition following a papal mandate that the chancellorship was the third dignity in the church of York, Ralph *archidiaconus Eboracensis* being forbidden to usurp anything belonging to that dignity.⁶ It is recorded that Ralph, described as archdeacon of 'Westrithing' (*i.e.* York), who was among the envoys to the pope on behalf of the chapter of York in their dispute with archbishop Geoffrey, had died on the journey from Rome, his fellow envoys reaching York shortly before Michaelmas 1194.⁷

The details given in these notes suggest that Ralph d'Aunay became archdeacon of Cleveland when his predecessor John son of Letold became archdeacon of Nottingham, *c.* 1165-1172; that he became archdeacon of York not later than 1174 when Jeremy had succeeded him as archdeacon of Cleveland; and that he held the archdeaconry of York until his death in 1194.⁸

B9. RALPH DE WARNEVILLE.

He was appointed treasurer of York in the period 1162-67, probably in or shortly after the former year; and in combination with the treasurership held the archdeaconry of the East Riding. He also held concurrently the treasurership of Rouen, to which he had been appointed probably as early as 1151; and was Henry II's chancellor from 1173 until his appointment, when he was still treasurer of York, to the see of Lisieux in 1181. He died in 1191.⁹

B10. ROBERT.

A charter of Henry son of Ypolitus confirming to Sallay abbey land in Askwith, dated 1 Sept. 1176, was witnessed by Robert dean of York, William *ejusdem ecclesie*, Robert the arch-

¹ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 163.

² *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorks.*, Selden Soc., vol. lvi, no. 1144.

³ *Pipe Roll 28 Hen. II*, p. 45 (Yorks.).

⁴ *Ibid.* 4 *Ric. I*, p. 209.

⁵ *Ibid.* 5 *Ric. I*, p. 72.

⁶ *Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 91.

⁷ *Howden*, iii, pp. 272-3; *cf. Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 92, for his presence in Rome.

⁸ The suggestion as to the date when he became archdeacon of York is subject to a complication discussed above under Geoffrey, no. B2.

⁹ See the account of him, *ante* xxxv, pp. 20-3.

deacon, Ralph [rural] dean of Kettlewell, and others.¹ This is not an original, and the witness clause is not completely accurate. No dignity is given to the second witness, who was evidently William d'Eu the precentor. But there is good evidence that he was dead in 1174.² It is possible that the date is incorrect.³ There is no other reference available to prove that there was a Robert the archdeacon in the period 1158-81.

B11. ROBERT SON OF WILLIAM SON OF RALPH.

As Robert son of William son of Ralph, archdeacon of Nottingham, he witnessed a charter of king Henry II at Bur-le-Roi, of probable date Nov. 1187.⁴ As Robert son of William, archdeacon of Nottingham, he witnessed another charter of the king at Rouen, 1185-89;⁵ and as Robert, archdeacon of Nottingham, another at St. Pierre-sur-Dives, 1184-89.⁶ As Robert, archdeacon of Nottingham, he was present at the exchequer at Caen, apparently in 1185;⁷ and in Oct. 1186 he was appointed by the king to accompany the archbishop of Rouen and William de Mandeville on their embassy to the king of France.⁸ With the same description he witnessed a charter of John son of count William of Ponthieu in 1190.⁹ On 25 June 1190 he witnessed next after his father William son of Ralph, seneschal of Normandy, a charter of king Richard I at Tours.¹⁰

Robert, archdeacon of Nottingham, was elected to the bishopric of Worcester on 15 July 1190.¹¹ Ralph de Diceto, recording his consecration on 5 May 1191, describes him as Robert, canon of Lincoln, "filius unicus et haeres Willelmi seneschalli Normanniae."¹² He was bishop of Worcester for only two years, and died on 26 June 1193.¹³

His father William son of Ralph was the son of Ralph son of Geremund,¹⁴ who in 1166 held two knights' fees of Ralph Hanselin

¹ *Sallay Chartulary*, ii, no. 521.

² *Ante*, xxxv, 121.

³ Certainly the two witnesses Robert dean of York and Robert the archdeacon suggest a date not later than 1158; see above under Robert Butevilain, no. A13. Can the true date be 1156?

⁴ Salter, *Oxford Charters*, no. 40; William de Humet' the constable, and William son of Ralph, seneschal of Normandy, also witnessed.

⁵ *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 952.

⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 438.

⁸ *Gesta Henrici*, Rolls Ser., i, 354.

⁹ *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 485.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 536; the third and fourth witnesses read "Willelmo filio Radulfi senescallo Normannie; Roberto archidiacono Nottingeham et filio ejus." Round suggests that *rectius* the *et* should be omitted.

¹¹ L. Landon, *Itinerary of Richard I*, Pipe Roll Soc., p. 35n. He witnessed at Caen as Robert elect of Worcester in 1190 (*Cal. Docs. France*, no. 461).

¹² *R. de Diceto*, Rolls Ser., ii, 89.

¹³ Stubbs, *Reg. Sac. Ang.*, 2nd ed., p. 51; *Handbook of British Chronology*, R.H.S., p. 174. In these lists of the bishops of Worcester he is described as Robert 'Fitz Ralph.'

¹⁴ This is proved by an entry in the Tutbury Chartulary quoted by Rev. S. P. H. Statham in *Derbyshire Arch. Journal*, New Ser., ii, 58, where there is an account of William son of Ralph and his family.

and half a fee of Robert de Cauz,¹ and who was lord of a moiety of Ockbrook and Alvaston, co. Derby.² William son of Ralph issued a charter to Darley abbey, giving (or confirming) the church of St. Michael, Derby, with the consent and concession of R. his son and heir; and Robert son of William, archdeacon of Nottingham, also issued a charter to Darley, conceding the church of St. Michael, Derby, with the chapel of Alvaston, as William son of Ralph his father had given it.³

William son of Ralph was sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire from 1170 to 1180, during the last three years of which period Serlo de Grendon, who married his sister Margery,⁴ acted as his deputy. In 1178 William became seneschal of Normandy;⁵ and during the ensuing twenty-two years he constantly witnessed charters issued in Normandy with that description.⁶ He occurs as seneschal of Normandy as a witness to a charter issued by king John on 14 Jan. 1199-1200,⁷ and he had been succeeded in that office by the following 20 June.⁸ It is clear that he survived his son Robert by more than six years. At his death his heirs were his three daughters.⁹

B12. WILLIAM.

William, described as archdeacon of Nottingham, was with archbishop Roger at Gloucester on 13 Dec. 1157 and at York on 6 May 1158.¹⁰ Also so described he was the first witness to a charter of archbishop Roger, confirming a gift of Roger de Mowbray to Fountains abbey;¹¹ as John son of Letold also witnessed as a canon of York, the date is 1154-59.

In the period 1154-89 the material for compiling lists of holders of the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland and Nottingham, though in a less degree that of Richmond, becomes more satisfactory.

¹ *Red Bk. of Exch.*, pp. 340, 343.

² So stated in the foundation history of Dale abbey (*Mon. Ang.*, vi, 893).

³ Darley Chartulary, f. 148; these references have been kindly supplied by Professor Darlington; cf. Statham, *ut sup.*, pp. 59, 60. It is clear that the archdeacon's charter cannot have been one of confirmation after his father's death, and it is probable that it was issued on the same occasion as his father's. The archdeacon's mother was named Edeline who was buried at Darley abbey, as is stated in another charter issued by his father.

⁴ *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 894.

⁵ Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, p. 222. He had previously been a justice itinerant in England.

⁶ Several of these are in *Cal. Docs. France*.

⁷ *Rot. Chart.*, p. 33b.

⁸ *Rot. Norm.*, p. 25.

⁹ For them see Statham, *ut. sup.*, pp. 60-2. The suggestions that William son of Ralph died in 1189, and that his daughters succeeded on the death of their brother Robert in 1195, require amendment. Cf. the account of William son of Ralph and some of his descendants in *Genealogist*, xvii, pp. 82 *et seq.*

¹⁰ *Chartulary of St. Peter, Gloucester*, ii, pp. 106-7.

¹¹ *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 646.

It seems likely that after Robert Butevilain became dean of York between Dec. 1157 and May 1158 he was succeeded in the archdeaconry of York by Geoffrey, who occurs as its holder in the period 1162-67; and that not later than 1174 the latter was succeeded by Ralph d'Aunay, who held it until his death in 1194.

Ralph Baro, probably archdeacon of Cleveland from before 1140 to a date later than 1154, appears to have been succeeded in 1158 or 1159 by John son of Letold, who was archdeacon of Cleveland in the period 1162-67, and who seems to have been succeeded there by Ralph d'Aunay *c.* 1165-72. After the latter became archdeacon of York the next holder of the archdeaconry of Cleveland was Jeremy, who held it from 1174 or earlier until 1189.

In 1157 and 1158 the archdeacon of Nottingham was named William, having perhaps been the successor of Geoffrey Turcople later than a date in the period 1150-53. The evidence suggests that John son of Letold was transferred from the archdeaconry of Cleveland to that of Nottingham before Feb. 1172-3. After his death in 1181, and before 1185¹ Robert son of William son of Ralph became archdeacon of Nottingham, and remained so until 1190-91.

With regard to Richmond a charter in the period 1158-62 (see under Bartholomew, no. B1) was witnessed by four of the archdeacons including Bartholomew; of these the first, the treasurer, was archdeacon of the East Riding; Geoffrey was presumably archdeacon of York, and John archdeacon of Cleveland; and certainly in 1158 the archdeacon of Nottingham was named William. It can therefore be deduced with tolerable certainty, though without definite proof, that Bartholomew was archdeacon of Richmond. The suggestion has been made above—admittedly a very tentative one—that Osbert de Bayeux had held that archdeaconry until some date shortly after 1154. It may be significant that the names of Osbert and Bartholomew as archdeacons never seem to occur together in any of the charters which are available; and it is, therefore, not difficult to suppose that Bartholomew succeeded Osbert as archdeacon of Richmond on the latter's resignation. There is some evidence that Bartholomew was no longer an archdeacon at Michaelmas 1167.² Godfrey de Lucy became archdeacon of Richmond not later than 1184, and remained so until 1189.

¹ Hardy in his edition of Le Neve, apparently following Browne Willis, gives William de Thaney as archdeacon of Nottingham in 1181; but there appears to be no evidence in support; and it is not impossible that this is a confusion with Walter de Taney, archdeacon of Nottingham in or before 1241 (*Reg. Gray*, p. 196*n*).

² If this is so there may have been an intervening holder of the archdeaconry between him and Godfrey de Lucy.

§3. THE PERIOD 1189 to 1215.

(a) THE ARCHDEACONRY OF YORK.

After the death of Ralph d'Aunay in 1194 archbishop Geoffrey gave the archdeaconry of York in the first instance to his brother Peter,¹ and then to Peter de Dinan.² At the legatine council held by Hubert Walter at York in June 1195 master Peter de Dinan demanded the archdeaconry which archbishop Geoffrey had given him, and requested the chapter to install him; but the dean and chapter maintained that the archbishop's gift was void, having been made after the term of six months laid down in the Lateran Council, and that by virtue of that constitution and of the confirmatory decree of pope Celestine III the gift of the archdeaconry belonged to them; against this demand an appeal was made by the archbishop's officials, which the legate allowed.³ During the archbishop's absence at Rome in 1196 the king made several appointments at York. They included a gift of the archdeaconry of York to Adam de Thorner; but at the request of Arthur duke of Brittany and other magnates he issued a licence to Peter de Dinan to make an arrangement with Adam. An agreement was made with the concurrence of the dean and chapter, who received Peter and installed him; Peter committed his duties and the administration of the archdeaconry for a yearly pension of 60 marks to Adam, who was to hold it wholly during his life with remainder to Peter should he survive; and meanwhile, whenever they were both in York, they should occupy the archdeacon's stall on alternate days.⁴ Before this agreement reached the archbishop he had issued letters patent, declaring Adam a usurper and excommunicating him.⁵

References to Peter de Dinan as archdeacon of York are rare. Described as *archidiaconus Ebor[acensis]* he was the first witness to archbishop Geoffrey's charter, confirming to Lewes priory various churches and other interests in Yorkshire.⁶ He was elected bishop of Rennes earlier than August 1199; the prebend which he held in the church of York was given by archbishop Geoffrey to a brother of the count of Flanders, who had previously resigned to him the prebend of Husthwaite; the archbishop, moreover, ordered to be seized into his hand the archdeaconry of York (*Westrihing*), held by Peter, Adam de Thorner, however, who was then in possession of it, being unwilling to cede it, being supported by the king's protection and the authority of the chapter of York.⁷

¹ In the previous year the abp had made him an ineffective gift of the deanery of York; see *ante*, xxxiv, 374.

² *Howden*, iii, 273. The spelling here is Dinant. It is reasonably certain that Peter took his name from Dinan in Brittany, and not Dinant in Flanders.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 297-8. The pope's confirmatory decree of 16 June 1194 is *pd.* in *Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 94.

⁴ *Howden*, iv, 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ *Reg. Corbridge*, i, 49.

⁷ *Howden*, iv, 93.

On 17 Dec. 1198 a papal mandate was issued to the dean and chapter of York to admit master P[eter] de Corbolio [Corbeil] the pope's former teacher, to the prebend and archdeaconry which had been collated to him by the archbishop of York; otherwise they would be assigned to him by the bishop of Ely, to whom a concurrent mandate was issued; and king Richard was exhorted to aid master P. in obtaining peaceful possession.¹ It seems likely that the archbishop had made the collation of the archdeaconry, as he had made it of the prebend, after Peter de Dinan was elected bishop of Rennes, and that Peter de Corbeil was the brother of the count of Flanders mentioned in the preceding reference.² Peter de Corbeil, after being elected bishop of Cambrai in 1199, became archbishop of Sens in 1200.

Adam de Thorner³ had held a canonry of York, witnessing several charters as a canon in the period 1175-86 and up to 1196.⁴ In 1190-91 he served as an itinerant justice in Yorkshire,⁵ at Northampton,⁶ and in London and Middlesex.⁷ In 1195 the papal delegates decreed that among other sums taken by the archbishop 400 marks from Adam's prebend were to be repaid.⁸ He had an interest of 12 marks in the church of Giggleswick, mentioned in an agreement between Laurence, rector of that church, and John, prior of Finchale, of which the extreme limits of date are 1197-1214.⁹

In 1199 archbishop Geoffrey and the chapter of York, the archdeacons Adam de Thorner and William Testard being mentioned by name, agreed to submit their disputes to the bishop of Lincoln and others; but this arrangement was frustrated.¹⁰ As A[dam] *archidiaconus Eboracensis* he was associated with Simon dean of York and Hamo the treasurer as papal delegates to settle a dispute regarding tithes in East Bolton.¹¹ Described as A[dam] de Thorn[oure], *archidiaconus Eboracensis* he witnessed with them and the archdeacons of Nottingham and Cleveland and several canons of York a charter issued to the chapter of St. Peter, probably in 1201;¹² and as mag. A[dam] *archidiaconus Westridingensis* he was among the witnesses to another charter to the chapter, probably also in the same year.¹³ In that year, however, he was named as the first of four canons who witnessed another

¹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 4.

² As suggested by Stubbs in *Howden*, iv, 93n.

³ His name occurs as Thornour, Thornouer, Tornouere, Tornour, etc.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, i, nos. 157, 252-3, 509-10, 550; ii, no. 1057; iii, no. 1565; *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, no. 817.

⁵ *Pipe Roll 3 Ric. I*, pp. 74-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, introd., p. xxiii; date 24 Jan. 1190-1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁸ *Hist. Ch. York*, iii, 103.

⁹ *Priory of Finchale*, Surtees Soc., no. 70.

¹⁰ *Howden*, iv, 98.

¹¹ *E.Y.C.*, iv, no. 99.

¹² *Ibid.*, v, p. 148. Cf. also *ibid.* ii, no. 1261, evidently of the same date, witnessing as Adam *archidiaconus Eboracensis*; *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. 430; *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 739 (Adam de Tornof'), of date 1196-98; and *Yorks. Deeds*, viii, no. 205 (Adam de Torner), of date 1197-1201.

¹³ *E.Y.C.*, vi, no. 110.

charter to the chapter, also witnessed by the dean and treasurer and the archdeacons of Nottingham, Cleveland and 'Richmondshire.'¹

It is probable, therefore, that the interest which Adam de Thorner had possessed in the archdeaconry of York since his appointment by the king in 1196—an interest which had constantly been involved in disputes—came to an end in 1201.

During the next few years the history of the archdeaconry is obscure. On 11 Jan. 1214-5, when Simon nephew of N[icholas], bishop of Frascati (*Tuscul'*) and papal legate, had letters patent for the archdeaconry of York, vacant and in the king's gift by the resignation of Sampson, another nephew of the legate, the king issued letters patent to the dean and chapter of York requesting them to admit and install Simon.² It is doubtful, however, whether these letters were effective. Sampson *archidiaconus Eboracensis*, followed the archdeacon of Richmond among the witnesses to a charter of the abbot of Fountains on 1 March 1217 [1217-8];³ and occurs in other documents in the period 1216-20.⁴

(b) THE ARCHDEACONRY OF THE EAST RIDING.

The archdeaconry continued to be combined with the treasurership until their separation by archbishop Gray in 1218. From 1189 the holders were Bouchard du Puiset, 1189 to 1196; master Eustace,⁵ keeper of the king's seal, 1196 to 1197-98; and Hamo, formerly precentor, 1197-99 to 1216.⁶

(c) THE ARCHDEACONRY OF CLEVELAND.

It appears that at the time of the death of Henry II, 6 July 1189, when the seal was still in the possession of Geoffrey the chancellor, letters under seal, possibly ordered by the king before his death, were issued giving to Geoffrey de Muschamp the archdeaconry of Cleveland, and to William de Stigandebi and master Erard prebends in the church of York; and subsequently, on 3 Nov. 1194, king Richard, reconciled with Geoffrey, then archbishop, issued letters annulling these appointments and ordering

¹ *E.Y.C.*, v, no. 303.

² *Rot. Pat.*, p. 126a.

³ *Reg. Gray*, p. 132.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 128 (with the name of Salmon), 141n, 279. He is evidently the S. *archidiaconus Eboracensis* mentioned on 20 Nov. 1220 (*Patent Rolls*, 1216-25, p. 260).

⁵ Also archdeacon of Richmond (see below); bishop of Ely, 1198-1215.

⁶ See the accounts of them, *ante*, xxxv, pp. 26-30; and for Hamo also *ibid.*, pp. 121-3; and xxxiv, pp. 376-7. There is evidence for giving 1216 as the actual year when Hamo ceased to be treasurer and became dean of York; for a papal mandate dated 10 Nov. 1216 was directed to the dean and treasurer of York and the master of St. Peter's hospital, acting on which H[amo] the dean, W. the treasurer and H. master of the hospital apparently issued awards, one of which was dated 1217 (*Furness Coucher*, Chetham Soc., ii, pp. 92-3, 321). Hamo's tenure of the deanery seems, therefore, to have been 1216 to a date between Aug. 1219 and Midsummer 1220.

the holders to be disseised.¹ In Sept. 1194 Geoffrey de Muschamp, as archdeacon of Cleveland, had been among the envoys of the chapter at Rome to complain of the archbishop;² and in June 1196, so described, was present at the legatine council at York.³ After the death of the bishop of Coventry on 27 March 1198, similarly so described, he was nominated as his successor.⁴ He was consecrated on 21 June 1198, and died on 6 Oct. 1208.

As G. de Muscamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, he witnessed a charter of Geoffrey, archbishop-elect of York, confirming the gift of the chapelry of Blyth [co. Nottingham] made by John, count of Mortain, to the church and archbishops of Rouen; which confirmation was issued between 12 Nov. 1189 and 3 June 1190.⁵ As Geoffrey de Muschamp, archdeacon of Cleveland, he witnessed after the precentor, the chancellor and the archdeacons of York and Nottingham, an instrument relating to the chapel of Hamps-thwaite on the Moors, not later than 1194.⁶ As Geoffrey, archdeacon of Cleveland, he witnessed charters in favour of Fountains abbey,⁷ not later than 1194; a charter relating to North Cowton, 1194-98;⁸ and a charter in favour of Rievaulx abbey, 1189-98.⁹ As G., archdeacon of Cleveland, he witnessed a settlement relating to the chapel of Maunby, par. Kirby Wiske, 1189-98;¹⁰ a charter of Robert de Muscham confirming to Bridlington priory the church of Ilkeston, co. Derby;¹¹ and a confirmation of the church of Skelton to Guisborough priory, 1194-98.¹² Not later than 1194 he resigned any right he had in the vicarage of the church of Scarborough, which church king Richard I had given to the abbey of Cîteaux in 1189.¹³

Early in the reign of John a large number of royal charters have the phrase 'data per manus' of Simon archdeacon of Wells and John de Gray. In some of these the latter was described as archdeacon of Cleveland, the earliest being on 4 March 1199-1200;¹⁴

¹ *Howden*, iii, 274; and iv, introd. pp. xliii-iv. Jeremy archdeacon of Cleveland, still living in 1189 (see above), was then presumably dead. At Mich. 1195 Geoffrey archdeacon of Cleveland and the two others named owed 100*li.* for having the king's favour and their revenues in peace (*Pipe Roll 7 Ric. I*, p. 91); this debt continued until Mich. 1199 (*ibid.* 1 *John*, p. 45).

² *Howden*, iii, 272.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, 45.

⁵ *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 48; and for the date see nos. 47, 49.

⁶ *E.Y.C.*, i, p. 394.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i, no. 163; and *Fountains Chartulary*, i, 269.

⁸ *E.Y.C.*, v, no. 302.

⁹ *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 46.

¹⁰ *E.Y.C.*, v, no. 290.

¹¹ *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. 423. It is possible that Muscham, co. Nottingham was his place of origin; for a family of this name see Thoroton, *Nottinghamshire*, ed. Throsby, iii, 148. There seems to be no connexion, as suggested in *D.N.B.*, between Geoffrey and the Muschamp family of Wooler, Northumberland, for which see *Northumberland County Hist.*, xi, 306.

¹² *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, no. 817.

¹³ *Yorks. Deeds*, iii, nos. 323, 325; *Memorials of Fountains*, ii, 12*n.*

¹⁴ *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 37a, 39a.

and in others as archdeacon of Gloucester, the earliest being on 2 April 1200.¹ On 10 April he was described in one charter as archdeacon of Cleveland, and in others as archdeacon of Gloucester.² Sometimes he had no archidiaconal description, *e.g.* on 2 March and 28 March,³ so that no deduction can be made as to when he actually became archdeacon of Cleveland. On 3 Sept. 1200 he was described as bishop elect of Norwich.⁴ He was consecrated on 24 Sept., and he held the see until his death in 1214.⁵

In an entry under March 1201 Howden records that archbishop Geoffrey gave the archdeaconry of Cleveland to Ralph de Kyme, his official,⁶ and that on the following day the dean and chapter gave it to Hugh Murdac; and that when the archbishop wished to install Ralph the dean informed him that it was not his business to install anyone, and that the dean and chapter had made their gift of the archdeaconry by the authority of the Lateran council; whereupon the archbishop excommunicated Hugh.⁷ As archdeacon of Cleveland Hugh Murdac had the king's letters of protection in April 1201.⁸ Before Michaelmas of that year the archbishop wrote to the justiciar saying that he had given the archdeaconry of Cleveland to master William, the king's treasurer, and asking him to assist the latter in enjoying peaceful possession against those who under the ban of excommunication had striven to seize it for more than half a year.⁹

From these complex details it can be deduced that any charter witnessed by Ralph as archdeacon of Cleveland must belong to the year 1201, not later than Michaelmas; and the fact that he so occurs as a witness in the company of other members of the chapter suggests that they had accepted him in opposition to their own nominee Hugh Murdac. A charter to the canons of St. Peter was witnessed by the dean, the treasurer, the archdeacons of York and Nottingham, Ralph archdeacon of Cleveland, and several of the canons;¹⁰ and another by many of the same witnesses

¹ *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 56a, b.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 44b, 48a, 54a.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 37a, 41b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75a.

⁵ There is an account of him in *D.N.B.* In 1198 he had been in the service of prince John, after whose accession he became and remained one of the king's principal supporters. There appears to be no evidence that he was installed as archdeacon of Cleveland or performed the duties of the office. He was evidently the king's nominee; and, as Stubbs noted in *Howden*, iv, introd. p. lxxvi, it seems that the archbishop had not claimed the archdeaconry since 1198, and that the dean and chapter claimed it in 1201 by lapse.

⁶ As mag. Ralph de Kima, one of the archbishop's officials, he witnessed a charter relating to Greenberry, par. Catterick (*Fountains Chartulary*, p. 331); and *cf.* *E.Y.C.*, i, p. 492.

⁷ *Howden*, iv, 158.

⁸ *Rot. Chart.*, p. 103b.

⁹ *Pipe Roll 3 John*, p. 243. It seems likely that Ralph de Kyme, the archbishop's first nominee, then became precentor; see *ante*, xxxv, 126.

¹⁰ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 1261; dated by Farrer 1203-04, but 1201 would seem to be correct.

including R. de Kyme, archdeacon of Cleveland;¹ and among the witnesses to a charter of the dean and chapter making a confirmation to Bridlington priory was R. archdeacon of Cleveland.²

On the other hand Hugh Murdac occurs as archdeacon of Cleveland. In addition to the king's letters of protection of April 1201 noted above, Hugh Murdac, described as archdeacon of Cleveland, witnessed two charters to St. Peter's which were also witnessed by the dean, the treasurer, the archdeacons of Nottingham and Richmond, and some of the canons.³

It seems probable, however, that master William, the king's treasurer, to whom the archbishop gave the archdeaconry before Michaelmas, obtained possession at the expense of Hugh Murdac; and on 15 Dec. 1204 the king addressed the abbots, priors and all the clergy of the archdeaconry of Cleveland, thanking them for doing obedience and reverence at his request to his clerk W[illiam] the treasurer, his archdeacon, and enjoining them to continue so to do.⁴ William occurs under the style of archdeacon of Cleveland in a record of 1219.⁵ He died in 1222.

(d) THE ARCHDEACONRY OF RICHMOND.

On the day after Godfrey de Lucy was appointed to the see of Winchester on 15 September 1189, and before his consecration on 22 October, the king appointed William de Chemillé to the archdeaconry of Richmond. He held it until 1196, when he became bishop of Angers. In that year the king gave the archdeaconry to master Eustace, the keeper of his seal and vice-chancellor,⁶ who held it until 1197-8, when on 8 March he was consecrated bishop of Ely. In 1198 archbishop Geoffrey appointed master Honorius, his clerk, to the archdeaconry; but the dean and chapter refused to receive him, installing Roger de St. Edmund, the king's nominee, instead.⁷ The ensuing dispute, in which the pope was involved, ended in the victory of Honorius, who was still archdeacon in 1208. Before 4 July 1213 master Richard de Marisco became archdeacon of Richmond. He was consecrated bishop of Durham 2 July 1217.⁸

¹ *E.Y.C.*, v, p. 148.

² *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. 430; also witnessed by Hamo the treasurer, and Adam archdeacon of York.

³ *E.Y.C.*, v, nos. 300, 303.

⁴ *Rot. Pat.*, p. 48b. A full account of William of Ely, the king's treasurer, is given by H. G. Richardson in *R. Hist. Soc. Transactions*, 4th ser., vol. xv (1932).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61, citing *Rot. Hug. de Welles*, Cant. and York Soc., i, 153. Four of his successors in the archdeaconry are named in a document in *Whitby Chartulary*, no. 291.

⁶ Also treasurer of York and archdeacon of E.R. (see above).

⁷ Master Roger de St. Edmund, described as archdeacon of Richmond, witnessed a charter to Easby abbey on 1 Sept. 1201 (*E.Y.C.*, v, no. 207).

⁸ For fuller details relating to the archdeaconry in this period, with the authorities, see *E.Y.C.*, iv, pp. xxv-vi; and particularly with regard to Honorius, to certain legal points to which the dispute gave rise, and to the exceptional and quasi-episcopal powers of the archdeacons of Richmond, see A. Hamilton Thompson, *ante*, xxv, pp. 131 *et seq.*

(e) THE ARCHDEACONRY OF NOTTINGHAM.

The successor in the archdeaconry of Nottingham to Robert son of William, who was elected bishop of Worcester on 15 July 1190 and consecrated on 5 May 1191, was William Testard.¹ He held the archdeaconry until 1214, when he was nominated by the king and elected to the deanery of York.² In 1190-94 the chapter of St. Peter's issued a charter stating that master William Testard, archdeacon of Nottingham, had canonically acquired the prebend in the church of York, formerly held by John de Morwic', by the institution of archbishop Geoffrey and on the presentation of dame Agnes de Percy.³ In 1194, as master William Testard, archdeacon of Nottingham, he was among the envoys to the pope on behalf of the chapter of York in their dispute with archbishop Geoffrey.⁴ At Michaelmas 1197 he rendered account of 300 marks, duly paid, for having his archdeaconry in accordance with the judgment made to him 'a iudicibus delegatis.'⁵ He occurs as one of the archdeacons in 1199, and as archdeacon of Nottingham was among those reconciled with the archbishop in 1200.⁶

Before he became an archdeacon he witnessed, as master William Testard, a charter relating to Yokefleet not later than 1189;⁷ and charters to Fountains abbey and Newburgh priory not earlier than 1189.⁸ As master William archdeacon of Nottingham he was present at an agreement between Durham and Guisborough priories in 1199;⁹ and witnessed an agreement relating to tithes in the parishes of Snaith and Kellington in 1202.¹⁰ As William or master William archdeacon of Nottingham he witnessed several charters within the extreme limits of 1190-1214.¹¹ He was apparently succeeded in the archdeaconry by master William de Bodeham, who as W. archdeacon of Nottingham witnessed a charter with Hamo dean of York, 1216-20,¹² and as

¹ A William Testard, possibly the same man, held a prebend in the church of Avranches, which the king gave to a successor, 7 June 1200 (*Rot. Norm.*, p. 25).

² *Ante*, xxxiv, 375.

³ Full text on Assize Roll 1041, m. 3; pd. in *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre for Yorks.*, Selden Soc. vol. lvi, no. 1144. The first witness mag. Simon of Apulia, chancellor of the church of York, gives the later limit of date. The prebend was that of Dunnington, a claim to the advowson of which was made by Richard de Percy against archbishop Gray in 1218-19 (*ibid.*, no. 1120), and withdrawn in the latter's favour in Jan. 1224-5 (*Yorks. Fines*, 1218-31, p. 57).

⁴ *Howden*, iii, 272.

⁵ *Pipe Roll 9 Ric. I*, p. 154.

⁶ *Howden*, iv, pp. 98, 126.

⁷ *E.Y.C.*, ii, no. 986.

⁸ *Fountains Chartulary*, i, 269; *E.Y.C.*, vi, no. 135.

⁹ *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, no. 686c; *Priory of Finchale*, no. 14.

¹⁰ *Selby Coucher*, ii, no. 925.

¹¹ *E.Y.C.*, i, nos. 255, 259, 345; ii, nos. 842, 1054, 1261; v, nos. 253, 300, 302-3; vi, nos. 53, 110, 136; *Fountains Chartulary*, i, 331; ii, 649, 652, 739. He had a nephew named Henry de Bochardebi [Botcherby, Cumberland], who was given land in Hooton Pagnell by the prior and convent of Newburgh (*E.Y.C.*, vi, no. 136).

¹² *Reg. Gray*, p. 128.

mag. W. de Bodeham, archdeacon of Nottingham, one dated in 1221.¹ In 1220 mag. William de Bodeham, archdeacon of Nottingham, and Nicholas and Hugh his nephews were the subject of appeal for the death of her son and brother by Ailina de Burewell' in co. Cambridge, who lost her case by non-appearance.²

§4. THE VICE-ARCHDEACONS.

ANGOT. As vice-archdeacon he followed William the archdeacon among the witnesses to a charter to St. Mary's abbey, 1122-c. 1137 (see above under William, no. A17).

NICHOLAS DE TADCASTER. As vice-archdeacon he witnessed a charter of Simon de Mohaut giving land in East Keswick to Pontefract priory, late 12th cent.³ He can presumably be identified with Nicholas, who as rural dean and rector of the church of Tadcaster occurs in a charter of Maud de Percy, countess of Warwick, 25 March 1189.⁴

RAINER. As sub-archdeacon he witnessed a charter to the hospital of St. Leonard, Guisborough, c. 1170-1185.⁵

ROBERT. As vice-archdeacon, with Róger and Thomas his brothers, he was among the witnesses to a charter of Bernard de Balliol to Rievaulx abbey, not earlier than 1161, the only archdeacon who witnessed being John son of Letold.⁶ He can probably be identified with Robert son of William, who as sub-archdeacon (evidently of Cleveland) witnessed a charter of Engelram rural dean of Ryedale, also witnessed by the rural dean of Bulmer, John son of Letold and Ralph del Alnai, archdeacons, being present;⁷ and possibly with Robert, who as vice-archdeacon is mentioned in the proceedings relating to the settlement of a dispute relating to the church of Kirklevington towards the year 1180.⁸

ROBERT. Robert the vice-archdeacon and the chapter at [Patrick] Brompton witnessed a charter to Fountains abbey relating to land in South Cowton, 1180-90;⁹ and another similar charter probably on the same occasion.¹⁰ Another similar charter was witnessed by the chapter of Gillingshire before Robert the vice-archdeacon.¹¹ The rural dean was present as a witness to these charters; and it is evident that Robert was vice-archdeacon of Richmond.

¹ *Reg. Gray*, p. 140; and *cf.* p. 44 (date 1231).

² *Curia Regis Rolls*, viii, 299.

³ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no. 1868; *Pontefract Chartulary*, no. 330.

⁴ *Sallay Chartulary*, ii, no. 615.

⁵ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 577; *Guisborough Chartulary*, i, no. 351.

⁶ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 562, dated 1161-67; *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 115. John son of Letold was archdeacon of Cleveland in the period 1162-67.

⁷ *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 239.

⁸ *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, no. 718; *cf.* *E.Y.C.*, ii, pp. 32-3.

⁹ *E.Y.C.*, v, no. 307.

¹⁰ *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 176.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

MASTER ROGER DE MELSONBY. Described as mag. Roger, vice-archdeacon of Richmond, mag. Roger the vice-archdeacon, and Roger de Malsanebi, vice-archdeacon, he was the first witness, the rural dean being the second, to three charters to Marrick priory, *c.* 1191-1203.¹ As mag. Roger, vice-archdeacon of Richmond, he and the rural dean issued letters notifying the right of the canons of Easby to the church of Great Langton, 1189-99.²

MASTER THEOBALD. As vice-archdeacon of Richmond he witnessed a quitclaim of the advowson of the chapel of Eryholme in Richmondshire before the king's justices at York in 1187.³

WILLIAM. As William the vice-archdeacon he followed Hamo the precentor as a witness to a charter granting land in York to the church of St. Martin, Coney street;⁴ and also a charter to St. Peter's hospital.⁵ He was evidently the W. vice-archdeacon, who witnessed with H[amo] the precentor and Reiner the sheriff a charter granting land in York to Fountains abbey, of the same period as the preceding one.⁶

WILLIAM GEROLD. As vice-archdeacon of the East Riding (*Oustriding'*) he witnessed a confirmation of the church of Burythorpe to Kirkham priory.⁷

MASTER WILLIAM DE GILLING. An agreement relating to the church of Skeckling was made with the assent of archbishop Roger in the chapter of [the rural deanery of] Holderness, held in the church of Mappleton, mag. William de Gilling being then vice-archdeacon.⁸ He was, perhaps, the same man as William the vice-archdeacon, who witnessed at Driffeld a charter of William count of Aumale, giving a rent in the mill of Egremont to St. Mary's, York, not later than 1179.⁹

MASTER WILLIAM. An agreement with Easby abbey was made before Master William *vicem archidiaconi tunc tenente*, the witnesses to the ensuing document being the said master William, Landric the [rural] dean and all his chapter at Patrick Brompton, in 1168 or slightly later;¹⁰ and a pledge relating to a gift of land in North Cowton to Fountains abbey was made in the hand of William the vice-archdeacon and Adam the [rural] dean, *ante* 1171.¹¹ He was certainly vice-archdeacon of Richmond.

¹ *E.Y.C.*, v, nos. 275, 277-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 153, citing Easby Chartulary, f. 274.

³ *Ibid.*, no. 148.

⁴ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 233.

⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 443; both these charters are probably *c.* 1170-80.

⁶ *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 273. William nephew of William the vice-archdeacon witnessed a certificate addressed to archbishop Roger of a gift to Fountains abbey made in the chapter of Ripon of land in Marton-le-Moor (*ibid.*, p. 487).

⁷ *E.Y.C.*, i, no. 623; dated by Farrer *c.* 1180-1190. At a later date William 'vicar of the archdeacon' testified to an institution to the church by abp Geoffrey (*ibid.*, note).

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii, no. 1397.

⁹ *Reg. of St. Bees*, no. 20.

¹⁰ *E.Y.C.*, v, no. 244.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, no. 297. Landric and Adam de Croft were the rural deans of Catterick and Richmond respectively (*ibid.*, p. x). Another charter to Fountains of land in Cowton of the same period was witnessed by mag. William the vice-archdeacon, Adam the dean, and others before the chapter of Gilling (*Fountains Chartulary*, p. 175).

These notes show that in the twelfth century there were vice-archdeacons of the East Riding, Cleveland and Richmond; and this fact disposes of any suggestion that the archdeacons of Richmond, as a result of their special powers, had a specially appointed vice-archdeacon.¹ Comparatively little has been written about the office. But it is probable that the vice-archdeacon was the precursor of the archdeacon's vicar-general;² and the evidence of charters relating to Richmondshire suggests that the vice-archdeacon may have frequently presided at the quarterly meetings of the ruri-decanal chapters—the *capitula generalia*—when business of a more important kind was transacted than at the meetings held every three weeks.³

Additional Note.

While this paper was passing through the press Mr. G. M. Budge of Manchester University, who has been engaged on the career of John de Gray, bishop of Norwich, pointed out that the date 10 April 1200 given in *Rot. Chart.*, p. 54a, and cited above on p. 429, for a charter in which John was described as archdeacon of Cleveland is certainly an error, and that the correct date is approximately the preceding 10 March, the place of issue being conclusive. There is therefore no evidence for supposing that he was described as archdeacon both of Cleveland and Gloucester on the same day, or that he was described as archdeacon of Cleveland later than 22 March, when the king was at Tickhill on his way to York. (*Rot. Chart.*, p. 39b).

¹ Information for other dioceses does not seem to have been collected. Three random examples can be cited. Master Everard the vice-archdeacon followed the prior of Canterbury and the archdeacon of Canterbury as witnesses to a notification relating to the church of Chilham, Kent, 1195-1200 (*Cal. Docs. France*, no. 1348). The second is Alexander, canon of Lincoln and vice-archdeacon, who on the mandate of Geoffrey bishop-elect instituted and inducted the canons of Bullington to a church, 1173-82; and who, following the sub-dean, was described as vice-archdeacon among the canons of Lincoln witnessing a charter *ante* 1183 (F. M. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, nos. 11, 425). The third is William of Stoke, who as vice-archdeacon witnessed a charter of the bishop of Hereford, 1186-98 (Z. N. and C. N. L. Brooke, 'Hereford Cathedral Dignitaries in the Twelfth Century,' *Camb. Hist. Journal*, viii, 16n).

² On this point see A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages' (British Academy, Raleigh Lecture, 1943), p. 38n, preferring this view to that of Hinschius, *Kirchenrecht in Deutschland*, ii, 201, where the *vicearchidiaconus* is identified with the official. The Richmond evidence shows that late in the twelfth century officials occur concurrently with vice-archdeacons (*E.Y.C.*, v, p. viii). There is a reference in 1203 to the official of the archdeacon of Richmond, who informed the justices that *secundum juris ordinem* he had excommunicated Hugh de Saberge (*Curia Regis Rolls*, ii, 298). For the archdeacon's vicar-general and official, and their duties in a later period, see A. Hamilton Thompson in *ante*, xxx, pp. 15 *et seq.*, in his introduction to the fifteenth-century registers of the archdeaconry of Richmond.

³ *E.Y.C.*, v, pp. xi, xii, and the references given there.

A NOTE ON XVI CENTURY FARMING IN YORKSHIRE.

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For the study of early farming in Yorkshire, one of the most fruitful sources of information is to be found in the wills of the clergy. For although by reference to these wills the scope of study might seem to be restricted to a class not professionally concerned with agriculture, yet it will be found that the great majority of Yorkshire clergy were much occupied with farming, and the wills are the only available source of information which make it possible to consider the subject continuously over a long period. Even though the wills are subject to the disadvantage that it is never possible to assert that the bequests named represent the whole of the testator's property, yet even here the evidence is more full than it is with respect to the learning of the clergy, for instance, as represented by their bequests of books or failure to mention their books at all in their wills.

The wills make it clear that the material wealth of the clergy cannot be estimated in terms of their stipends alone. Some of the clergy who leave the largest amount of stock and farming gear are known from other sources to have been in receipt of small stipends only. These figures of money payments by themselves would give, therefore, a quite false idea of the comfort and state of the clergy concerned. Again, some incumbents who received small stipends employed several servants, both men and women, and boys. This would be possible when a large part of the incumbent's wealth was in land, stock and produce, but not otherwise, in these cases. A very notable feature of the wills considered throughout the whole century is that in this respect of farming there is no distinction to be made between the end of the century and the beginning; the clergy before the Reformation and the Dissolution of the monasteries, and the clergy after these events, alike make wills which contain the same kind of bequests of sheep and cattle, grain, and farm gear. This is in marked difference from the bequests of such things as books. Robert Dunler, Vicar of Garton in 1506, may be taken as typical of the smaller men of the earlier period; he left to the Gild of St. John of Beverley two bushels of wheat, to various persons two cows, two bullocks, two mares, a colt foal, a wain, a plough and a harrow, and several bequests of money amounting to £2 in all. At the other end of the century, William Forcett, Vicar of Paull, bequested "one cowe called Staytlie," two other cows, two yearling steers, two other steers and "four beast gates in Paull pasture paid for beforehand

for four years," "a yoke of steares the one foure the other three years ould," and "all my waines plowes and harrowes . . . plew-beames axletrees new waine blaides and new waine wheeles." Or, to compare two wills of more wealthy clergy, we may take first that of Robt. Wilkynson, Vicar of Northfrothingham, made on 5 October 1515, who made a very copious and varied disposition of goods: "unum le shodd wayne ii oxen of the best iii horses viz. Gryme Brun and Sorell Gosell a cuntor a brasse pott a maser v spoones of silver xxx shepe a fedirbed with a bolster a pare of shets and iiii li. . . . I shodd wayne ii oxen ii horses xx sheep a harrowe and xls. and a brassepott . . . an awmery a kist ii brasse potts a matris a pelowe a pare shets a covered a brode panne a cowe xii shepe iiii spones of silver and xx li. . . . un awmere a chest a matris a pare shets a covered i vaccam xiii shepe and xxd. . . . unam togam coloris violet vi yerds of cloth lynen and harden and vis. viiid. i vaccam i togam vi yerds lynen cloth and xs. . . . v sheep" (each, to an unspecified number of persons) and twenty three other sheep to various persons. This should be compared with the Inventory of a Vicar of N. Frodingham in 1577, in note iii below. Beside this we set the will of John Trowsdaile, the incumbent of Scawbie in 1588, who left to his brother Bernard a farm in Westersdaile, and to one of his nephews 40 wethers, and bequests to various persons a gimmer lamb, a black whie, 40 wethers, "a kowe called Short papps" 20 wethers, 22 ewes, "a yoke of my best oxen and a kow called Yoonge Browney, 2 ewes, 2 lambs, "my lesser yoke of oxen and one kow called Great Browney," 2 other cows, "my little bay meare and her fole," "a white rigged whye," "a kowe and her neate," 10 lambs, "my black mare and her fole i kowe and ii ewes," "a kowe viii wedders and ten sheare sheepe," 2 ewes, 2 ewes and 2 lambs. Such parallels might easily be multiplied, but these will serve to show that the course of the XVI Century, with all its religious and political vicissitudes, had little effect on the agricultural occupations of typical clergy. A total of 483 wills has been examined for the whole XVI Century, and of all these there are two only which by their content suggest that there was anything actually approaching indigence in the circumstances of any incumbent. The will which gives the greatest suggestion of poverty is that of Willm. Rogers, parson of Kildale in 1598, who left bequests of hardly anything but his clothes and "all my rie and oates now growing in the ground."

If the Dissolution and the Reformation made little difference to the disposition of the clergy to agriculture, it is equally evident that these events had little effect on the nature of the farming carried on in various districts. If we consider farming as divided into the two broad groups of arable farming and sheep farming, we shall find certain clear and interesting distinctions. Those numerous wills which obviously refer to mixed farming have been disregarded here, as well as that group where anything in the nature of dairy farming is concerned, a type which indeed is somewhat difficult to distinguish with any certainty. Taking the year

1545 as giving a reasonably good dividing line, we find results which may be summarised as follows :

Before 1545. Parishes with a clear preponderance of arable farming : Winestead, Burghwallis, Hawkesworth, Garton in Holderness, Shelton, Rither, South Ottrington, Cotgrave, Kirkburn, Warmfield, Hunmanby, Londesbrough, Skirlaugh, Stillingfleet, Stainton in Cleveland.

Parishes with a clear preponderance of sheep farming :

Sancton, Harthill, Settrington, Conisburgh, Strelley, North Frodingham, Ruddington, Middleton (probably on the Wolds), Rudby, Etton, Wollaton, Lund on the Wold, Burythorp, Normanston, Wold Newton, Goodmanham, Huggate, Sutton on Lound, North Deighton.

It will be noted how the Wold parishes are almost entirely sheep farming parishes.

After 1545.

Arable farming : Todwick, Sessay, Crofton, Rudby, Teversall, Aldbrough (Holderness), Lofthouse, Cantley, Finningley, Stillingfleet, Great Edston, Kilvington, Warmsworth, Kildale, Full Sutton, Burton Agnes, with two parishes, Catwick and Laxton, where both arable farming and sheep farming were carried on extensively.

Sheep farming: Goodmanham, Orston, Langton, Rudby, Sproatley, North Collingham, Thorp Basset, Ganton, Slingsby, Scalby, Sherburn in Hertford Lithe, Foxholes, Huggate, Rawmarsh. Here again the disposition of the Wold parishes is notable. The parishes in which it seems possible to see a clear character of dairy farming are, in the same two divisions, before 1545, Winestead, Gargrave, Holmpton, Sandall, Carnaby, Crambe, and Fishlake; after 1545, Garton in Holderness, Hilston, Yeddingham, Brandsby, Kirkella, and Paull. It may fairly be assumed that where the incumbent was occupied at all extensively in farming, he did not differ greatly in the nature of his farming from the main of his parishioners. Moreover, these divisions, with one outstanding exception, are broadly not unlike those of the present day, and were determined, of course, by the nature of the soil. The exception is that of the Wolds, which, until their conversion to a great grain-growing area through the example and influence of Sir Tatton Sykes, were for centuries mainly one vast sheep-walk and not that billowing ocean of corn which none who have seen them when ripe to harvest is likely to forget.

We may now consider some typical wills in greater detail, from each of these divisions, taking the wills, as before, in chronological order. The will of the Vicar of North Frodingham in 1515 shows a mixed farm where perhaps the greater part of the work was concerned with ploughing; this will has already been noted, above. Ralph Norham, Vicar of Hunmanby in 1520, evidently farmed mainly arable, for though he had four or possibly five sheep, his other bequests were of three horses, a cart, and seven quarters

of barley, with a cow and two heifers. But it is not so often possible to find so clear a distinction of arable farming as of sheep farming, to the extent that the farm is given up almost entirely to that type of farming without any mixture of sheep or stock; indeed, this is hardly to be expected. The most considerable sheep farmer in the earlier period was Hugh Eure, Rector of Huggate, who named in his will in 1523 only two mares, one horse and a filly, but "the house of Syancte Mary Abbey have of my gifte ii hundreth and iiii score wedders," and willed also that "my cosyng Matilde childer have to be shiftid amongist them xl wedders xl yowes and xl hoggs." Good examples of mixed farms, perhaps slightly above the average in size, are those of the incumbents of South Ottrington and of Rodyngton, both in 1515. The former left, in separate bequests, "an hundreth shelings to the kirke and it to be takyn of the corne in the lath for to by a sute of vestyments;" iv oxen, two kye 20 shepe; "an oxe called Lokwood a kowe called Rosse v yowes and v shirlings;" "an oxe called Takke;" a kowe and an unspecified number of sheep; "to litill Margaret ii yowes and hoggs;" "a wharter of rye a worsett doblot of blak and iii yerds and a wharter of cloth for a gowne;" as well as money bequests. Willm. Jowkyn, the Vicar of Rodyngton, left, similarly, 10 sheep; 10 sheep and a cow; "a hive of bees oone calf and a quarter barley or malt half a quarter whete and rye a stone of woll;" a yowe shepe; "a hive halff a quarter barle or malt and oone of my piggs;" four sheep; "a gown a cowe ii calves vi sheep a matteras iii shets a covered and a bolster my bowe and my shafts one of my wening foles;" two women servants received each a weaning calf and some household furniture; to "my cosigne John Beyly that kepeth my house x sheep ii oxen a horse a mare a stagge ii kye ii wenyng calves iiii swyne old and yong Also my geys and hennes all the cropp of Lee House the weyne of the carte . . . my plowes harrowes . . .;" and there were other bequests of "a calf with a white face that standeth at the stak," a strike of rye, half a quarter of rye, and cart gear. Even if this formed the whole of the Vicar's farm property, it represents a not inconsiderable farm.

The wealthiest of the arable farmers in the later period seems to have been Willm. Greene of Burton Agnes. His will does not go into great detail about farm property or equipment, but mentions "all my lands which I purchased of Hen. Dineley in Wils-thorp Awburn Carnabie Bridlington and Wharrome . . . all my waines and wainegears plowes and plowgears, and all my horses geares, with my helmes and helmwood," which gives clear indication of arable farming on a considerable scale. The rest of his will is taken up with bequests of money chiefly, some of them large, as where he leaves no less than £450 to forward scholarship, and £100 for distribution to the poor of the places in his parish, except that "those that be known to be common drunckardes or given to surfetting and drunkennes shall have little or no part thereof." Of the wills concerned with sheep farming, the best are those from Slingsby and Scalby. The incumbent at Slingsby in

1581 was Simon Thirklebie, who left a very large number of small bequests where sheep have a great preponderance: "v ould sheepe and a cowe . . . v ould sheepe and i cowe and a yock of my best oxen and my mazer, all my cowpes and waynes . . . v ould sheepe and my best gown and my best hatt . . . v sheepe . . . v ould sheepe and an ox . . ." and so on, to a total of 24 more old sheep, 3 oxen, 30 ewes, 32 lambs, 3 quyes, and one calf; one of the quyes was accompanied by "a cupborde" and another by "my worste hatt." The will of the incumbent of Scalby has already been noted as that of John Trowsdaile in 1588. For the mixed farms of the later period, the best example is Halsham, where we are able to compare wills in 1571 and in 1579. The bequests of the parson in 1571, Ric. Johnson, included "a coople of my yonge stottes . . . v shepe . . . i of my best kyne a quarter wheat a quarter malte . . . i quie with calfe a quarter wheat v sheepe . . . to the poore folkes my best bull to be killed and gevine theime . . . twoo great oxen, my best stottes, foure kyne, xxx sheepe, a bastine mare, my colte stagg, a chalder wheate, barley and pease, two haling quees, one hogge lambe, and a yong cowe ' . ." besides other quantities of grain, and house furniture. In 1579 the parson, Tho. Edwards, left . . . "i yocke of oxen . . . all my waynes plowes harrowes helmewoode and all manner of implements belonginge husbandrye . . . a bay mare and her foal . . . 5 cows, 4 ewes, 4 wether hoggs, 1 white swyne, one hogg and lamb, 3 ewes and three lambs, . . . 2 black steares, whereof the one of them hath the sturdye . . . two whye calves . . . my biggest brown whye . . . 5 bushels of wheat, a quarter and a frandall . . . 4 bushels of rye, two quarters and a frandall, six bushels and two quarters of malt, some barley, and 3 bushels of pease . . . my brasse pewter brewinge leade and all other brewing vessels as gyldfatts beare barrells etc. . . ." The evidence is not clear enough to show what number of labourers or of what kinds were employed on these farms, but in general it may be accepted that fair-sized or even large sized farms are represented here; it cannot be assumed that any of these testators mentioned the whole of his possessions without omission. Out of 483 clergy wills during the XVI Century, there are 384 which do not mention books at all, yet there can hardly have been so many clergy who did not possess at least one or two books. What is more remarkable is that out of the same 483 wills, of clergy both in large towns and in remote villages, there are only 223 which do not mention some kind of farm stock or equipment, and of these at least half are those of clergy in York, or Leeds, Huddersfield, or other definitely urban parishes, or are described as chantry priests.

Amongst miscellaneous points of perhaps slightly more than usual interest we may note the references to the names of agricultural gear, as in the Todwick will of 1548, "Twoo plowes one yron teme and two torwethes one culter and a schare a wayne schakell and a bolt a plowe schakell and a bolt a cope yoke and three draught yokes and three yron wedges," or at Easingwold in 1549,

“two axes and a spaid two wombles two yron waiges; “the bequest at Hawksworth in 1506 which gave “to Sent John Baptist in Hawkesworth church and to oure blessyd Lady a qwie a quarter barley and half a quarter of wheat for to have an obyte yerely and to be praied for in the pulpytt;” the bequests of hives for lights in the church, as at Kirkburn in 1518, of “sex apiaria cum quarteriis ordiaciis ad inveniendum duos cereos in honore beate Marie ad borientalem partem ecclesie summi altaris,” and at Loundesburgh in 1520, of “dimidium mearum apium ad inveniendum ceroferaria super corpus meum comburendum;” the frequent references to “beast gates” denoting dairy farming in common fields; the bequest of a cow for milk to the poor at Owthorne in 1569, “one riggald kowe to the poore of Owthorne and when the said kow is lyke to dicay by reason of aige Then she to be fattid and putt away or solde by the churchwardens and an other kow to be provided;” the glance at dairy farming in the bequest to a woman servant at Sutton Bonnington in 1562 of “a yereling cowe calf and my brother Henry to winter it untill Maye Daye;” and the reference in the same will to “halfe my towe of hemp and flaxe that is brayked,”—one of a not very numerous group of allusions. A will at Full Sutton in 1580 sketches a mixed farm in an interesting way by the successive touches of “my browne cowe unto Michaellmas nexte . . . my bolde stotte . . . a whyte why . . . i coulter i socke one teame with one yocke geared . . . a grey mare . . . the occupation of my ox called Harwoud for one hole yere . . . all my webbes which I have made this yeare at weaver . . . my cowe at Fanckfosse . . . i whye which goes in the brott close of myne . . . i swarme of bees and she to buye one hyve for them . . . my wayne with whelles . . . my ox harrowe.” The last item here reminds us that the greater part of the ploughing and working of the land was done then by ox teams, and there are numerous references to such teams; typical are those at Middleton in 1513 . . . “ii oxen or elles ii horses to amende ther plogh with;” at Crofton in 1567 . . . “one yoke of oxen called Lyon and Brownebearde . . . one yoke of oxen called by the names of Lyghtbowne and Lemynge;” at Sproatley in 1570 . . . “two oxen called Meriman and Burnitt . . . one couple stotts called Ravell and his felowe;” at Teversall in 1571, where the parson left severally “a yocke of my best oxen . . . one yocke of oxen ii bullockes i iron bounde wane . . . i iron teame a plughe and ii harrowes . . . a yocke of bullockes i cowe and a calfe one iron bounde waine one iron teame . . . i iron bound waine i yocke of bullockes,” and two other bullocks; and the interesting entry at Lofthouse in the same year . . . “eight of my best oxen and twoo meares to drawe affore theme and all that belongeth to theme;” at Catwick in 1572 . . . “a yorke of oxen called Brighe and Spinke;” and at Cantley in 1574 . . . “my best iron bounde wain foure oxen thre yoacks and twoo teames . . . my second bound waine and twoo stottes twoo yocks and a teame . . .” The only actual use of the term “arable” seems to be at Crambe in 1596.

For further information about farming at this period, and particularly about prices and wages, about which of course the wills are not likely to give much knowledge, we must turn to documents of another kind altogether. In the Diocesan Registry the attestations in the files of Cause Papers from the Consistory Court often contain valuable detail. The most fruitful source of information is found in the papers in causes for tithe. It is unfortunate that the evidence is so uncertain and scanty for the period previous to the Dissolution of the monasteries; lists of prices or of wages are of great rarity for this period; but from 1545 onward there is much detailed information. A table of the chief references to prices and crops is given as an appendix to this note.

From these causes and the attestations therein we take first a cause in 1546, for tithe on common recently enclosed at Middleton by Pickering or so alleged. The file is not complete, but there is considerable evidence on both sides. The prosecutor, who was farmer of the manor, asserted that the land from which he claimed tithe "was taken in and enclosed furthe of a certen comen within the parishe of Midleton by Laurence Watson (the defendan) a long tyme after the dissolution of the laite monasterie of Roysdaile." It was alleged that Watson "A.D. 1545 habuit tempore autumnali granum viz. haver crescens in a certayne new intake within the parishe of Middleton which he inclosed and toke in furthe of a certayne common pasture grownd abowt 3, 4 or 5 yeres by past, quod granum . . . in suos usus convertit ad quantitatem xl de lez stowks de avena et in quolibet lez stowke xii garbes," and in "1545 jam instante . . . habuit avenam et etiam siggulum . . . in eodem lez Intake . . . ad quantitatem avene xxx de lez stowks . . . et sigguli xv de lez stowks et in quolibet lez stowke xii garbs." The evidence was extremely conflicting. Laur. Meid, one of the churchwardens of Middleton, stated that the enclosure was done about two years earlier by the command of the Earl of Westmorland, to whom Watson pays 5s. a year as farm. The land "was noo parcell of ground of the monasterie but it was commone ground belonging to the townshipe of Cropton and to oder places therabowts, and so he haith seyne the same ground occupied and usyd by the space of lx yeres or thyr abowts." Tithe of cattle going on this land was paid "unto the parsonne of Myddilton and not unto the monasterie of Rosedall." In cross-examination he stated that "they owght to have comen there but they have not bie cause the common is inclosyd now . . . When they wold drive there cattall thither they went peasable and tooke it as there owne comen and so used hit sens the time forthe of remembrance saving that in wynter season one wold drive frome one oder . . . By the space of lx yeres he haith knowne hit not to be tillid nor hath hard that hit was ever tillid before that Watson tillid hit." From a remark in answer to allegations it had already appeared that the land at one time was used for grazing sheep; the prioress had had a flock of ewes going there by common right. Another witness stated that he "did se men when they were

dichinge of hit and taykinge hit in," and that "hit was never noo demanes belonge unto the monasterye of Roosedall but a parcell of commen grounde belonginge to the towne of Cropton to wave and strey and not to drive cattall therunto nor to stafe hirde and so likewise is comen to all neighbours and bortherers there abowte." He "haithe sene nothenge growinge there bie the space of xx yeres before the dissolution of the house of Rosedall tytheable but tres and brakens . . . if the hege were downe it were commen but seinge that hit is enclosed they have nothinge at do there . . ." The defence was a denial that the ground was common, but in spite of much evidence that as for the Prioress of Rosedale "in winter day hir folkes wolde drive of the tenants cattall and one of them wolde so do with a nodre but in summer season ther was no suche driving but they all yoned in commen to geder," the case went against Watson.

Another file from the same year, R. VII. G. 363, calls for a glance because of its references to crops and prices; this is a cause where two minors sue through their guardian as farmers of Bradley in the parish of Huddersfield, for tithe of hay and corn there. The file begins with a statement of the descent of the right to tithe there. "The parish Church of Huddersfield by the surrender of the monastery of St. Oswald of Nostell to which that church at the time of the surrender was appropriated came to the hands and possession and lordship of our lord the King; the hamlet of Bradley is within the parish of Huddersfield; the present King (Henry VIII) by his latters patent bearing date 3 July and in the 35th year of his reign gave and granted to Ric. Andrews and Willm. Romesden and their heirs all the tithes of garbs and hay and underwood in Bradley. Andrews and Romesden by their writing bearing date the last day of February 35 Hen. VIII by licence of the King gave the tithes to the prosecutors, Thomas and Nicholas Thornhill." There were five defendants, and the estimates of the crops grown by each varied considerably as seen by the prosecution and by the defence; it will perhaps be best to take the amounts in which they were amerced by the sentence, which were respectively, for 31 thraves of wheat, 9 of rye and 72 of oats; for 100 thraves of oats; for 40 thraves of oats; for 10 of wheat, 40 of rye and 200 of oats; for 8 of wheat, 60 of rye and 70 of oats. The prosecution valued a load of hay at 6s. 8d., the defence at 3s. 4d. A little further information about the yield of land is to be found in a paper of attestations now separated from its file but evidently concerned with a suit about dilapidations at Wharram Percy in 1555. It is here stated that the Vicarage of Wharram Percy had "but two oxgangs of arable lande and scarce two acre of medowe," and that for the last 25 years or so "by all that tyme he (the Vicar) had not in the best yere of his arable lande above thre lods of corne and of his medowe above two lode of haie, And yt was better then then yt is nowe."

The parish of Wharram Percy gives also some of the earliest references to sheep farming. Here again we have a farmer of the

Rectory who gives a descent from a monastery, in this case Haltemprice Priory. The prosecution alleged that John Thorpe of Appleton had, at any time between January and December 1543, 26 score ewes (Thorpe admitted 24 score), 300 wethers (17 score), and 300 hogs (14 score), and as many fleeces which he had shorn and converted to his own uses. Thorpe admitted that he had had that year of his ewes and wethers three score and four tithe fleeces and of his hogs 26 tithe fleeces; he reduced the allegation that he had of his sheep 26 score lambs by declaring that "he had so many lambes as the tieth there of came to xxviii lambes and a halfe." There was much evidence, and much conflict, about the value of lambs and fleeces; the prosecution put the price of a tithe lamb at 16d. and of a tithe fleece at 8d. The defendant gave 8d. and 4d. respectively, and various witnesses estimated as follows: "He cannot say what a tieth lambe is worthe / but he saieth a flees of woll tayke one with a nother as it risyth is worth of any man's money 5d."; a tithe lamb IIId., a fleece 5d. "Every man that bye any woll will give so, tayke one with an other;" "a tieth lambe is worthe tayke one with an other IIId. he hath seen so bought and solde. A flees is worth . . . 5d. of any mans money that occupieth byenge and sellinge;" One of the witnesses gave a good general account of the practice of sheep farming in the district. Tho. Carter of Towthrope, aged 36, said that "Mr. Thorpe hadde this present yere xxiii score yowes and xv score wedders whiche wente coutched feede and laye within the parishe of Wharompercye continuallie all this present yere / and also hadde xviii score hogges whiche was removed frome Wharompercye unto Yastrope upon Sanct Andrewes daye last was a twelf moneth / and there was unto Annunciation of our Ladie Daye in Lente then next / and at the Ladies Daye came to Wharompercye agayne And there they fedde couched and laie . . . frome the feaste of our Lady continuallye all this present yere nowe instante . . . He (the witness) was an inhabitor of the towne of Wharompercye unto Martynmas last / and twelte there the space of thre yeres / and further said that he hadde this presente yere x shepe of his owne whiche wente in a pasture where Mr. Thorpe shepe went And he saieth that he could neither go to nor fro to fodder and kepe his shepe but he must neds see them and also he saieth that George Alan and George Gurwell then his shepperdes did gyve in so many for the kinges taxe." About the same date and a little earlier there is a copious file (R. VII. G. 298) where the prosecutor is Ric. Roundell, Rector of St. Saviour's Church, York, and last Prior of Healaugh Park, but the case turns almost entirely on questions of right of pasture on Heworth Common and very little on sheep farming in general.

Some of the fullest information about farming on the Wolds comes from the district around Thixendale; it is already certain that the total number of files relating to this area, including those not yet calendared, will be large. For the present, we may inspect files R. VII. G. 379 and G. 400. The former, G. 379, dated 1548, is of a cause brought by Robert Geyre, farmer of all the

tithes of the lands and pastures of Thixendale, against Willm. Hungate of Wartre. The actual pasture concerned was that known as Great Wareholme, and there was of course the usual wrangle whether Great Wareholme were in Thixendale, that is in the parish of Wharram Percy, or in Kirkby Underdale parish. Counsel for the prosecution began by tracing the descent of the lordship from Haltemprice Priory to Robt. Geyre, and sets out the case against Hungate that "habuit cccc oves in pastura vocata Greate Wareholme (the defendant credit ccc ibidem pasturenda a festo Inventionis Crucis usque festum Michaelis et non ultra) infra fines . . . de Thyxindale . . . pascentes et cubantes Ex quibus . . . totidem vellera per se et suos totondit percepit et habuit (credit cc et ccc fletes et non plura) ac in suos usus convertit . . .," "precium cujuslibet velleris lane decimabilis communi hominum estimacione ibidem se extendit ad xiiid. (credit de xd.)." The argument about the parish in which Great Wareholme lay waxed exceedingly involved and contradictory; no less than 36 witnesses appeared on one side or the other, with a further eleven on questions of prices. Appeal was made to a wide range of evidence, from the position of an ancient boundary cross (of which a notice appears in the present issue of this Journal), to the matter of the payment of "the Kynges taxes taliges and for the settinge forth of soulgiers to the Kinges warres." The Rector of Kirkbie Underdale, Joh. Whareholme, had something to say which bears upon farming: "he beinge parson of Kirkbie Underdale by the space of this xvi yeres in his owne person and by his deputs haithe receved the tieth woll of all the sheperds having shepe goinge upon the pasture called Greate Wareholme and moreover he dothe say that so he haithe hard that his predecessors haithe done before him . . . the towneshippe of Painstrophe which is of the parishinge of Kirkbieunderdaile haithe a daylie Rake and pasturage . . . for so he haithe sene it and dothe se it at sutch tymes as he walkes that way . . ." Many of the witnesses, of course, were old shepherds, as James Harwod of Hugget aged 58, who deposed that "he was sheperd and kept shepe upon the grounde called Greate Wareholme bie the space before by him deposed but he nor yet the parson never paid any tiethe of theyr shepe so fedinge and pasturinge et aliter nescit deponere but that he supposithe theyr was a covenant made betwixt thabbot of Sancte Marie that the same parson Ewers should pay no tiethe in recompens of which the said parson did give the abbot all his shepe at thoure of his deathe which this deponent delivered . . . the kye apperteininge to the towne of Painestrop of the parishe of Kirkbie Hondeofdale haithe a Rake over the pasture articulate one tyme of the daie and so haithe not the kye of the towne of Thixindale wherefor he thinkethe the pasture to be of the parishe of Kirkbie Hondeofdale and not of the parishe of Wharholme Percie / nor within the bounders of the towne of Thixindale." An interesting witness was William Puckringe of Panstrophe, for he said "that he kepte shepe under his father called William Puckringe under thabbot of Sancte

Maryes xii or xiiii yeres sens as he now remembrethe, and his father had a certeyne shepe goinge in Gretwairholme theyr the tiethe of whiche he paid unto the parson of Kirkbie Underdale amongst the tiethe of his shepe that fedd within the commen of Panstroe . . . and so he hath seen the tithe paid for the yonge adge of his remembrance unto the dissolucion of the monasterie . . .” Another witness, on the side of the defence, went even further back . . . “at the coronacion and one yere or two before the said coronacion as he now remembrethe of the king Henrye theyght of good memorie late kinge of Ingland this examine keped shepe apperteninge to one Master Hew Evers beinge fermer of Great Warholme within the pasture called Grete Wareholme and had some of his owne cattall and shepe goinge theyr at that tyme and he paid tiethe woll of theyr shepe goinge . . . of the pasture articulate unto the proctors and farmers of Thixindale . . . and he paid tiethe of his wol cominge . . . of his shepe pasturinge . . . within . . . Greate Warholme xvi yeres after the coronacion of Henry VIII.” The last roll on this part of the file deals mainly with prices; the evidence of the first witness is typical of all, and the prices in the later attestations do not vary much. Thos. Scawthorpe of Aklome stated “that in the yere of oure Lorde God 1547 and in the yere . . . 1548 every of the sayd yeres a lode of barley rakinges was worthe more then xs. a lode For every lode of good barly rakynges contenyed in yt . . . by estimacion a quarter and a haulfe or two quarters of barley . . . And that annis 1547 and 1548 a lambe at tithinge tyme . . . were worthe one lambe accompted and compared with an other xxd. and better a pece by estimacion And this examine sayth that he wold not have solde the worste lamb that he had under xxd. any of the said yeres . . . at tiething tyme . . . And further he saythe a tythe gose at tiething tyme annis domini 1548 and 1549 was worthe . . . vd. a gosse For he sayth that the costome to pay theyr tiethe gosse is abowzte the feaste of Sancte Michael And she is worthe vd . . . And forther examined he saythe that he hard a prest say that is a doer for one Mr. Blake sey that in the yere 1548 his Mr. payd to Robert Geyr for every threve of his worst barley xvd. and that was a stowke viid. ob. Wherefore he knowethe a stowke of best barley was then worth viiid a stowke and more . . .”

The defence of an inhabitant of Thixendale in 1550 against the prosecution by Robt. Geyre for unpaid tithes gives some vivid touches illustrating the position of one farming on a small scale on the high Wolds. Thos. Marshall of Thixindale said that his children “beinge in house with hym of theyr shepe pasturinge fedinge and lieinge with his . . . had thre lambes at lambinge tyme was too yeres And lykewyse at lambinge tyme was twelmonths and no mo And at lambinge tyme last the children had vi lambes of there shepe . . . And as to his owne lambes he sayth he had vii lambes . . . He had thre small lodes of rakinges of barley for they can carry no greate lodes in the parish where he dwelleth anno domini 1547 . . . and lyk lodes of rakinges of barley A.D. 1548

. . . he had xvi score stowkes of barley (in 1548) . . . in . . . eyther of the yeres he had milke of his kyne and yowes . . . and in the first yere he had three calves And in the second . . . two calves and no mo and one of them died And in the first yere he had houny of his bees the latter yere he had none And that he had as he belevith the first yere articulate xiiii younge gese and x yonge duklings and noo moo And the secunde yere . . . he had x yonge geyse and as many younge duklings . . . He had (in 1549 or 1550) three score and x cookes of peise and no moo And he belevith that he had one hundrethe stowkes of barley and no mo And he sayth that he cast his tieth of his barley and other fourth in sheff sum to the forow and sum to the tope of land as chanced One barley stowke had in it xiii shaves . . . The rakynngs of his barley was worth this yere vis. viiid. at uttermost / and ether thother yere xvs. and no more and every stowke of barley iiid. and no more And every stowke of haver three pence and no more / and a tieth lambe xvid. and no more / and a tieth calve iiis. and no moo / and a tieth gose iiid. and no more / and a tieth duke iid and no more / and a tieth swarme of bees xvid. and no more / and tieth of his ky milke all the yeres libellate was worth xvid. ob. and no more and that the tieth of the yewe milk was worth every one of the yeres libellate viiid. and no more."

There is a reference in a cause in 1575 to sheep marks, which are rarely noticed in these papers; this is from Wetwang, not far from Thixendale. John Hornsay of Frydaythorp, "gresman," attested that during the time that he had dwelt with one Mr. Nettleton "which was by the space of half a year next after Martynmas last past was four years being in the winter season he . . . was Mr. Nettleton shepherd and did kepe a flock of hogg shepe within the parishe of Hooton to the number of xi score during which tyme James Hornsey (the defendant, and brother to the witness) did helpe to kepe an other flock of the same Mr. Nettleton shepe within the said parishe amongs the which James Hornsey did kepe xvi or xvii shepe of his owne of this examine sight and knowledg being Mr. Nettleton shepherd . . . and very well knowing his brothers shepe mark being a bott of the far shoulder and an other on the nar buttock Which mark James Hornsey shepe had And after this at the half years end when winter was past being than about Easter Mr. Nettleton did send all the foresaid shepe which had bene winterid in Hooton parishe unto Holme Feild and James Hornsey who after wards kept the said shepe at Holme Feild untill Martynmas then folowing . . ."

Information about the growing of corn is much more scanty in these papers, and is usually incidental, as in the reference from Husthwaite near Easingwold in 1584/5 . . . "there was a custom or prescription yerelie used and observed by the inhabitants of Husthwaite for tyethinge of there corne by which custoom everie inhabitante haveinge corne growinge and chancinge within the parishe have yerelie used in harvest tyme after the shearinge of

there corne to bynde the same in sheaves and to stowke it and at the leadinge of it away to caste furth everie tenthe sheafe for the tiethe and to leave it upon the land where it grewe if the same corne be well ryped and the wether seasonable but if the corne were either not all full rype or the wether unseasonable then . . . the custoom was yearlye used within the parish after the shearinge of there corne to sett it in gaits and when it is redye to be ledd to bynde everie nynthe gaite masheafe and lead it away and to leave everie tenthe gaite for the tiethe gaits as it was withoute maikinge it into sheaves and so leave it on the ground where it did grow . . .”

There is a lengthy file in 1584 and 1585 for tithe of cattle which were agisted on a certain ground in Kirkby Underdale parish, which is remarkable for the magnitude of the side issues which were introduced; the greater part of the record is occupied with the business of a furious and involved argument whether certain lands should rightly be called Bugdale or Buckdale and “Garrabye Wawde” or Garwardbye Wouldes,” in which extracts from ancient muster rolls were put in as evidence. There is, however, one part of the attestations which gives some useful figures about values; . . . “credit that the somer gieste of a fatte oxe in the parishe was worthe by common estimacion vid. a fatt cowe iiiid. a horse or yonge colte vid. a stott steere or whye iiid. weekly And the winter gieste of a horse or yonge colte iid. of a stott or steere id. ob. of a whye or other gelde cattell id. weekly and no more of anie of the premisses.”

Any precise details about wages are extraordinarily rare in these papers in the Registry; the only clear information which has been noted comes from a suit in 1551, for tithe of wages at Bads-worth. The articles for the prosecutor, who was the farmer of the Rectory, allege that the two defendants . . . “fuerunt servientes infra parochiam et eorum quilibet percepit et habuit pro suo annuo salario et pro operibus manuum suarum pro anno xxs . . . that there maisters with whome they dyd dwell . . . dyd fynde theym all maner of tuyles wherwith they dyd work and wherewith they dyd addyll and gett their waigs and so (they) did spend nothings in gettinge their waigs save onely dyd fynd theym selves cloythes and other rayment necessarye for their bodyes . . . (they) either of theym dyd save or might have saved at the yere ende clerely everye one of their said waiges communi hominum estimacione vs. viiid. . . . By the space of xl yeres last by past servants dwellinge within the parishe . . . haythe payd tyethe of their waiges after this rate viz. he that haith takyn xxs. waigs hayth paid at the least iiiid. for his tyeth And he that hath takyn xs. waigs hayth paid at the least iid. for tythe yerelye . . .” The defendants stated however as follows: first, John Awnderson said “that he salved never one penny of his waigs,” and that he never refused to pay his 2d. Thos. Beckett alias Beckwith said that “he hath xixs. wags and a hemptere shert . . . he salveth nothings of his wags

1568. Harwood. Stook of rye, 20d. of wheat 2s. of bigge 16d. of haver 14d. Wain load of hay, 8s.
1569. Crofton. Young pig, 6d. young goose, 6d. fat capon, 16d.
1570. Huggate. 5000 thacktyle, 5li. 30 rigg tyle, 5s.
1570. Kirkby Grindalythe. Swarm of bees, 8s. scott of hemp, 6d. gallon of honey, 3s. 4d. pound of wax, 10d. tithable goose, 10d. tithable pig, 8d. score of eggs, 4d. male of milk, 1d.
1560. Sewerby, near Bridlington. From an inventory.
- | | | |
|--|------|-----------|
| 4 oxgang of corne price | £11. | |
| one yoke of oxen price | | 3. 6. 8. |
| 4 kyne | | 4. 6. 8. |
| i que and 3 haulynges | | 1. 13. 4. |
| 48 shorne shepp and 10 lambes, | | 6. 13. 4. |
| 10 swine | | 1. 10. 0. |
| waine and waine geare, | | 16. 0. |
| one meare and 3 stagges, | | 4. 0. 0. |
| one plugh with all hir geare
belonginge unto hir with 3
harrowes and 20 sheppebarres | } | 7. 0. 0. |
| One koke and 4 hennes | | |
| | | 1. 0. |

(Interesting as showing the nature and extent of a small holding).

The following inventory illustrates another side of cattle farming, that of the drover. The entries relate to two farms worked by the same man, near Northallerton.

	£	s.	d.
1585.			
Sould at Harborow 21 oxen for	27.	13.	10.
sould at Elye fiftie oxen for	150.	0.	0.
sould ther tenn oxen for	25.	0.	0.
sould ther tenn steres for	23.	6.	8.
sould ther four whyes or heffers for	9.	10.	0.
all the houshold stuff and implements in and about the howse with all the implements belonging to husbandrye with all geese pullen and swyne	}		
tenn kyne	21.	0.	0.
three mylne horses and one lame whyte meare	7.	0.	0.
one ould fraynd meare	1.	6.	8.
two calves	1.	0.	0.
hay in the barne	6.	0.	0.
corne in the barne	30.	0.	0.
tenn oxen	33.	6.	8.
one ox	3.	0.	0.
20 stotts on ye biggest sort	48.	13.	4.
20 stotts on ye lesser sort	30.	0.	0.
21 other beasts	21.	0.	0.
one kow	2.	0.	0.
one gray nagg	6.	13.	4.
sold by John Eshull at London fortie fatt oxen	146.	13.	4.

NOTE II. The rent which a tenant-farmer paid to his landlords, the Abbey of Fountains, in A.D. 1523. R.As. 21/5.

“Ricardus Beckwith solvit annuatim et solvere tenetur Abbati et Conventui de Fontibus pro firma sua xxvis. viiid. in pecunia decem stirkettos precii cujusibet iiis. vel sive iiis. in pecunia pro quolibet stirketto xxvi petras et octo libras casei sive pro qualibet petra casei octo denarios in pecunia ac xiii petras et ii libras butiri sive pro qualibet petra xiid. in pecunia.”

NOTE. III. Information from Inventories.

(a) “The Inventarye of all the goodes and cattells moveable and unmoveable that was John Stenson (Stevenson) of Northfrothingham in Holderness . . . the xxiii of Aprill A.D. 1577.” R. G. VII. 907.

Interesting particularly for the names of gear, many of them still used in the local dialect.

. . . Item a spytte a line heckle a hempe heckle a cherne a bushell a pecke a half pecke sex earthen pottes.	iiis.
Item an olde sworde a flasket a paire of yearen windle blades iiij scottels a hopper a maunde iiij cheisfattes	xiid.
Item iii forkes ii spaydes a shovill a cheispresse iii swyne stockes	iis. viiid.
Item iii geese a gander vi henes a cocke vi chickens ii duckes a dracke	vis. viiid.
Item iiij skeiles a horse baye a horse hecke ii skell boothes ii sweathe raikes vi mells ii props withe olde woode	iiis. iiid.
Item iiij paire of horse geare iiij halters a calfe hecke ii axes	xvid.
Item v swyne	—
Item iii plews iii harowes v iron teames ii longe waines a coupe waine a coupe bodye iiij paire of clexis withe other olde iron iiij yokes ii paire of drawghtes	xls.
Item a carte rope a grimston iii stayes withe a helme woodd an apaltre with other woode	iiis.
Item xviii yeardes of rounde lyne clothe xvi yardes of harden	viiis.
Item ii yoke of oxen	vili.
Item iii meares	iiili.
Item vi kyne	vili.
Item iii yonge beastes	xxs.
Item a quarter of rye a secke of pease iii mettes of malte	xxiiis. iiid.
Item iiij holdinge calves	xiiis. iiid.
Item ii peaces of grounde sown withe hempe and lyne	iis.

Item iiii oxgaine and a halfe of grene corne	xviili.
Item certaine glasse a paire of tonges a reckond a lanterne ii pallinges ii batton (? bacon) fleikes a greise caike	xs."

(b). Uncalendared. "The Inventarye of all the goodes and cattalles of Hewghe Wyrall late of Loversall esquier . . ."
A.D. 1578.

A long and elaborate inventory. Wyrall had much furniture at the parsonage of Doncaster, but his cattle and corn were chiefly at Loversall. His possessions were valued at a total of £738. 17. 0.

"Cattall at Loversall.

Item xviii kyne	xxili.
Item xvi calves	vli.
Item ii fatte oxen	iiiili.
Item viii stotts	xli. vis. viiid.

Summa xlli. vis. viiid.

Item xii whies and stots	ixli.
Item ten stirkes and heaffers	vili. xiiis. iiii.
Item foure oxen in Frances Sales kepinge	xiili.

Summa xxviili. xiiis. viiid.

Horses and meares with there folowers.

Item one awmblinge mare	iiili.
Item a trotting mare	xls. vis. viiid.

Summa vli. vis. viiid.

Item an olde white meare with a filly	xls.
Item two coltes a white and a graie	viili.
Item a glead hewed colte	xls.
Item a blacke colte with a white starne (i.e. 'Star')	xls.

Summa xiiiili.

Item foure young stagges	iiiili.
Item two younge fyllies	xxxs.
Item a donne geldinge and a graie	xls.
Item a mare and a draught horse	xls.
Item a trottinge nagge	xxvis. viiid.

Summa xli. xvis. viiid.

Shepe.

Item iiii score xviii tieth lambes	xli.
Item ccc and lx shepe	lvli.
Item lxxx sex fatte shepe	xiiiili.

Summa lxxviili.

Corne at Loversall.

Item in Robinson Laithe barley by estimacion xxviii qrs.	xiili.
Item in the same Lathe rye by estimacion sex qrs.	iiiili.
Item in the oxehouse pease estemed to foure qrs.	xxvis. viiid.
Item in the kytchin pease estemed to two qrs.	xiiis. iiii.
In the same place barlye estemed to foure qrs.	xxxvis.
Item in Barneby laithe barlye estemed to xx qrs.	ixli.

Item in the same rye estemed to fyve qrs.	iiili. vis. viiid.
Item in the tiethe laithe wheate and rye estemed to xii qrs.	viili. vili.
Item in the same rye estemed to	
Item in Foster upperlathe occupied by Robinson ots estemed to L qrs.	xiili.
Item in the stone laith otes estemed to x qrs.	ls.
Item in the same barly estemed to xl qrs.	xviili.
Item in the same wheat estemed to tenne qrs.	viili.
Item in the laythe and houses at Alverley in corne of sundry kindes and heye	vili. xiiis. iiid.
Item at Extroppe of sundry kindes in estimacion in grose	xli.
Item cattell at Carhouses and Wheatley in one flocke xvii score wethers	Lli.
Item in an other flocke xvii ewes lambes hogges and weathers	xlli.
Item oxen there xii and plowes yockes teames with other husbandrye	xxiiiili.
Item corne and cattell with other stuffe at the par- sonage iii irone bounde wanes	iiili.
Item in the Hall Crosse Laithe rye xxx qrs.	xxiiiili. xs.
Item in the laithe nexte the Stable barlye estemed to fortie foure qrs	xixli. vs.
Item in the same laithe wheate and rye estemed to ten qrs.	viili.
Item in the nether Laithe at the same parsonage rye to iii qrs.	xls.
Item in the same laythe barlye estemed to sex qrs.	liis.
Item pease there estemed to a quarter	vis. viiid.
Item foure lodes of haie there by estimacion	xiiis. iiid.
Item in the greate laithe rye estemed to xx qrs.	xiili. vis. viiid.
Item in the same barlye estemed to xxx qrs.	xvli.
Item in the same rye estemed to fourtye qrs.	xxvili. xiiis. iiid.
Item tymber under the sayd rye valued at	iiili. vis. viiid.
Item rye not wyndowedde valued	vis. viiid.
Item in cattell there iii kyne and iii calves and a bulle valued to	vli.

The Inventory of a large farm, mainly arable and dairy.
Tho. Etherington of Great Driffield, 27 Sept. 1589.

R.As. 20b/30.

He had in his study 40s. in books and 100li. in leases.
"In the Stable.

Imprimis fower geldings	xlli.
thre sommer naggs	viili.
Item ii coltes	vli.
Item fowerteene drawght horses	xxvili. vis. viiid.
Item eight oxen	xxli.

In the Cowe house

In primis eighteene kyne and ii bulls	xxxiiili.
Item eight steres	xli.
Item thirtene calves	vili.

In the Garner

In primis sixe quarters of rye viii quarters of mault. one quarter of pease two quarters of otes with otemeale and other odde corne	ixli.
---	-------

In the Barnes.

In primis fifteene oxgange and halfe of corne	cxlli.
Item fowerscore loades of hay	xxvili. vis. viiid.

About the house.

In primis thirtye swyne	xli.
sixe swannes	xxs.
Item eighteene turkies	xxxs.
Item thirten geese	xs.
Item henns cocks and capons	xs.
Item ducks and drakes	iiis. iiiid.
Item coales and fyre wood	viili. vis. viiid.
Item thre bowndwaynes and twoo bare waines and ten ploughes with all manner of furniture for them	xli. vis. viiid.
Item five cartropes forks rakes hookes harrow steds cuttwiddies and other implements of husbandrye	xxxvs.

In the feildes

in primis twenty two score shepe	cxxli.
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A small arable farm. Tho. Jackson of Fulford, A.D. 1554.
R.As. 20b/1.

“. . . Et de x quarteriis ordii precii i quarterii iiis.	xxxs.
Et de ii qr. aveni precii i qr. xvid.	iiis. viiid.
Et de i qr. pisarum	iiis.
. . . de iii qr. frumenti et siliginis precii	xs.
. . . de dimidio qr. viridum pisarum	xxd.
. . . de feno	xxvis. viiid.
. . . de i ventilabro et vi saccis precii	iiis.
. . . Syfs alias Redyls	iid.
Et de ii bigis i aratro iii harpicis precii	viili.
et de cartharnase et plugh harnase precii	xiid.
et de i mukehakk ii mukforks et i securi precii	viiid.
et de viii felewe ii plugh bemes precii xiid. et de i cartsadill et i vauga iid. Et de heltres et i cartrayp precii	iid.
Et de v equis precii xxxs. Et de i blak stagg precii xvis. Et de ii filiabus precii vs. et de i pullo Anglice cowte foyle precii viis. Et de i fely fole precii iiis. Et de v vaccis precii xxxvs. Et de iii vitulis precii ix. Et de v aucis precii xxd. Et de v	

anatibus precii viid. Et de i gallo et xii gallinis precii xviid. Et de iii porcis precii vis. et de xxiii ovibus precii xxs."

Other returns of produce.

R.As16b/3. A.D. 1555. East Witton.

John Pattyson deposed that he harvested 100 stooks of wheat eight score stooks of rye seven score stooks of bygg or berly, three hundrethe stowks of oytts and 30 wayne loods of hay. The area of the farm is not given.

R.As. 16b/4. A.D. 1550-54. Farlington.

John Pekett deposed that he had in each of the years 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, four kine. In 1550 he had 16 sheep, 1 sow, 3 calves, 10 lambs, 13 fleeces, ten pigs and eight loads of hay. In 1551, 15 sheep, 1 sow, 3 calves, ten lambs, 13 fleeces, 10 pigs and seven loads of hay. In 1552, 15 sheep, 3 calves, 1 sow, 10 pigs, 9 lambs, twelve fleeces and six loads of hay. In 1553, 15 sheep, 1 sow, 3 calves, 9 lambs, 12 fleeces, and five loads of hay. In 1554, he had 15 sheep, 3 calves, 3 geese, 3 goslings, 10 pigs, 8 lambs, 12 fleeces, four loads of hay. In each year he had 6 thraves of hemp.

TWO MESOLITHIC RIVERSIDE SITES IN YORKSHIRE.

By E. T. COWLING AND H. J. STICKLAND.

The research on Mesolithic occupation in the Pennines has continued for some time. The recorded works of F. Buckley in the Huddersfield area and the survey of North of England sites by Raistrick have given valuable accounts of those sites which are mostly high on the hills at about the 1,000 ft. O.D. Finds by Collins in Nidderdale, not yet published, add to and confirm this knowledge.

However, observation during the last ten years on two riverside sites show that Mesolithic peoples did, in fact, frequent such places and that the Yorkshire field of their settlements may be widely extended.

The first of our two sites is named Leathley Bridge, after the nearest landmark.

LEATHLEY BRIDGE.

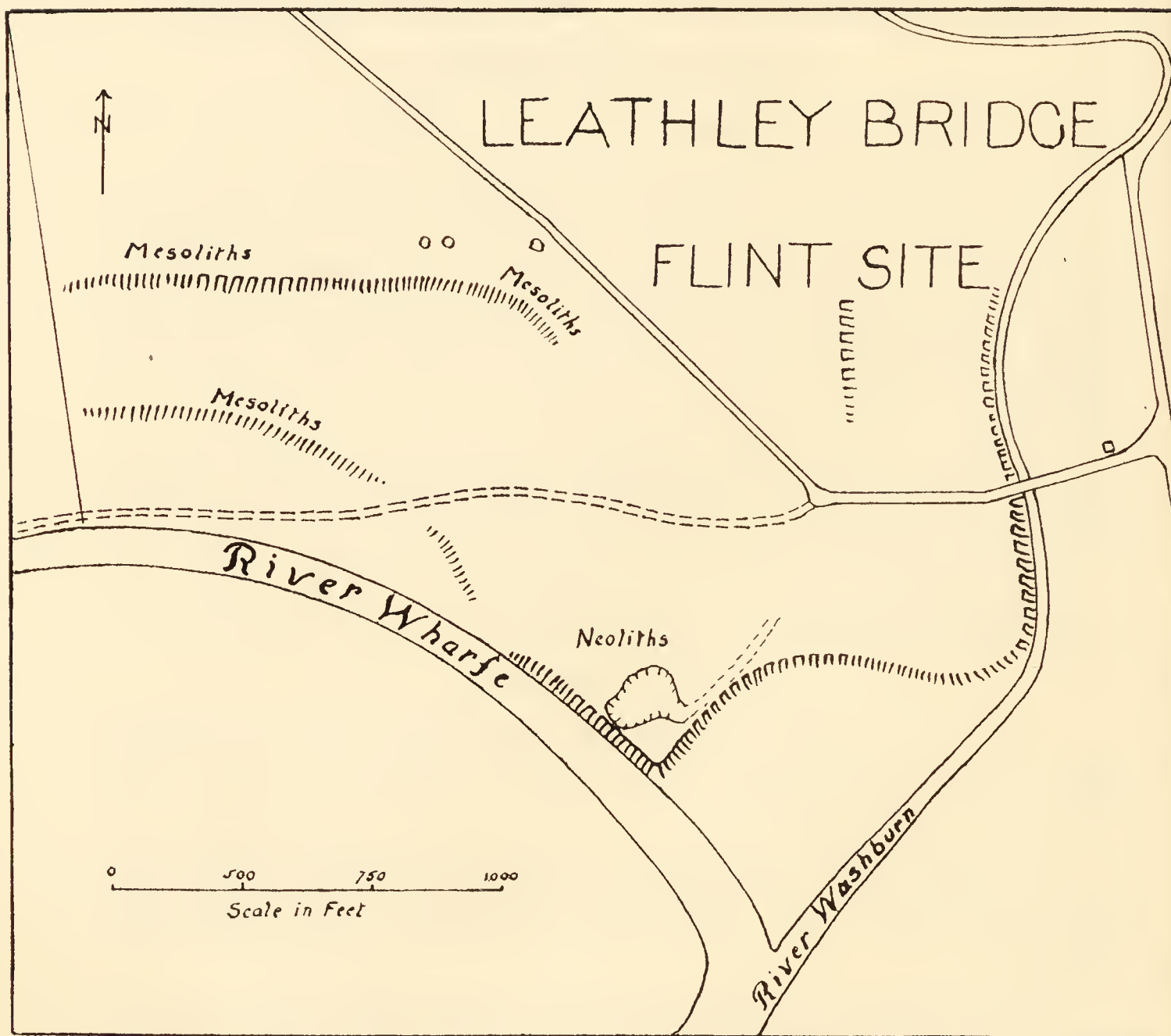
This site is about two miles to the east of Otley in Wharfedale, a little to the west of the present confluence of the rivers Wharfe and Washburn.

In ancient times the bottom of the valley of the Wharfe was a series of lakes whose margins can still be seen in the steep banks which vary from two to sixty feet, according to the surrounding contours.

The common watershed of the rivers came down to the valley in a gentle slope and formed a peninsula on the southern side of the lake, here some three quarters of a mile wide and four miles long. The tip of the spur was about twenty feet above the present level of the Wharfe and must have offered an attractive site to those early hunters and wild fowlers. The nose of the spur is a small gravel pit which has been worked intermittently over a very long period. The land surface sloped gently to the north and the two banks running east and west give a terraced appearance.

Worked flints were first noted in the sides of the gravel pit some fifteen years ago and the site has been under observation ever since. Recently the site has been exploited by mechanical means and the whole of the southern half utterly transformed. Early observation showed that the gravel deposit of limestone and sandstone was covered by sandy soil to an average depth of seven inches. This top soil has been heavily ploughed with the result that all the worked stone implements and "wasters" have filtered

to the gravel surface, so that tools of all periods are mixed together. It is therefore impossible to stratify finds, but in general the flints with the greatest patination appear to be resting on the gravel surface where they are found apparently undisturbed.



Materials.

Flint and chert remains are found scattered over all areas shown on the map. Neoliths were thickest at the southern tip of the spur; Mesoliths were found in greatest numbers to the north and particularly along the ridge of the banks. Removal of the top soil from these banks, which average six and ten feet high respectively, revealed that areas of the underlying gravel had been burnt by numerous fires. One area was ten feet by four feet and burnt in varying degrees. Repeated examinations have failed to reveal any trace of hut pits.

The majority of the early material is of patinated flint varying from a dull light yellow to chalk white and then to milky blue. Patination in general does seem to be some guide to age, for the tools which are earliest in type show the most patination, but there are some tools which appear to have defied patination

and are difficult to date since they are not of any specific type. As the flints of definite Neolithic or Bronze Age period do not show any patination they help to classify as early, those of less certain provenance which *are patinated*.

The majority of the flints which have been broken recently show grey and dark brown centres beneath the patination.

We are of opinion that the raw material was largely banded tabular flint from the wolds, and varies from milky grey to blue, with cherty inclusions. Pieces from the Wold flint are usually somewhat cubical in shape and it will be seen that the core tools Nos. 44, Fig. 1 and No. 21, Fig. 2 are made from pieces of this shape.

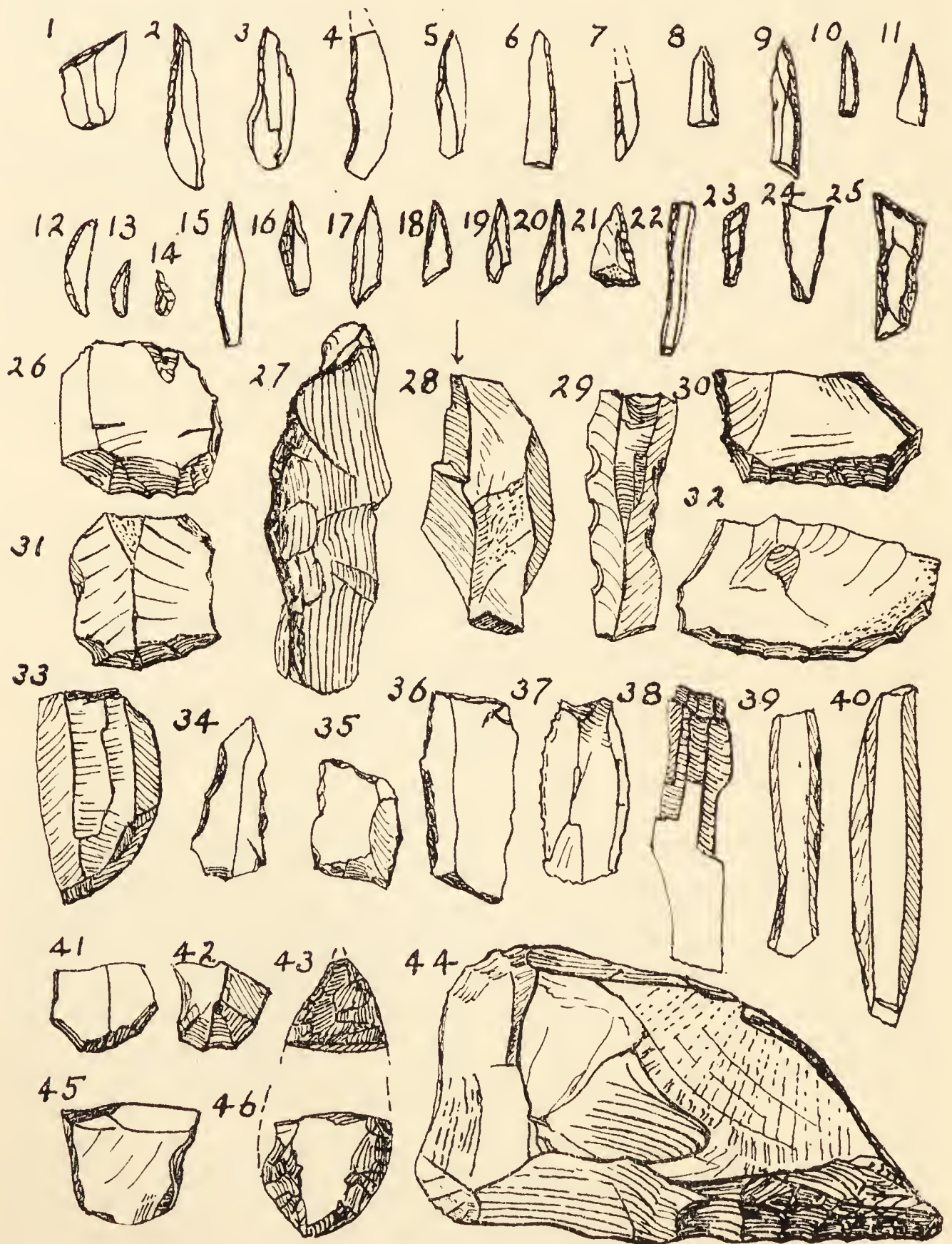
It is obvious that cores with striking platforms at each end have the same origin. Chert has been used in the proportion of one in twenty and is usually grey of varying shades, mostly dark. Worked chert tools are of the same type as those of flint, which points to the prevailing shortage of flint, every piece of which had to be imported, whilst chert is to be found in local moranic remains. This shortage of flint is emphasised by the use of cores as scrapers and the adaptation of every sizeable piece to some use. "Wasters" are always of small and almost always bad shape but close examination often reveals some usage for scraping purposes.

Tools.

About 150 worked flints and chert have been sorted out as of interest, leaving a residue of some hundreds of small flakes and chippings. Examination reveals that almost every stage of Mesolithic development is present and that we are dealing with the leavings of numerous occupations and not the contents of a "workshop." Also the most we can hope to do is to record examples which may be so definite in type that they offer irrefutable evidence of occupation at a definite stage of the Mesolithic.

Since Microliths, often described as "pigmies," are regarded as type tools of the Mesolithic it will conform to custom if we take the local examples first. Buckley has classified Yorkshire finds from the Pennines as "narrow" and "broad" blades whereas Clarke, in his national survey, whilst agreeing to this distinction, has used the term "geometric" and "non-geometric." The simple trimmed flakes of broad and non geometric shape are regarded as the earlier and must be recorded first. Amongst the forty odd microliths, complete or broken, from the Leathley site, No. 1 is a short flake which has been truncated and steeply worked at an angle. It is one of the three microliths which is of unpatinated flint. Nos. 2 and 3 are small flakes worked on one side to give a sharp point. Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7 are similar and may be considered as early. Nos. 8, 9 and 11 show working on both edges demonstrating an advance in technique; whilst No. 10 has working on all three sides. Nos. 12, 13, and 14 are of the crescentic type which forms the link with the geometric shapes, but No. 12 has working

only on the arc of the tool. Nos. 15 and 16 are incomplete triangular points of geometric type and these are followed by four interesting examples. They are very small asymmetrical points. Nos. 18 and 19 are worked along the two longer edges and the short hollow base is unworked, but Nos. 17 and 20 have the third side slightly dressed, showing that this shape is intentional and must be the result of long development. Triangles of the shape of No. 21 are usually regarded as late in the series and the rod, No. 22, is similar to those found about Huddersfield which are also



(FIG. 1)

LEATHLEY

considered to be late. No. 23 is again late in type and is an early example of the transverse arrowpoint which is common to the late Mesolithic and early Neolithic. No. 24 is a more developed example of the same weapon and has finely worked edges. No. 25 has the appearance of a microlith but has pressure worked edges and, whilst alone it cannot be regarded as proof of the overlap of Mesolithic and Neolithic, the presence of such a tool must be noted. Cores conform to the same diversity of types as the microliths.

The material of most cores is the poor quality flint with varying degrees of patination. There is the early type from which fairly short broad flakes have been removed and which assumes a cone-like shape, as in No. 33. Other cores are cylindrical and have striking platforms at each end, while several have been struck from various directions in order to get suitable flakes. No. 44 has probably been broken from a larger block and used as a core before being trimmed for use as a large side scraper. Several cores have suitable edges dressed for use as scrapers and others show signs of similar usage without preliminary working. No. 38 is a core of milky white patination and must have been the product of a skilled knapper, the long thin flakes removed must have been ideal for the manufacturer of microliths. Nos. 39 and 40 show long thin blades with a four-sided section and like the preceeding core, must be of the later half of the Mesolithic. Broad thick flakes worked roughly to shape are seen in Nos. 34, 35 and 36. No. 37 is a thin flake with a serrated edge. Scrapers are representative, Nos. 26 and 31 show the rough knapping of early examples whilst Nos. 30 and 32 are much more carefully worked to a very effective edge. One or two scrapers, in their shape and general characteristics—a thin broad flake and a sweeping feather edge—have the appearance of Neolithic types but have steep edge knapping of Mesolithic character. Small steep edged scrapers like Nos. 41 and 42 seem to be representative of the local culture over the whole period and some show fine workmanship.

Core trimmings are usually the edge of a striking platform removed by a blow along the edge of a cubical core. The discoidal trimmings made when the whole striking platform is removed from a cylindrical core are present, but rare. Graving tools, often regarded as essential tools of the Mesolithic Culture are almost unrepresented, but amongst half a dozen doubtful examples, No. 28 appears to be an angle graver of flint of milky blue patination. Micro-gravers cannot be found although several flakes with notched edges, as in No. 29, may be representative of the first stage in the making of this tool.

Amongst the hundred and twenty tools of unpatinated flint, mostly scrapers, of the Neolithic and Bronze Age finds, are one or two which must be mentioned, for they are early in type. No. 45 is a transverse arrowpoint of clear brown flint and is the

next stage in development to that of No. 24. No. 43 is the tip of an early leaf-shaped point and No. 46 is the butt end of another similar weapon.

The Leathley site is interesting for so far as microliths, cores, trimmed flakes and scrapers are concerned, we have tools which are representative of all stages of the Mesolithic period. The lack of gravers may be explained by bad luck in the search, since the angle and micro-graver are found on nearby hill sites. There is no evidence of edge sharpening by the removal of a flake struck transversely. Core tools are only represented by large scrapers.

The Mesolithic period seems to have persisted late and it has been noted that there are tools which have features of both the Mesolithic and the succeeding Neolithic Cultures. The finding of tools of types which come at the beginning of the Neolithic on this site emphasises the possibility of an overlap of the two cultures.

TOPCLIFFE.

About a mile to the south east of the village of Topcliffe, the River Swale is joined by the Cock Beck on the right bank. The "V" shaped spit of land between these two streams is crowned by an ancient earthwork, known as Maiden Bower, contiguous to the Norman Motte and Bailey, but the land adjoining the present river banks is flat alluvial plain. Along the Swale this deposit of sand, some 15 feet thick, rests on a thin layer of clay, superimposed on the glacial gravel composed largely of limestone, which forms the present river bed.

Starting about 300 yards upstream of the confluence of the Cock Beck and the Swale there is, in the bank, a stretch of 200 yards containing 3 strata of occupational horizons, evidenced by hearths of burnt stone and charcoal. The lowest and therefore the earliest of which, lies on the gravel surface.

The site has been under observation for the last ten years. During this time the erosion at the normal river level has increasingly undercut the bank to such an extent that the habitation areas are now almost entirely obscured by the consequent slide of sand from the upper part of the bank.

Even when the site first came under observation the majority of the artifacts recovered were not in situ, as they had, unfortunately, already been washed out from their respective strata.

The analysis of the charcoal even from the lower levels suggests that the site, like that at Leathley is rather late in the Mesolithic period, since it is composed mainly of Elm and small Briar twigs, which are generally associated with Neolithic times.

Although the artifacts are not so numerous as those from Leathley, they appear to be of the same origin and tradition.

The great majority of both the worked flints and "wasters" are of the same chalky patination so common at Leathley. There are, however, a few of clear brown and grey flint—Local drift chert was also used.

One boulder of flint weighing 2 lbs. 10 ozs. is worthy of note, in that it has the thick yellow cortex common to those from Norfolk.

Several pieces of haematite have been recovered from both sites shewing marked striation due to rasping by flint—this was, one may *présume*, in order to obtain a red powder for colouring purposes.



(FIG. 2)

TOPCLIFFE

Tools.

Taking the microliths first, we have a small red flint flake with diagonal trimming. Flint of this colour is found in the Bridlington area and this find of an early type may indicate the route by which these Mesolithic peoples reach Topcliffe. No. 1

a fine example, has one side of a long flake roughly worked, while Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are similar examples with finer working and are of patinated flint. No. 9 approaches the crescentic type which is so often found with geometric shapes represented here by Nos. 5 and 6. Nos. 7 and 8 are rather indefinite in shape but have the late feature of continuous edge trimming. The cores show the same diversity. No. 11 represents the early kind, whilst No. 20 is typically late. One core shews heavy use as a scraper without secondary working. Most of the flakes are rough and irregular and apparently early. Later examples are represented by No. 15. Nos. 12 and 14 show scrapers of early date whilst No. 13 is a side blow flake with a well worked scraper edge along the bulbar end. No. 19 is a long thin blade of dark chert without secondary working but one edge has been so worn with use as to be visibly rounded. No. 17 is a trimming from a rectangular core, whilst No. 18 represents the discoidal core trimming. No. 21 is a core scraper made from an angular block with large flakes removed from three edges.

Neolithic or even Bronze Age artifacts are found sealed in the same levels; one of which must be mentioned. No. 22 is a fragment of a greenstone axe which retains the scratches made by sharpening. There are also cores and flakes of unpatinated grey flint; scrapers are represented by a used side scraper and a small horse shoe shaped end scraper.

Taking the material as a whole we find that the microliths represent the Early and Middle Mesolithic, while the remainder covers the whole of that period. The long narrow flakes, like those from Leathley, are late in type. The fragment of greenstone axe, from the upper occupational layer, shews close association in time, if not an overlap into the Neolithic.

These two riverside sites are similar in detail and the artifacts, if mixed together, would be identical in appearance. An equal similarity in type applies to the tools as to the flakes. Both the sites seem to represent the whole of the local Mesolithic culture over its entire duration and also the beginning of the succeeding Neolithic period.

One or two facts are outstanding; the absence of core tools, sharpened by the removal of a transverse flake, seems to negative any suggestion of a Maglemose influence. Gravers are rare and mostly doubtful, and even those which are beyond doubt are of the core angle type. Microliths cover the whole of their development and appear to be Tardenoisian of Belgian affinities.

To sum up, one can hardly overstress the importance of the material evidence from two contemporaneous Mesolithic riverside sites which give ample proof of habitation over a long period. More particularly is this so in as much as the vast majority of artifacts of this cultural phase have previously been derived from surface finds from the moorlands in the area of the 1000 ft. O.D.

ROMAN YORKSHIRE.

EDITED BY MISS D. GREENE.

EAST RIDING.

"THE COCKLE PITS" NEAR BROUGH.

The following eight coins were found by Mr. Taylor of Elloughton, on the site of the Roman mosaic pavements upon Mr. Arthur Ricketts' land. They have been classified by Mr. Philip Corder, M.A., F.S.A.

1. ANTONINIANUS. GALLIENVS (sole reign) A.D. 260-8.
 Obv. GALLIENVS AVG.
 Head, radiate to right.
 Rev. IOVI PROP(VGNAT.
 Jupiter striding left with thunder bolt in right hand and pallium floating from left hand.
XI | ROME *Cohen 382.*
2. ANTONINIANUS. CLAUDIVS II. A.D. 268-70.
 Obv. Legend Illegible.
 Head radiate to right.
 Rev. PA(X AVG.
 Pax standing left with olive branch and vertical sceptre.
cf. Cohen 201.

The following six coins were found in Bozzes Field, Brough (Petuaria).

I give them more briefly than the above, because as Mr. Corder remarks, they are "a very ordinary lot," and also I wish to save space.

1. ANTONINIANUS. TETRICVS I or VICTORINVS
 A.D. 268-73.
2. ANTONINIANUS. TETRICVS II A.D. 268-73. *Cohen 36.*
3. AE. 3. CONSTANTINE I A.D. 330-7.
 Mint Mark TRP. Trier *Cohen 17 ff.*
4. A.E. 3. CONSTANTINE II A.D. 330-5.
 Mint Mark TR. S. Trier. *Cohen 104.*
5. A.E. 3. CONSTANS A.D. 337-50.
 Mint Mark TRP[~] Trier *Cohen 246.*
6. Illegible (?) Roman.

WEST RIDING.

FOLDS FARM, TICKHILL, NEAR DONCASTER.

In October, 1945, three small collections of coins were taken to Mr. Norman Smedley, M.A., Curator of Doncaster Museum. Two of these collections were apparently from neighbouring sites and enquiries resulted in the discovery that the two were in fact part of a considerable hoard found in association with pottery fragments during the course of ploughing at Folds Farm, Tickhill. Mr. P. Bramley, tenant of the farm, handed in two fragments of a vessel of calcite-gritted ware and also a number of coins which with those already in Mr. Smedley's hands brought the number up to 914. The Coroner was informed and at an inquest held at Tickhill in December, 1945, the coins, all antoniniani, were declared treasure trove. Mr. R. H. Walker, ploughing contractor of Ranskill and his employee, Mr. W. H. Houghton, were declared the finders. This hoard is now in Doncaster Museum.

In May, 1946, Mr. Bramley found 289 coins, 288 of which are now in the Museum the other remaining in private hands. Investigation by one of the farm workers brought to light a number of stones which had apparently formed a cache in which the vessel containing the coins was deposited. All these coins have been treated as one hoard and I append Mr. Smedley's list of coins showing distribution over Imperial personages as follows :

OTACILIA SEVERA	..	1
TREBONIANVS GALLVS		3
VALERIAN	..	15
GALLIENVS	..	149
SALONINA	..	21
SALONINVS	..	3
VALERIAN II	..	1
POSTVMVS	..	245
LAELIAN	..	1
MARIVS	..	2
CLAVDIVS II GOTHICVS		119
VICTORINVS	..	482
QVINTILLVS	..	12
TETRICVS I	..	119
TETRICVS II	..	27
AVRELIAN	..	3
Total ..		1203

In the autumn of 1946, Mr. Smedley with the Rev. the Professor C. E. Whiting, M.A., F.S.A., made a very short investigation of the site, without producing any definite results. The limestone foundation discovered may have been the floor of a pre-Roman hut but lack of time prevented a really exhaustive examination. A few pottery fragments were found scattered near the site where the coins were discovered.

Mr. Smedley's list of coins is so interesting that I feel it should appear more fully when more space is available.

TEMPLEBROUGH, ROTHERHAM.

While this report was being compiled Mr. F. Wakelin came to see me, carrying a parcel of 2nd and 3rd century pottery fragments, floor tiles, and two portions of a quern, which had turned up during an excavation now being made by Rotherham Corporation Electricity Department for the laying of a cable on the South side of Sheffield Road.

The trench is immediately opposite the former site of the S.E. Gate of the Fort (formerly situated on the North side of Sheffield Road) and the workmen have once again struck the Roman Road which runs from this gate in a south-easterly direction down the valley of the River Rother.

The pottery will be classified and placed on show in Rotherham Museum.

NORTH RIDING.

THE ROMAN VILLA AT WELL.

A third season's excavation was carried out at Well, near Bedale, under the auspices of the Roman Antiquities Committee, during the summer and autumn of 1946. Taking into account the work already done on the site in 1938 and 1940¹ the whole of the area at present available for excavation, consisting of the west end of the Mill Garth and the east end of the grounds of Holly Hill, has now been explored and it is possible to give a general account of the structures that existed there in Roman times. A complete report on the excavations of 1938-46 is now being prepared.

The site lies in a narrow valley on the eastern edge of the magnesian limestone ridge facing the Vale of Mowbray and it is fed by an excellent spring which has clearly been the factor determining the choice of this position. The western end of the valley was occupied by a dwelling-house of simple plan facing east, with a corridor backed by a single range of rooms. Despite extensive destruction caused by the building of Holly Hill Lodge and the laying of several waterpipes and hydraulic rams during the 19th century, it has been possible to uncover three rooms of the house which had tessellated pavements and painted wallplaster. The Lodge stands on the southern end of this house and covers the site of the room from which the fine mosaic pavement now preserved in Well Church was removed in 1859. The spring which rises further up the valley was carried under the floors of this house in a well-built stone aqueduct.

¹ *Y.A.J.*, xxxiv, 342 ff.; *Journal of Roman Studies*, xxix, 204-5 and xxxi, 131-2.

Some 25 yards east of the dwelling-house, the northern edge of the valley was occupied by a suite of hot and cold baths consisting of five rooms and two annexes of later date. The *apodyterium*, the *frigidarium* with tessellated cold bath, and the *tepidarium* and *caldarium* with hypocausts have been recognised and the northern walls of the suite were found to have been preserved to a height of six feet by their use as a retaining wall for a mill leat during the Middle Ages. These buildings were converted into a grain-kiln in post-Roman times. Immediately south and west of the baths the remains of two rooms, one with hypocaust, have been investigated, but extensive stone robbing followed by the disturbance of the remains during the late 19th century excavations have rendered their original function uncertain.

South of the suite of baths and lying parallel to it was a large plunge-bath or cistern, measuring 40 by 15 feet and some 7 feet in depth. Excellently built of massive masonry, its walls were backed by blue clay and its floor was constructed of limestone slabs covered by tile-cement with a continuous quarter-round moulding. The top of the walls was finished by a moulded cornice, a length of which has been discovered in its original position. Access to this bath was by means of a flight of stone steps in the north-west angle. It was fed by a spout set in the centre of the west wall slightly higher than the level of the cornice and it was drained through a stone channel at floor level in the centre of the east wall.

The occupation of the site appears to have commenced late in the first or early in the second century A.D. and continued into the last quarter of the fourth century. No evidence of pre-Roman or immediately post-Roman occupation has been found.

R. GILYARD-BEER, B.A., F.S.A.

DOROTHY GREENE,

Hon. Editor.



WELL—THE PLUNGE-BATH OR CISTERN FROM THE WEST.

TRANSACTIONS, Etc., OF YORKSHIRE SOCIETIES.

The Georgian Society for East Yorkshire's Publications, Vol. I, Part 3, contains :—Georgian Architecture and Town Planning, by the Earl of Rosse; Winestead, by Lt.-Col. R. A. Alec-Smith; Fenestration; A List of Georgian (and some earlier) Buildings in Beverley.

Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society, 1944, contains :—Lower Goathouse, by J. H. Priestley; The King Family, by James Eastwood; Rastrick Common Town Fields, by H. T. Clay; Three Stanningden Houses—(1) Great House, (2) Dyson Field, (3) Stones, by J. H. Priestley; Local Heraldry, by R. Bretton; Miss Wadsworth's Diary, Vol. II, by W. B. Trigg.

Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, Vol. VI, Part 2, includes :—Weddingwell, by E. J. E. Turner; The Site of Fulwood Spa, by I. Gatty; The Highways of Sheffield in the early Nineteenth Century, by Mrs. A. E. Hall.

Teesdale Record Society's Transactions, No. 14, contains :—Concerning a Pew in Gainford Church; Administration of John Cradock, D.D.; Wills of—Peter Appleby, Richard Robinson, Lawrence Brockett, Henry Brockett, John Elliott, John Sedgwick; Our Local Parish Clerks; Parish Clerks.

Thoresby Society's Publications, Miscellany, 1943, contains :—Leeds and Parliamentary Reform, 1820-1832, by A. S. Turberville, completed by F. Beckwith; The Medieval Age and the Present, by R. Offor; Thoresby's Diary and Correspondence; A Suggestion, by W. Hebditch.

York Georgian Society's Occasional Papers, No. 2, contains :—Sheriff Hutton Park, by Mrs. J. Egerton; The Thompson's of Sheriff Hutton Park, by Miss I. P. Pressly.

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Sir Edward Bairstow (*Obituary Notice*). *Musical Times*, Vol. 87, pp. 186-7.

A Holiday in the Yorkshire Dales, by W. A. Poucher. *Country Life*, Vol. 99, Pt. I, pp., 802-4.

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- With Turner in Wharfedale; water-colours at Farnley Hall*, by G. B. Wood. *Country Life*, Vol. 100, Pt. 2, pp. 526-8.
- Thomas Newcomen Ironmonger; the contemporary background*, by W. A. Young. *Trans. Newcomen Soc.*, Vol. 20, p. 5.
- Roman Pigs of Lead from Brough*, by J. A. Smythe. *Trans. Newcomen Soc.*, Vol. 20, p. 139.

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- The Castaways; the Brontës and their background, by Roy Fuller. *Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 19, pp. 1-10.
- Wensleydale (a poem), by Patric Dickinson. *The Fortnightly*, Vol. 159, pp. 426-7.
- Through the Fairfax Country, by Bernard G. Wood. *Country Life*, Vol. 99, Pt. I, pp. 480-2.

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